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HISTORY
OF
SAN DIEGO

1542-1908

AN ACCOUNT OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE
PIONEER SETTLEMENT ON THE PACIFIC
COAST OF THE UNITED STATES

VOLUME I.
OLD TOWN

BY
WILLIAM E. SMYTHE
Author of "The Conquest of Arid America," "Constructive Democracy," Etc.

SAN DIEGO
THE HISTORY COMPANY
1908

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FOR THE FRIENDSHIP OF THE
PEOPLE OF SAN DIEGO

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AUTHOR'S FOREWORD

IN WRITING this book I have kept several objects prominently in mind. First of all, I have aimed to make a faithful collection of all essential facts pertaining to the history of San Diego, from the day of its discovery by Europeans down to the time in which we are living. To this end, public records have been examined; scores of volumes of history, biography, reminiscence, even of fiction, have been studied; newspaper files have been patiently searched; and living pioneers have been interviewed by stenographers. In this hunt for information I have constantly employed one exceedingly competent assistant and, for much of the time, two or three others. As a result, materials have been collected in excess of my ability to use them in this volume, but they will be preserved in some public place for the benefit of students and of the future historian.

In the second place, I have endeavored to save from oblivion the rich traditions which cluster about the life of Old San Diego, a place which has all but perished from the earth, yet which should ever possess an absorbing interest not only for those who dwell about the shores of San Diego Bay, but for all students of American history. Plymouth, Massachusetts, is a place of no great modern importance, yet it is one of the shrines of the American people and the traditions of its settlement and growth in the quiet years of the seventeenth century have been written again and again, and will be read with fascinated interest by all future generations. Old San Diego possesses much the same historical pre-eminence, but its claims have been neglected by nearly all writers of American history, including those who prepare text-books for our children. It is, therefore, without apology that a large portion of this work is devoted to Old Town, including some account of the Spanish and American families who were associated with its political, social and commercial life. My only regret is that an entire volume could not be given to this phase of our annals.

I am keenly aware of the fact that this book contains much which will be chiefly valuable for reference purposes. There are many things which must be collected and preserved in a local history, but which do not lend themselves to literary treatment nor belong strictly to the narrative which interests the general reader. This observation applies to accounts of organizations no one of which includes more than a small part of the community, yet each of which has its own peculiar public. It should be remembered also that the web of our history is woven of many separate threads, and that none of these is without influence in making the color and substance of the whole fabric. In the department of the work entitled, "Institutions of Civic Life," the reader will find many of the most significant facts of our progress as a community.

Acknowledgments are due to many persons for assistance rendered in assembling the facts for this book. The late E. W. Morse was extremely helpful, and the last days of his life were given freely to lengthy interviews and the explanation of old documents. "Father" Horton patiently submitted to cross-examination on several occasions, furnishing impressions of his own period which might otherwise have been lost. Judge M. A. Luce and Daniel Cleveland have been constantly consulted and have rendered invaluable assistance, with the utmost patience and courtesy. To E. F. Parmelee, business manager of the *San Diego Union*, apologies are due, as well as sincere thanks, for he allowed his office to be cumbered for weeks at a time with desk and typewriter while the newspaper files were being searched in the interest of this work. Mrs. Davison, Librarian of the San Diego Public Library, the authorities of the University Library, at Berkeley, and the State Librarian at Sacramento, co-operated in securing rare volumes needed for consultation. To these, and to many other persons, who helped in various ways, and especially to living pioneers who supplied recollections of men and events (their names are mentioned in connection with their stories in the text), the author's warmest thanks are tendered.

The project of writing this work originated not with me, but with Nathan Watts, who has long felt a deep interest in our local history and who has been strongly impressed with the importance of collecting and preserving authentic records of the past, and especially the recollections of old settlers, while it was yet possible to do so. Mr. Watts has been the constant friend of the enterprise, and is entitled to a very large share of any credit that may be due for the performance.

It is also with much pleasure that I acknowledge my indebtedness to my chief assistant in the preparation of this volume, Millard F. Hudson. An indefatigable scholar and worker, the book could not have been produced at this time, nor at any time with the degree of thoroughness with which I am sure it has been done, without the assistance derived from his enthusiasm, intelligence, and devotion. Much of the narrative portion of the work stands substantially as he prepared it in his full notes of interviews and abstracts from documents and other authoritative sources. This being so, he is to be regarded as joint-author of the work.

Finally, grateful acknowledgment must be made to nearly one hundred prominent citizens whose generosity and civic pride prompted them to subscribe various sums toward a publication fund. It was realized at the beginning that the production of a volume entailing an expenditure of several thousand dollars, and wholly devoid of "paid biographies" and commercial "write-ups," could not be hazarded on the prospects of sales within a limited field. The financial problem was solved by subscriptions for books at prices in excess of the publisher's rate to the public. These prices are of various amounts voluntarily fixed by the subscribers, but sufficient in the aggregate to reduce the risk of publication to a point where it becomes feasible. Nothing in the book is influenced in the slightest degree by pecuniary considerations. No one has been included in text or illustration because he subscribed to the publication fund, nor has any one been omitted because he failed to do so. The effort has been to produce real history and real literature, and to measure men and events by no other standard.

Writing the book in the course of my profession as a literary man, it has yet been largely a labor of love, and I hope it may be regarded in the future as a service to a people who have honored me with constant evidences of their friendship, and even as a modest memorial to my citizenship among them.

WILLIAM E. SMYTHE.

San Diego, California,
January 1, 1907.

INTRODUCTION

THE HISTORICAL PRE-EMINENCE OF SAN DIEGO

THE CIVILIZATION of California, and of the whole Western Coast now belonging to the United States, began on the shores of San Diego Bay. What Plymouth is to New England and the region facing the Atlantic, San Diego is to the great empire which faces the Pacific.

This fact is not appreciated as it deserves to be by readers of history generally, nor by the people of California, nor even by the people of San Diego. Here by the Southwestern Gateway of the Republic should be one of the great shrines of historical America, where pilgrims should come by thousands to pay homage to the past, and where monuments should be erected by this generation, to be bequeathed to the keeping of generations yet to come.

Plymouth and San Diego! Each the scene of the first enduring settlement on its own side of the continent; each the offspring of religious zeal; each planted by those who, building better than they knew, became the pioneers of a movement which contributed immeasurably to the betterment of mankind; and each showing the way for millions to carve homes from the wilderness—the one by clearing the forest, the other by irrigating the desert!

Nor is this the whole of San Diego's claim to everlasting distinction in human history. Not only was it the birthplace of civilization on the Pacific Coast of the United States, but it was also the scene of the first discovery of that coast by the Spanish explorers of the Sixteenth Century. Thus it happened that the first European footprint was indelibly impressed on the shores of San Diego Bay. Surely, there is no other spot so precious in the entire continental expanse from Plymouth Rock to Point Loma! This leads me to ask if there is any logical relation between the history of such a city and its future growth.

It is unquestionably true that mere priority of settlement, even when this priority is a matter of large historical consequence, does not guarantee the growth, nor even the permanence, of a community. Jamestown in Virginia, where English-speaking men first built their homes in America, long since perished from the earth, leaving barely enough ruins to mark the site. Even at Plymouth, where the community has enjoyed a vigorous and continuous existence since 1620, there was a population of less than ten thousand, according to the census of 1900. On the other hand, the metropolis of New England has grown up where John Winthrop colonized his English followers in 1630, and the metropolis of the nation has developed where the Dutch founded New Amsterdam in 1623.

There can be little question that priority of settlement and its resulting historical pre-eminence are assets of extraordinary value when joined to the possession of great natural advantages. There was no good reason why Plymouth should become a large city, for neither agriculture, commerce, nor manufactures belonged to it by natural right. Jamestown was destroyed in the so-called Bacon's Rebellion of 1676, and never afterwards rebuilt, because there were much better locations elsewhere. But Boston and New York enjoyed strategic locations and were thus able to reap the benefits of their early settlement and the fame which it brought them. It is to the latter class that San Diego belongs. Hence, its historical pre-eminence ought to count heavily as a factor in its future growth and ultimate greatness.

Western cities do not patiently await the slow accretions of time. They reckon in decades where the older cities of the East measure their growth by centuries. Their effort at advancement takes the form of fierce competition among themselves in seeking to attract the attention of the outside world as a means of reinforcing their capital and recruiting their citizenship. In California, this competition is more conspicuously in evidence than anywhere else in the United States. San Diego, alone, can challenge the attention of the world by saying:

Here came the Spanish discoverer to behold for the first time the Pacific Coast of what is now the United States. Here, too, is the Plymouth of the West, where the European first built his home and reared the Cross. Here was the first town, the first irrigation ditch, the first cultivated field, the first school, and the first of those historic missions which ushered in the Christian era in California. And here we are building a mighty city as an everlasting monument to the Pilgrim Fathers of the West.

If the publication of this work could be attended by a result above all others gratifying to me, it would fix the historical pre-eminence of San Diego as firmly and clearly in the public mind as the historical pre-eminence of Plymouth has been established for many generations by its faithful historians. And if it could produce a further result in line with this, it would inspire the people of San Diego to the preservation of all the precious landmarks of the early time and the creation of enduring memorials worthy of their history. With the rise of the city to a place of commanding influence in the new world of the Pacific, and the dawn of a new era in the development of the vast region which traces the beginnings of its history to this spot, the time has come when San Diego can no longer afford to be careless of its past, any more than it can afford to neglect its future. And it is quite undeniable that San Diego has been careless of its past. Not only so, but it has tamely acquiesced in similar carelessness on the part of those whose business it is to record the truth of history and to preserve the priceless evidences of civilized man's earliest dominion on these shores.

Even the name of Cabrillo is but little known to American school children, still less to general readers. What is yet more strange, the name of this historic man is neglected by the compilers of encyclopedias and biographical dictionaries. You may consult standard works of reference without discovering the man who discovered California. Sir Francis Drake has been more fortunate and reaped a larger renown for a performance of less value, as historical values are usually reckoned. San Diego owes it to its own fame, as well as to Cabrillo's, to celebrate the achievement of the pioneer navigator and to erect a splendid memorial in his honor. As Farragut stands guard in Madison Square, and as Colonel Shaw yet marches among his men in St. Gaudens' noble monument fronting the Boston State House, so Juan Rodriquez Cabrillo should look upon the faces of passing generations of Californians in one of the public places of San Diego.

The Old Presidio Hill, overlooking Old Town, should be perpetually preserved and made the object of sacred and loving care, for upon that hill the first home and the first church were builded, and there the music of the mission bell first broke the silence.

The hand of decay, now lying so heavily upon the Mission establishment which dominated San Diego and its surroundings for seventy years, should be sharply arrested, for the complete obliteration of that eloquent ruin is unthinkable to men and women who have any reverence for the past.

The battle-field of San Pasqual should be marked in some appropriate way; and there are a score of other simple acts which should be performed by a people who stand between the past and the future and whose obligations extend to both.

Most important and beautiful of all, at some sightly point in the great park, a noble monument should be reared by Protestant hands to the memory of the Catholic Fathers.

Through these pages, I trust it is given me to speak not only to a present citizenship, but to a future citizenship who shall hereafter dwell upon the sunny slopes of San Diego and come into a great heritage of memories and achievement. And to the men and women of a later time, as to those of today, I would say: Guard well the City's fame, and the fame of the men whose toils and sacrifices gave it birth.

MEDALLION GIVEN AN INDIAN GIRL BY FATHER SERRA

PART FIRST

Period of Discovery and Mission Rule

CHAPTER I.

THE SPANISH EXPLORERS

STAND upon the heights in the sunny afternoon and turn your eyes to the dazzling waste of waters, and, with the slightest exercise of imagination, you may see them yet—those Spanish ships that crept up the coast, then headed for the Silver Gate, in September, 1542. Quaint craft they were, with their round bows and square sterns and their poop decks rising in the air, so that they seemed about as high as they were long. Although small when compared with the standards of today — only three or four hundred tons — there was a certain grandeur about them which does not attach to the modern liner. Somehow, they suggested the poverty-stricken Spanish gentleman who manages to keep his pomp and pride on an empty stomach. For there were paint and gold, carvings and emblazonry of armorial bearings, but there was probably very little to eat, especially in the forecastle.

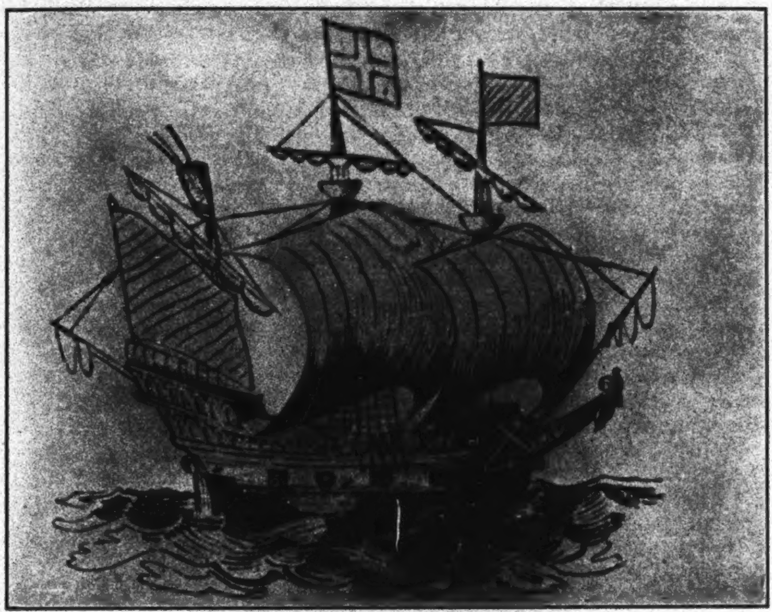
It is a marvel that they could make long voyages in those days. The ships were clumsy, hard to handle, capable of carrying but a small spread of canvas in anything approaching a strong breeze, and sailed sidewise almost as well as forward. They seemed to invite every peril that goes with the sea. Besides, the lack of condensed foods, of facilities for refrigeration, and of sanitary knowledge, entailed hardship and privation upon those who set out upon long voyages into regions of the earth but vaguely known. It is little wonder that sailors died like flies from causes which were comprehensively characterized as scurvy, though in many cases the trouble was simply starvation. And yet those two ships which had pitched and rolled along their uncertain way from Mexico made a brave sight as they swept in upon the smooth waters of San Diego Bay and dropped their anchors under the shelter of Point Loma. They were the first ships that ever rested on those waters — the *San Salvador* and the *Victoria* — and a new era had dawned upon the world of the Pacific when Juan Rodriquez Cabrillo, a Portuguese navigator in the service of Spain, looked up and down the bay, around the encircling shores, and then to the hills and mountains that make the noble background.

It was the last act in the great drama of Spanish discovery which began with Columbus fifty years before. A train of events in which he had no part made Cabrillo the star performer and placed in his hand the laurel of lasting renown. Hernando Cortés had set his heart on exploring the mysterious land which lay to the north of Mexico and was popularly believed to be India. He had expected that this would be the crowning glory of his career, but Charles V. was unwilling to see the figure of Cortés grow larger, lest he should set up an empire of his own and divide the glory of Spain. Thus it happened that Mendoza was made Viceroy of the Spanish possessions in the New World and Cortés returned to complain to the King. He never saw New Spain again, and his dream of northern exploration vanished forever.

One of his former lieutenants, Pedro de Alvarado, had cherished the same ambition and proceeded to build ships as a means of carrying it into effect. He was in favor with the court and with Mendoza, and thus enabled to proceed with his plans. But Fate did not intend that Alvarado should realize the dream of Cortés and become the discoverer of a northern realm. He was drawn into a war with the Mixton Indians in Mexico and killed while assaulting one of their strongholds. Thus it happened that Cabrillo sailed northward from Natividad, Mexico, on June 17, 1542, on the long-deferred voyage of discovery.

Fortunate, indeed, is the discoverer in the quality of his fame. The achievement of the soldier, of the scholar, of the statesman, of the founder of institutions may be surpassed in subsequent times and relegated to comparative obscurity by those who achieve even more greatly; but the claim of the discoverer cannot be superseded. His distinction endures with the lands he brought to light and gains with their growth through the centuries. California is yet in its infancy, so that it may be said that the day of Cabrillo's greatest glory will come in the future.

The historic sailor knew a good harbor when he saw it and was the first of a long line of mariners to realize that the bay of San Diego is a spot favored by nature and destined for great things. "A land-locked and very good harbor," he called it, and gave it the name of San Miguel. On the very day of his arrival, he sent a small boat "farther into the port, which was large." While it was anchored "a very great gale blew from the southwest," but this did not disturb the boat and its occupants. "The port being good, we felt nothing," says the narrative, which is only too meager.



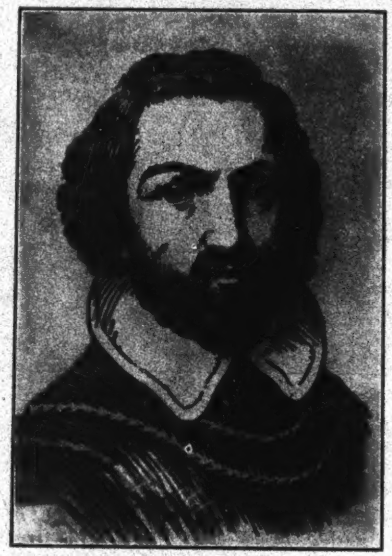
SHIP OF CABRILLO'S TIME

"The ships were clumsy, hard to handle, capable of carrying but a small spread of canvas in anything approaching a strong breeze, and sailed side-wise almost as well as forward."

The explorer sent a party ashore to replenish his supply of water. They landed on Point Loma and followed the river channel until they found a pool. It was the driest season of the year, and then, as now, the San Diego River was a little short of water at that season. It was late in the day when the party set out, and dark when they started to return. They chanced upon the shores of False Bay and looked in vain for the ships. The mistake was natural enough under the circumstances, and the traveller who approaches the city by rail generally falls into the same error of mistaking False Bay for the true bay of San Diego when he catches his first glimpse of the country. The sailors camped for the night, but were found early the next morning by another party and guided back to the ships.

It was not long before the Indian inhabitants discovered the presence of the strangers. Word of the extraordinary event must have passed rapidly from mouth to mouth, and doubtless the story of it was handed down from father to son for many a long year. In the account of the voyage written by one of Cabrillo's companions, and translated and published by the Government in a report of the United States Geographic Surveys in 1879, this interesting statement appears:

> And the following day, in the morning, there came to the ship three large Indians, and by signs they said that there were traveling in the interior men like us, with beards, and clothes and armed like those of the ships, and they made signs that they carried cross-bows and swords, and made gestures with the right arm as if they were throwing lances, and went running in a posture as if riding on horseback, and made signs that they killed many of the native Indians, and that for this they were afraid. This people are well disposed and advanced; they go covered with the skins of animals.



JUAN RODRIQUEZ CABRILLO
Who discovered the Bay of San Diego in September, 1542, and first explored the coast of California

Cabrillo remained but six days in the bay with which his name will be forever associated. He took observations with such imperfect instruments as he had and located the place in latitude 34° 20′ North. (The true latitude is, of course, 32° 41′ 57.6″.) This mistake led to some embarrassment in later times when other navigators tried to find the harbor by means of Cabrillo's notes. The discoverer sailed away for the North, where he died four months later, or January 3, 1543, in consequence of a fall on an island which his companions named in his honor, "Juan Rodriquez." With his last words, he directed his party to go forward with the original plan of exploration. His grave has never been identified, but it is interesting to reflect that his dust is mingled with the soil which he discovered.

The accounts of Cabrillo's achievement slowly percolated to Spain by way of Mexico, but if they produced any excitement it was successfully restrained for a period of nearly two generations. In these days, when the news of a fresh mineral discovery sends thousands rushing into the desert on automobiles, or to the frozen wastes of the Far North in swift steamships, it would seem that human nature in the Sixteenth Century must have been different if it could receive the news of the discovery of a land like California without feeling an irresistible impulse of adventure. The difference, however, was not one of human nature, but of facilities for spreading information and for transporting men and supplies across distances relatively greater than any now known in all the spaces of the world. The development of new countries waits upon events. Not in that time did events call for the utilization of the resources of the Pacific. Fortunately, nature provides an ample margin of resources for the needs of successive generations. When there are no more lands to be discovered, the genius of discovery seeks other channels of expression, and men find new and better ways in which to use lands already in their possession. The discoverer is with us yet, and he will be with those who come after us; but he explores the realms of science, or makes his perilous way to new continents of thought, and so he widens man's dominion of the universe.

It was exactly sixty years before the ships of civilization again appeared off the coast of Southern California. Charles V. passed away without any serious attempt to colonize and develop the region, but during the reign of his son and successor, Philip II., the possibilities of the peninsula of Lower California, and of the northern regions known as Alta California, were much in the royal mind. It is easy to understand why nothing was accomplished. Philip, busy with his European politics and with the terrors of the Inquisition, had neither time nor money to expend upon the conquest of the wilderness. Such efforts as were made came to nothing, but when, in 1598, a merciful providence removed the royal fanatic from his blood-stained throne, Philip III. immediately took steps to improve the Spanish possessions of what is now the Pacific Coast of the United States.

Don Sebastian Viscaino was chosen as Captain-General of the expedition and sailed on May 5, 1602, from the port of Acapulco, with two ships and a frigate, together with a small vessel to be used in exploring shallow waters. He was accompanied by three religious Carmelites, one of whom, Friar Antonio de la Ascension, became the journalist of the expedition and wrote an account of the voyage, which extended to the northern coast of California.

SAN DIEGO DE ALCALA
From whom the Bay and region derived their name

Viscaino pursued his leisurely course northward, stopping at several points in Lower California, and found himself at the picturesque islands which rise abruptly from the sea off San Diego on November 5, 1602, precisely six months after leaving Acapulco. He gave the islands the name which they still bear, the Coronados. It was November 10 when his fleet sailed into the harbor which no white man, save Cabrillo and his companions, had visited before. A survey of the harbor was immediately undertaken, for Viscaino was bent on obtaining exact information as far as it was possible with the facilities at his command, and he was able to leave several maps which constituted a very valuable contribution to the geographical knowledge of the time.

It was he who gave the port its present name, though many people suppose that the name originated with the mission which was established more than a century and a half later, and others suppose it was derived from St. James of the Bible. Because his survey was either begun or ended on November 12—no one knows exactly which, though the former seems more probable—and because that was the day of Saint James of Alcalá (San Diego de Alcalá) Viscaino gave the port the name of San Diego. It would be pleasant to linger on the virtues of this saint, whose best monument is the San Diego of today; but space forbids the digression. Born in a hamlet of the Archbishopric of Seville, Spain, in 1400, he died on November 12, 1463, and was buried in the chapel of his monastery near Toledo, Spain. His sainthood was won by a life of loving service, and may well inspire the city which bears his name to lofty effort in behalf of humanity.

On the day after his arrival the Captain-General organized a party to survey a forest lying "on the Northwest side of the Bay,"—evidently Point Loma. The party was in charge of Ensign Alarcon, and included Captain Pequero, Father Antonio de la Ascension, and eight soldiers. In this forest they found "tall and straight oaks and other trees, some shrubs resembling rosemary, and a great variety of fragrant and wholesome plants." The identity of the spot with Point Loma is further confirmed by the report that "the high ground commanded a view of the whole harbor, which appeared spacious, convenient, and well sheltered," and by the further statement that "to the Northwest of the wood is another harbor," which doubtless refers to False Bay. The forest is described as bordering on San Diego Bay and its dimensions are given as "three leagues in length and half a league in breadth."

The existence of anything approaching a noble forest on the slopes and top of Point Loma in 1602 is a matter of unique interest, in view of the fact that nothing of the sort is found today. But the story is unquestioned by the oldest settlers; indeed, those with whom I have talked confirm it and furnish some evidence to sustain the view. Thus Ephraim W. Morse said:

> Many years ago I saw in the possession of the late Mr. Ensworth of San Diego, a piece of an old book in the Spanish language which gave an account of Viscaino's visit to, and

> his survey of, the Bay of San Diego in 1602. It had neither title-page nor date; consequently I do not know its author. It is stated that at the time of Viscaino's visit there was quite a large grove of oak trees on the slope of the hill on the north side of the bay and flat now known as Roseville, and extending around the point towards the North Bay, which is now called False Bay, and that the valley of the San Diego River from opposite where Old Town now stands, as far up as could be seen from the top of the hill, was a dense willow grove, and that at high tide the waters of the North and South Bays met. It further stated that while the bay was being surveyed, the sailors went up the point of the hill (I suppose about where Judge Robinson was buried) and sat under the oak trees, and washed and mended their clothes.

And Miss Margaret Macgregor, another old settler, says: "There is no doubt that Point Loma was covered with trees [referring to Viscaino's time]. There are now old stumps in the ground there, charred by fire, and the Indians used to dig them out for fuel. The Indians said there was once a heavy forest there, but that it was destroyed by fire. They were live oak stumps. They were not very large—about the same as the other trees on the Point. I would not call it timber. There was a good deal of it—the Point was covered with it."

This testimony finds very strong corroboration in the following article published in the *San Diego Daily World*, June 12. 1873:

> The *Gipsy* yesterday brought into port Captain Bogart. In a conversation with that gentleman some very interesting reminiscences were developed. Captain Bogart first visited San Diego in the *Black Warrior* in 1834, 39 years ago.
>
> In those days the hills about the Playa, and indeed all around San Diego, were covered with a thick growth of oak, such as is found in the Julian mountains now. This was the case, to a very great extent, when Captain Bogart came to San Diego in 1852, as the agent of the Pacific Mail S. S. Co.
>
> He ascribes the destruction of this timber to its liberal use by the native population, and by the crews of vessels trading for hides, in their tanning operations.
>
> He can remember the time when the whole flat, where the race-course is, was covered with a dense willow growth. His memory also goes back to the days when Rose's Canyon, clear to Captain Johnson's, at Peñasquitas, was covered with a liberal forest growth. The tanning operations of the venerable Mr. Rose are responsible for much of this disappearance of timber. We asked Captain Bogart how he accounted for the fact that there were no reminders of the forest growth at the Playa. He replied that he had occasion to cut a road to the Playa once, and came across many stumps. Captain Bogart's accounts agree with the narratives of the old Missionaries, who say that when they came here, nearly a hundred years ago, the site of San Diego was covered with a forest.

Andrew Cassidy thinks there is no doubt that Point Loma was once quite heavily wooded, but is of the opinion that the

Spaniards exaggerated the size of the trees. This is probably the case, for the early tales of their explorations are notoriously full of such exaggeration. The disappearance of the forest in the manner described by Captain Bogart, or by fire, is entirely probable, and is only another instance of the familiar process by which the natural resources of the West have been wasted.

Viscaino ordered a tent to be pitched on shore for religious worship, and then proceeded to clean and tallow his ships. His men were also busy getting wood and water, and a few were employed in keeping guard to prevent any sudden attack by the natives. They obtained water from "a little island of sand," where they dug deep trenches. "During the flood," says the account, "the water was fresh and good, but on the ebb, salt."

Viscaino and his men saw much of the Indians during their brief stay and found them both interesting and friendly. On their first appearance they came in great numbers, armed with bows and arrows. For the most part, they were naked, but their skins were daubed with black and white. Father Antonio went forth to meet them, attended by six soldiers. They responded to his overtures for a peaceful conference. Presents were distributed by the Spaniards, and the Indians went away pleased with the visitors. It is related that "the kind of paint they used looked like a mixture of silver and gold color; and on asking them by signs what it was, they gave them a piece of the metallic ore, from whence they made it." They also signified that they had seen men like the Spaniards in the interior. In return for the food and trinkets which were given them, the Indians left a good many skins of wild animals.

The explorers were delighted with San Diego, and their expressions sound much like those of the tourist of today. They admired the beauty of the scene and appreciated the remarkable climate. They declared that the situation offered "a fine site for a Spanish settlement." Of the mineral possibilities of the country Father de la Ascension wrote: "In the sands of the beach there was a great quantity of marcasite, golden and spongy, which is a clear sign that in the mountains round the port there are gold-mines, because the waters when it rains bring it from the mountains." They also found in the sand masses of a gray light substance, which it was thought might be amber. Some very heavy blue stones with which, when powdered and mixed in water, the natives made shining streaks on their faces, were thought to be rich in silver.

But most of all, the visitors were impressed during their ten days' stay, with the importance of San Diego as a natural seaport. In their whole voyage they found no more perfect harbor, nor any place upon which nature had written more unmistakably the prophecy of a great destiny. In fact, it may be truthfully said that Viscaino and his chroniclers were the first San Diego "boomers." And yet for a period of one hundred and sixty-seven years after this exploration, which added so richly to geographical lore, civilization held aloof from the tempting opportunity. For one hundred and sixty-seven years — what history was made elsewhere in that space of time!—the sun rose and set, the seasons came and went, and the ocean roared along the shore, while this land, which daring explorers had rescued from the unknown, slept in primeval silence. The Indian papooses that Father de la Ascension blessed in 1602 grew to manhood, and their children and children's children lived and passed away, before the white man came again with sword and cross to plant the first seed of institutions which were destined to take root and flourish.

CHAPTER II

BEGINNING OF THE MISSION EPOCH

IT WAS in the year 1769 that Spain finally got ready to reap where her explorers had sown generations before. Carlos III. was King, the Marquis de Croix, a man of great energy and enterprise, was Viceroy of New Spain, Don Joseph de Galvez was Visitador General. The royal order came for occupation of the ports of San Diego and Monterey. And it was high time. Spain could not hope to hold vast territories indefinitely by mere right of discovery, and both England and Russia had eyes upon the Pacific Coast of North America. It was the latter's aggression which was most feared and which probably gave the specific impulse to the new movement.

It is not, however, the name of king or statesman which survives in the popular imagination when the early settlement of San Diego, and the coast line which stretches north of it, is recalled, but the name of an immortal missionary. And it is a fine tribute to the quality of mind and heart which finds its expression in unselfish and loving service that this is so. But as I study the records of the past it seems clear enough that it was the lust of empire far more than religious zeal which led to the pioneer plantings in California. This judgment is no reflection on the Missionary Fathers, who simply availed themselves of a favorable political situation to accomplish designs unquestionably born of a high conception of duty to God and man. But if we seek the motive behind the movement, we find it when we ask ourselves the question: If the Spanish King had not wanted to hold California for the advantage of his empire, would it have been within the power of the Franciscans to found a line of missions from San Diego northward, and thus to lay the foundation-stones of an enduring civilization? The question must be answered in the negative, for the missionaries could not have supplied the necessary ships and soldiers nor the other provisions essential to the great undertaking. Put the question in another way and ask: If there had been no missionaries, and if the Spanish King had still desired to occupy the California coast, could he have done so with the men and money at his command? Unquestionably, he could; but he was wise enough to utilize the enthusiasm and capacity which he found ready to his hand in the shape of the Franciscans and who were the more necessary because the Jesuits had but recently been expelled from their mission holdings in Lower California.

It is important to note the influences which led to the founding of San Diego, and it is the simple truth of history to say that the most vital of these influences was the need of Spanish statecraft to exert itself in order to hold valuable possessions gained in previous centuries by exploration and discovery. If this motive had been absent, San Diego would not have been settled in 1769, nor perhaps by those who spoke the Spanish tongue. Its history might have been entirely different. It might have been settled by Russians, or by Englishmen, or it might have slept on until a new nation — almost at that hour in travail on the Atlantic Coast of North America — sent its pioneers across the plains and mountains to give a new and strange flag to the breeze.

CARLOS III

King of Spain when the Spanish soldiers and missionaries made the original settlement at San Diego, 1769

It is true, of course, that for many years the missionaries had urged the King to lend his assistance to the conversion of the gentiles of the North, and that a Catholic nation like Spain, always influenced by the Papacy, would naturally give heed to the claims of the faith. But while this was doubtless taken into account, it was clearly secondary to considerations of empire. Nevertheless, when the time for action came, a great man, garbed in the cassock of the priest, stood ready to sow the seed of a harvest which men are now but beginning to reap.

Junípero Serra was fifty-six years old when the opportunity came to him. He had been trained from childhood for the work he was to do. Born on the Mediterranean Island of Mallorca, in the humblest circumstances, he was benevolent and devout even in his youth and seemed to have had no other thought than to do good. He became a Franciscan friar at sixteen and the enthusiasm of the boy gradually evolved into the burning passion of the man for the salvation of souls. He sought the blackest midnight of ignorance that he might spread the light of his faith the most widely, and his quest brought him to the North American Indian. For many years he labored in Mexico, among the Missions of the Sierra Gorda, and penetrated to the farthest frontiers. When he heard of the expulsion of the Jesuits from Lower California, he feared that the Indians in that country would relapse into utter barbarism, and hastened to occupy the field before this calamity could occur. It was thus that Galvez found him on the ground, ready to cooperate in the scheme of settlement and to raise the Cross under the protection of the sword.

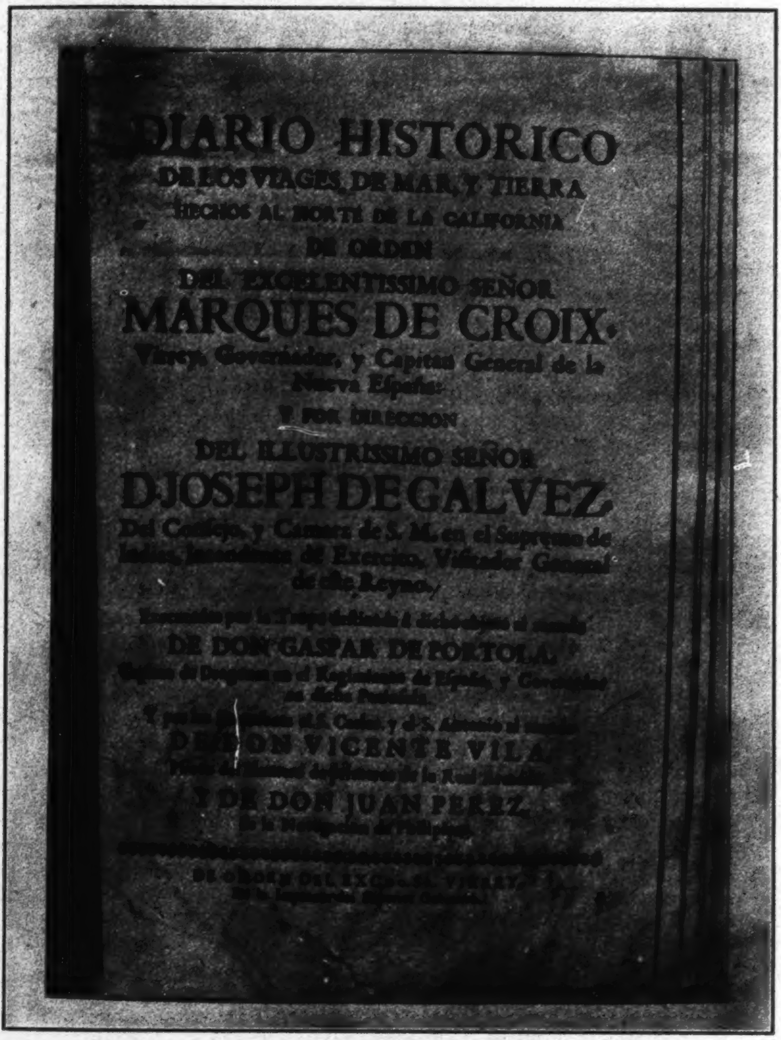
In October, 1768, the two leaders met at Santa Ana, Mexico, to develop their plans in detail. It seems clear that Galvez was the master mind at the conference, but that the priest assented heartily to all his suggestions. When they separated a perfect understanding had been reached and both proceeded to push the organization of the expedition with the utmost vigor. The early days of 1769 found plans well advanced and the hour for the actual beginning of the movement close at hand. It was the work of Galvez to get the ships ready for the voyage and to direct the organization of the military parties who were to go by land and sea; and the work of Father Serra to select the priests who were to go, some by sea and some by land, to engage in the founding of the new missions. There was much to be done in securing furniture, ornaments, and vestments for the churches which were to be established. It was arranged that these things, together with implements, live stock, grain, and other food, should be taken from the old Jesuit establishments, now fallen into the hands of the Franciscans, and that with the exception of the few articles to be accepted as gifts, they should be religiously repaid in kind. Thus the old missions were called upon to support the new, after the Jesuit custom.

On January 9, 1769, the *San Cárlos* sailed from La Paz, after the performance of impressive religious ceremonies at which Father Serra presided. The *San Antonio* sailed from San José del Cabo on February 15th, and the third vessel, the *San Jose,* followed many months later, but went to "the Port of Missing Ships." It was never heard of again.

The land parties went forward from points where they had been assembled on the Peninsula in the month of March, one proceeding under the leadership of Governor Portolá, and the other under Captain Rivera. Father Serra had expected to go with Portolá, but when the time came it found him suffering keenly from an ulcerous sore on his foot, contracted during a long journey in Mexico the previous year. He was thus compelled to see the party start without him, but he followed soon after and overtook Portolá on May 5th. The effort cost him much pain and lends a touch of real heroism to a journey which was otherwise unmarked by any special hardship. The sore was healed in a single night by an ointment of tallow and herbs such as was commonly applied to beasts, but the ointment was supplemented by his own prayers and his touching faith in their efficacy. The cure was only partial; he suffered from the infirmity to the day of his death.

Very good accounts of the progress of the expedition, on both land and water, were kept by several of the participants, including Father Serra himself. These have been preserved and made accessible to students, some of the most important of the translation having been accomplished by Charles F. Lummis, the most competent and tireless student of early California history. But though the accounts are remarkably complete, it is not until the story reaches San Diego that they are of special interest to us.

Although the *San Antonio* had sailed over a month later than the *San Carlos,* it was the first to arrive at its destination. Misled by Cabrillo's error in placing the port two degrees farther north than its true latitude, both ships went as far as Santa Barbara Channel and then turned south on discovering the mistake. The *San Antonio* sailed through the Silver Gate and dropped anchor in the harbor, April 11th. Two of her crew had died, and many were ill, from scurvy. But the condition of the *San Carlos,* which followed on April 29th, was very much worse. Only four sailors were able to stand at their post and half the troops were also down with the wretched disease. The men were just able to reach port and had no energy left to lower a boat and go ashore. Their plight was soon discovered by the



DIARIO HISTORICO
DE LOS VIAGES DE MAR, Y TIERRA
HECHOS AL NORTE DE LA CALIFORNIA
DE ORDEN
DEL EXCELENTISSIMO SEÑOR
MARQUES DE CROIX,
Virey, Governador, y Capitan General de la
Nueva España:
Y POR DIRECCION
DEL ILLUSTRISSIMO SEÑOR
D. JOSEPH DE GALVEZ,
Del Consejo, y Camara de S. M. en el Supremo de
Indias, Intendente de Exercito, Visitador General
de este Reyno,
Executados por la Tropa destinada á dichos objetos al mando
DE DON GASPAR DE PORTOLA,
Capitan de Dragones en el Regimiento de España, y Governador
en dicha Peninsula:
Y por los Paquebots el S. Carlos, y el S. Antonio al mando
DE DON VICENTE VILA
[illegible]
Y DE DON JUAN PEREZ,
De la Navegacion de Philipinas.
DE ORDEN DEL EXC.mo S.r VIRREY.
[illegible]

FACSIMILE OF THE TITLE PAGE OF THE COSTANSO
Diary of the Spanish officer who served as historian of the expedition of 1769

captain and crew of the *San Antonio*, who proceeded to remove the sick sailors and soldiers to a rude hospital which they had improvised on the shore. Like the early explorers, they were charmed with the port and its surroundings and soon became enthusiastic over the prospects of settlement. "A country of joyous aspect," they called it, and no one has improved upon the phrase.

One of the most valuable records of the time was that left by Costansó, a civil engineer and cosmographer of the expedition, who came on the *San Carlos*. He gives an interesting account of the Indians, who were present in large numbers to witness what must have been a most exciting scene for them—the arrival of the first white settlers. The Indians were very shy, at first, but it seemed absolutely necessary for the Spaniards to make their acquaintance without delay, since they had urgent need to obtain a fresh supply of water. The water question appears early in the annals of San Diego, and stays late!

The Indians were finally induced to parley and, after presents had been distributed among them, undertook to show the strangers where they could find a flowing stream. "They went a matter of three leagues," says Costansó, "until they arrived on the banks of a river hemmed in on either bank by a fringe of willows and cottonwoods, very leafy. Its channel must have been twenty varas wide [about 55 feet] and it discharges into an estuary which at high tide would admit the launch and made convenient the accomplishing of taking on of water." This was, of course, the San Diego River, and it is evident that there had been a fair rainfall in the Winter of 1769. A good-sized Indian village was found in the valley, and Costansó leaves us this item of society gossip: "These natives are of good figure, well-built and agile. They go naked without more clothing than a girdle of ixtle or very fine maguey fiber, woven in the form of a net." After a better acquaintance with them, he drew this picture of the Indians: "They are of haughty temper, daring, covetous, great jesters and braggarts; although of little valor, they make great boast of their powers, and hold the most vigorous for most valiant. They greatly crave whatsoever rag; but when we have clothed different ones of them on repeated occasions, they would present themselves the following day stark naked."

The temporary pest house or hospital erected for the accommodation of the sick sailors stood at what is now the foot of H street. It was a rude affair, made of canvas. A third of those who had come on the *San Carlos* died before the ravages of the scurvy were stayed. They were buried there, and henceforth the place was known on the Spanish charts of the harbor as Punta de los Muertos, or Dead Man's Point.

It was on the 14th of May that Captain Rivera arrived with the first land party. This consisted of twenty-five soldiers, from the Presidio of Lereto; Father Juan Crespí, José Canizares, who had been designated to write a diary of the land trip, three muleteers, and a band of converted natives who had been drawn from one of the missions in the South. The natives were brought along for the purpose of performing the drudgery. The party had been fifty-one days on the march without incurring any special hardship. As they approached San Diego they met many of the gentile Indians, and when they came in sight of the ships and camp they were welcomed by a salute of fire-arms.

Rivera proceeded at once to establish a more permanent camp, moving it from the present site of the city to the neighborhood of what is now known as Old Town, in order to be near the river. The exact location of this first attempt at a permanent camp is not entirely clear. Costanso says it was on the "right bank of the river," and, if he used the term as it is now understood, he must have referred to the north bank of the stream. There is a tradition in Old Town to the effect that the camp was on the north side, though the more general impression seems to be that it was on the south side, not far from the famous old palms. The camp was fortified, a few rude huts built, and a corral made for the animals. Here the whole party was busy for six weeks, attending the sick and unloading supplies from the *San Antonio*. It was here that the second land party found them when it reached San Diego at the end of June. Governor Portolá arrived June 29th in advance of his men, and Father Serra just before noon, July 1st. Besides the leaders, the party included nine or ten soldiers, four muleteers, two servants of the Governor and the President, and forty-four natives of Lower California.

The personal letter which Father Serra sent to Father Palou, his intimate friend and biographer, supplies an account of the expedition which will always be regarded as one of the most precious memorials of San Diego history. The letter in full is as follows:

> My Dear Friend and Sir:
>
> Thank God I arrived the day before yesterday, at this port of San Diego, truly a fine one, and with reason famous. Here I found those who had set out before me, by sea as well as by land, excepting such as died on the way. The brethren, Fathers Crespi, Viscaino, Parro, and Gomez are here and, with myself, all well, thanks be to God. Here also are two vessels; but the *San Carlos* is without seamen, all having died except one and the cook. The *San Antonio*, although she sailed a month and a half later, arrived twenty days before the *San Carlos*, losing on the voyage eight seamen. In consequence of this loss, the *San Antonio* will return to San Blas, to procure

seamen for herself and the *San Carlos*. The causes of the delay of the *San Carlos* were, first, the want of water, and, second, the error which all were in respecting the situation of this port. They supposed it to be in thirty-three or thirty-four degrees north latitude; and strict orders were given to Captain Vila and the rest to keep out in the open sea till they should arrive in thirty-four degrees, and then make the shore in search of the port. As, however, the port in reality lies in 32 deg. 43 min. according to observations which have now been made they went far beyond the port, thus making the voyage much longer than was necessary. The people got daily worse from the cold and the bad water; and they must all have perished, if they had not discovered the port about the time they did; for they were quite unable to launch the boat to procure more water, or to do anything whatever for their preservation. The Father Fernando did everything in his power to relieve the sick; and although he arrived much reduced in flesh, he had not the disorder, and is now well. We have not suffered hunger or privations, nor have the Indians who came with us; all have arrived fat and healthy.

FATHER JUNIPERO SERRA

The immortal missionary who founded the settlement of San Diego, in co-operation with Spanish governor and soldier, Portola

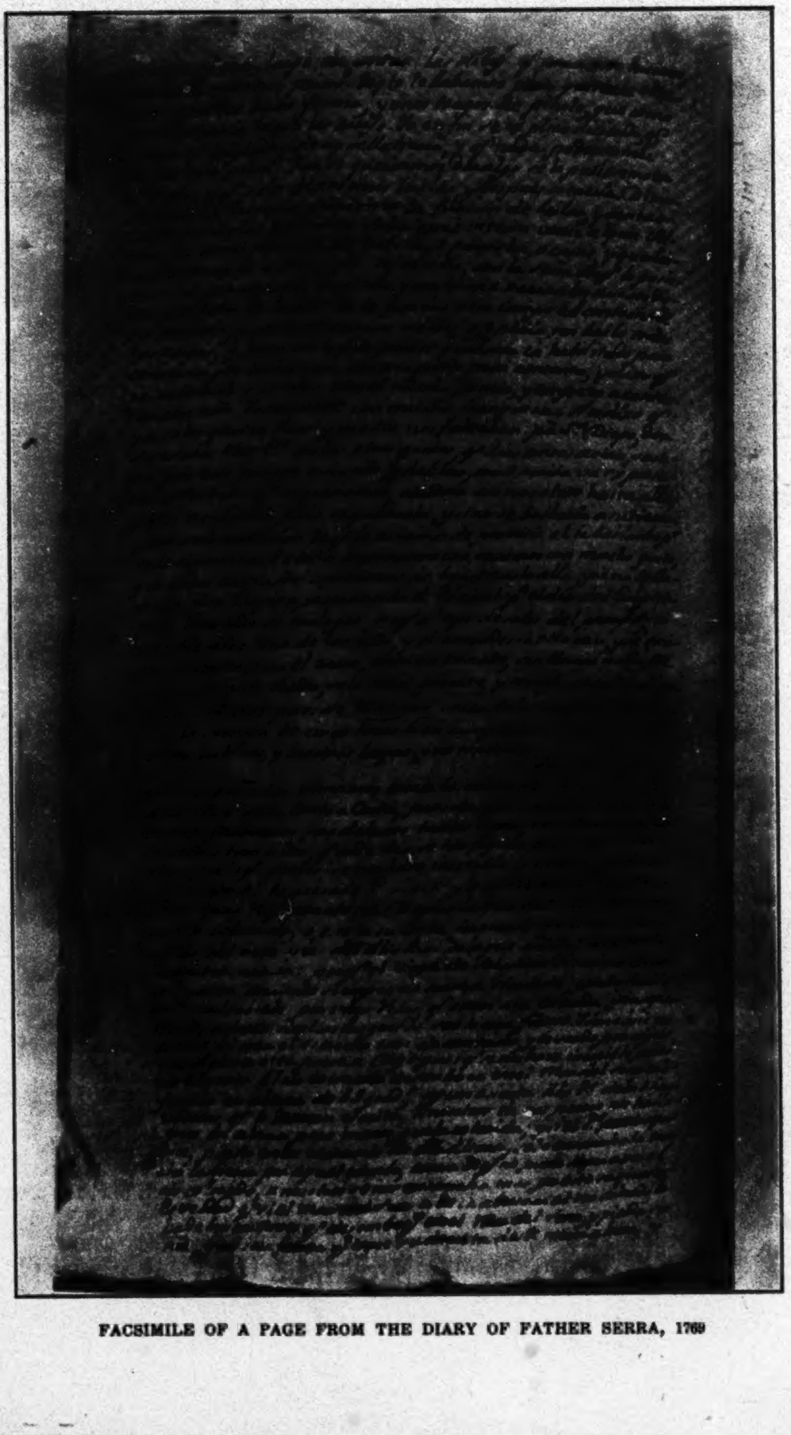
The tract through which we have passed is generally very good land, with plenty of water; and there, as well as here, the

> country is neither rocky nor overcome with brushwood. There are, however, many hills, but they are composed of earth. The road has been in many places good, but the greater part bad. About half way, the valleys and banks of rivulets began to be delightful. We found vines of a large size and in some cases quite loaded with grapes; we also found abundance of roses, which appeared to be the same as those of Castile. In fine, it is a good country and very different from that of Old California [meaning the Peninsula].
>
> We have seen Indians in immense numbers; and all those on this coast of the Pacific contrive to make a good subsistence on various seeds and by fishing; this they carry on by means of rafts or canoes made of tule [bulrush], with which they go a great way to sea. They are very civil. All the males, old and young, go naked; the women, however, and even the female children, were decently covered from their breasts downwards. We found in our journey, as well as in the places where we stopped, that they treated us with as much confidence and good will as if they had known us all their lives; but when we offered them any of our victuals, they always refused them. All they cared for was cloth; and only for something of this sort would they exchange their fish or whatever else they had.
>
> From this port and intended mission of San Diego, in Northern California, 3rd July, 1769. I kiss the hands of your Reverence, and am your affectionate brother and servant.
>
> Fr. Junipero Serra.

Between the lines of this remarkable letter glows the optimism of the great missionary, and something of that enthusiasm for the region and its possibilities which is felt by all who come within its influence. If nothing save this letter had come down to us from the memorable summer of 1769, we should not have been left in ignorance of the fate of the expedition, nor of the aspect of the country and its inhabitants.

With the arrival of Father Serra, the great project of Galvez scored its historic success, a fact which reflected the highest credit upon the man who had planned it to the last detail. He never saw the country himself, but he set the forces in motion which saved it for his king and his flag, at least for a time, and thus he deserves lasting remembrance among the fathers of California. The success of his plans in uniting the four branches of the expedition at San Diego furnished a base from which the larger scheme of settlement could be carried along the coast.

The work of establishing a real settlement began with the least possible delay. The place selected was "a point of middling height," as Costanso called it, a hill overlooking Old Town now known as Presidio Hill, on the site of an Indian village called "Cosoy." Standing there today upon the ruins, one can well understand why this spot was chosen and cannot fail to admire the judgment which dictated the choice. It is conveniently located both as to the harbor and as to the indispensable



FACSIMILE OF A PAGE FROM THE DIARY OF FATHER SERRA, 1769 water in the river, and it commands the valley on one hand, and the shore of the bay, on the other, so as to be reasonably safe from attack from either of those directions. It was easy to fortify, and it has a sightly outlook upon land and sea. The soil is deep and rich, and therefore well adapted to support the gardens and orchards which are always a part of mission establishments.

Here, in the space of little more than two weeks, rude earthworks were thrown up as the nucleus of a presidio or fort, houses that were little more than huts were hastily constructed, and the largest one set apart as the mission building. Everything was ready on the 16th of July for the dedication of the first mission on the soil of California. It was named the Mission of San Diego and the old record declares that it was built at the expense "of the Catholic monarch, Don Carlos III., King of Spain, whom God prosper, defrayed under most ample authority from his Excellency, Don Carlos Francisco de Croix, Marqués de Croix, present Viceroy, Governor, and Captain-General of this New Spain, by the most Illustrious Don Joseph de Galvez, of the Council and Chamber of his Majesty in the royal and supreme of the Indies, Intendent of the Army, and Visitador General of this New Spain, by the religious of said Apostolic College, San Fernando of Mexico."

The ceremonies attending the dedication were as elaborate and pompous as circumstances permitted. The military and naval officers were on hand with their troops, who strove to make up in dignity what they lacked in numbers. Father Serra and his priests performed their part with the utmost reverence and solemnity, praying that they might "put to flight all the hosts of hell and subject to the mild yoke of our holy faith the barbarity of the gentile Dieguinos." The Cross was raised, the royal standard thrown to the breeze, incense sent up from a temporary altar, and, from the branches of a convenient tree, the mission bell rang out upon the stillness of the valley.

This was the true natal day of San Diego—July 16, 1769. The life of the settlement dates from that moment. Presidio Hill, with its mouldering, tile-strewn ruins, is historic ground and should be preserved as such, forever. It is the birthplace of civilization on the Pacific Coast of the United States.

CHAPTER III

THE TAMING OF THE INDIAN

FATHER SERRA and his associates now stood at the threshold of their real work—the taming of the Indian—and a stupendous task it must have seemed, even to the optimistic minds of the missionaries. They were a long distance from any reliable base of supplies, and the means of communication were most uncertain. The country itself produced practically nothing, as yet, for their subsistence. The climate, of course, was glorious, but it has been proved again and again that men cannot live on climate, even in San Diego. Water and fuel they had in abundance, and supplies to last them a few months; but beyond this they must create the situation which should make permanent settlement possible. In order to do so successfully, they must convert the Indian in a double sense, for it was not enough to bring him to the foot of the Cross; he must also be converted to habits of industry and made a useful member of civilized society. No one but an enthusiast like Junípero Serra, equipped with a fund of experience in similar work, could possibly have contemplated the undertaking with anything like confidence in the result, and even the stout heart of that great teacher and lover was sorely tried before the seed took root and began to flourish.

The Indians who swarmed about the bay of San Diego were, apparently, as poor material as ever came to the social mill. All the early observers, except the missionaries, spoke of them with contempt. Humboldt classed them with the inhabitants of Van Diemen's Land, who, of all human beings, seemed nearest to the brute. Neither physically nor intellectually did they compare with the Indians of Eastern America nor with those whom the settlers encountered in the region of the Mississippi and its tributaries. No one ever called the San Diego Indian "the noble red man," for he was neither noble nor red, but a covetous, thievish, and sneaking creature, of a brownish complexion, something like the soil. There were no orators among them and, it is to be feared, very few brave men, for when they fought they acted like a pack of cowards. They never attacked an enemy except in overwhelming numbers, and they ran like so many curs before the snap of a whip the moment their enemy obtained a momentary advantage.

It is unpleasant to speak harshly of the poor creatures, but no just appreciation of what the missionaries accomplished in later years can be had unless we begin with a true estimate of the human material they had to deal with in building their institutions. It was very poor material, and the Mission Fathers did exceedingly well in moulding it into some semblance of civilization.

The Indians had their homes in rude huts, made of sticks and mud, and generally grouped in villages. Some of these villages were large, containing hundreds of huts, with a population which often reached a thousand or more. They were governed by hereditary chiefs, with a captain in each village. They had some simple laws, which were made from time to time to meet conditions as they arose, and the death penalty was inflicted for certain crimes. The method of execution was shooting with arrows. Prisoners of war were cruelly tormented in the presence of the assembled chiefs. Marriage customs were quite similar to those now common among Southwestern Indians, and punishment for infidelity fell exclusively upon the wife. They had a vague, instinctive belief in a supreme being, and they showed much reverence for certain animals. The owl, for example, was held in esteem, and the porpoise was regarded as an intelligent being, intrusted with the duty of guarding the world.

The men went naked, but the women wore some clothing, for sake of decency, yet furnished scant patronage for the dressmaker. They wore a single garment of deer skin, or were clad in braided strands of rabbit skins, which hung to the knees. Frequently the garment was adorned with bright beads or grasses, for even Indian women had some concern for their appearance and desired to make themselves attractive. They painted, of course, after their own fashion, smearing their faces with colored mud.

The Indian diet cannot be recommended, for they were fond of rats, ground-owls and snakes, and regarded a large, fat locust, roasted on a stick, as a particular delicacy. They caught plenty of fish, and knew how to cook them; and they had all sorts of game, together with many things which grew wild in the vegetable kingdom. On the whole, they lived pretty well, and it was the life of one large family, generally quite peaceful, but sometimes marred by fierce tribal wars.

The *San Antonio* had sailed for San Blas on July 9th, leaving the *San Carlos* in the harbor to await its return with seamen to take the places of those who had fallen by scurvy and now slept in the sands along the shore. Portolá had marched northward to Monterey on the 14th. The little settlement was

FAMOUS PALMS OF OLD TOWN
Planted at the foot of Presidio Hill (which appears in background) in 1769, and unquestionably the first palms ever planted in California

alone in the wilderness. There were forty persons, all told, including priests, soldiers, sick sailors, and Indians from Lower California.

With the dedication of the Presidio and the Mission, the first institutions had been established in what is now the State of California. These institutions were typical of Spanish civilization — the soldier and the priest working side by side, but always with the sword above the Cross in point of authority. It was essentially a military government, and the commandant was empowered to deal out justice, civil and criminal. The San Diego garrison was always pitiably weak and could never have protected the Spanish title to the country against any serious attack. In fact, the whole military establishment along the coast, after the four districts of San Diego, Santa Barbara, Monterey, and San Francisco had been organized, was a mere shell, with less than two hundred soldiers. There were, in addition, a few mechanics and numerous native laborers. Each soldier had a broadsword, lance, shield, musket, and pistols, together with six horses, a colt, and a mule. As settlement increased, the carrying of the mails between the missions was the most arduous and useful service the soldiers performed.

Father Serra and his associate minister, Father Parron, found it very difficult to make Indian converts. It was no task to assemble the natives, for they swarmed to Presidio Hill in such large numbers as to become a nuisance. They had well-developed bumps of curiosity and were persistent beggars, but, fortunately, they were afraid of the strangers' food. They would have none of it, for they imagined it was the food the Spaniards ate which made so many of them sick. It is dreadful to think what would have happened to the white men if the Indians had liked their food as much as their cloth and trinkets — they would have been eaten out of house and home! As it was, the Indians became so obnoxious that trouble could not be avoided. They tried to plunder the *San Carlos*, and it was necessary to keep a guard constantly on board to protect the ship.

The trouble reached its acute stage on August 15th, when the new settlement was a month old. It was a feast-day and Father Parron was saying mass on the ship, with a guard of two soldiers. During his absence, the Indians burst into the Mission and proceeded to strip the clothing from the beds of the sick. Four soldiers rushed to repel them, but they were greeted with a volley of arrows. A boy was killed — he was José María Vegerano, the first person of white blood to die a violent death in San Diego — and the blacksmith was wounded. Serra and his fellow-priest, Viscaino, had just finished mass and were sitting together in the hut. Viscaino rose to shut the door and received an arrow in the hand at the moment when the boy staggered in and fell dead at Serra's feet. The four soldiers gave the Indians a volley of musket-balls and the blacksmith fought like a demon. The Indians ran away, notwithstanding their superior numbers, but they had the assurance to return soon and request medical aid for their wounded.

The Indians had made the acquaintance of gunpowder and it did them good, for they behaved much better after that adventure. Nevertheless, the good Fathers had the wisdom to erect a stockade around the Mission and to make a rule forbidding the savages to come inside without first depositing their weapons. The Indians continued very neighborly, yet none embraced the faith. This does not seem remarkable in view of the fact that the missionaries could not converse with them intelligibly, having to rely wholly upon sign language at first. Even when one of their men had mastered the savage tongue sufficiently to act as interpreter, they were still unable to enroll a single neophyte. So far as known, this was absolutely the most discouraging experience the missionaries had ever had, for nearly a year had passed without one conversion. But that was not the worst of it. Converts could wait but mouths must be fed. The supplies were dwindling while sickness increased.

Those were gloomy days on Presidio Hill — the Summer and Fall of 1769 — in spite of the smiling sky and genial atmosphere. No converts, no progress toward cultivating the soil, no white sails on the horizon to tell of returning ships from Mexico — nothing but sickness and death and the chill portent of coming disaster. Of the forty whom Portolá had left when he marched away, nineteen died before he returned, and the survivors were heartsick with the sad work of laying them in their graves. Of those who died, eight were soldiers, four sailors, six Indians, and one a servant. No wonder the savages wanted none of their food!

On January 24, 1770, the disheartened party of twenty souls living within the stockade on Presidio Hill was startled by a discharge of musketry. It was Portolá and his men, returning from their futile search for Monterey. But they brought small comfort for Father Serra. Portolá had accomplished nothing in the North; he could not see that Serra had accomplished anything in the South, and he declared that San Diego ought to be abandoned while there were yet supplies enough to enable the party to get back to civilization. Poor Junípero Serra was heart-broken at the decision. He was not a soldier of the flag, seeking to win territory for his King, but a soldier of the Cross, seeking to win souls for his God. He could not abandon the gentiles of California to the fate of the heathen, and while he acknowledged the worldly wisdom of Portolá's advice, there is every reason to believe that his own private decision was to stay at every cost and, if need be, to offer his life as a sacrifice on the altar of the Mission of San Diego. For Portolá spoke from without, and Junípero Serra only obeyed the Voice Within.

Nevertheless, preparations were made for the abandonment, and March 19th was fixed as the day for the formal ending of the work which had been so auspiciously begun in the previous July. But one thing could save San Diego now — not only San Diego, but California as well, for Galvez had planned the conquest of the whole coast. This one thing was the timely return of the *San Antonio* which had been so long awaited in vain that no one now expected it—no one, save the immortal priest. He went up to the hilltop on that fateful morning and turned his eyes to the sea as the sun rose. All day long he watched the waste of waters as they lay there in the changing light. It was a scene of marvelous beauty, and, as he watched and prayed, Junípero Serra doubtless felt that he drew very close to the Infinite. So devout a soul, in such desperate need, facing a scene of such nameless sublimity, could not have doubted that somewhere just below the curve of the sea lay a ship, with God's hand pushing it on to starving San Diego. And as the sun went down he caught sight of a sail — a ghostly sail, it seemed, in the far distance. Who can ever look upon the height above the old Presidio, when the western sky is glowing and twilight stealing over the hills, without seeing Father Serra on his knees, pouring out his prayer of thanksgiving!

Captain Perez had made a quick trip to San Blas, but had been long delayed in his preparations for returning. His orders were to proceed to Monterey, where it was supposed Portolá's men would be found in need of help, and it was the merest accident which sent him to San Diego at the last moment when his arrival could save the colony. This accident was the loss of an anchor in Santa Barbara Channel and the consequent need of seeking a safe harbor. He had been told by the natives at Santa Barbara that the land party had passed south, but he would have gone to Monterey, nevertheless, in accordance with his strict orders, except for the loss of the anchor. Thus it happened that he reached the Bay of San Diego, four days after the missionary had caught the first glimpse of his blessed sail.

The arrival of supplies and recruits changed the whole face of the situation. Portolá thought no more of abandoning the settlement, and decided to renew the northern exploration and the quest for Monterey. Father Viscaino went to Lower California to obtain live-stock and other necessaries. Father Serra proceeded with his work of mission-building with a glad heart and renewed vigor.

Presidio Hill was not destined to be the permanent seat of the mission establishment. The story of the two or three years immediately succeeding the return of Captain Perez cannot be told with any fullness, since all sources of information are barren on this period, and since the early mission records were destroyed by fire, but the fact that the mission was removed supplies convincing evidence that it was not prosperous. However, some progress was made and there is good authority for the statement that in 1773 seventy-six converts had been enrolled and some material progress made. The live-stock at that time consisted of the following: forty cattle, sixty-four sheep, fifty-five goats, nineteen hogs, two jacks, two burros, seventeen mares, three foals, nine horses, four riding and eighteen pack mules—a total of 233 animals.

There was now no thought of abandoning the settlement. It had begun to take hold both of the natives and the soil, but there were evidently imperative reasons for changing its location. One important consideration was the fact that the presence of the soldiers seriously interfered with the work of interesting the Indians, both spiritually and industrially. A removal had been suggested by Commandant Fages in 1773, but Serra opposed it. Father Jáume, however, who was in charge of the mission, threw his influence in favor of the removal. He desired an atmosphere which should be wholly free from the distraction of the military, yet not so far removed from the Presidio as to deprive him of protection. In his walks about the country he had discovered the ideal location. In fact, it must have suggested itself, for he had but to follow the river a few miles up the fertile valley to see where nature pointed with unerring finger to the very place which seems to have been created for his purpose.

Standing now among the relics of that historic settlement, one can easily imagine the joy which must have filled the old missionary's heart as he took in each detail of the scene and roughly outlined the work which his followers were to do. Junípero Serra was not himself the builder of the San Diego Mission, nor did he personally organize the work which was done there for a period of more than two generations. His was the genius which could conceive great projects, then set others at work to carry them out, inspired with his own confidence in the beneficent consequences of the work. His name outshines those of all his contemporaries, for there were many lieutenants and an army of followers where there was but one great leader who saw the end from the beginning. When any important work is accomplished, all who have a part in it are entitled to their share of credit; but it is the man of bold conceptions, the man endowed with the creative instinct to initiate great undertakings and to set forces in motion to secure their execution, who changes the face of his times and takes high rank in human history.

The spot selected for the permanent mission is about six miles up the valley from the original settlement on Presidio Hill. It possesses every advantage, in the way of soil and water, of sheltering hills and gentle climate, for an agricultural, industrial, and pastoral establishment under a patriarchal form of government, like that of the Mission Fathers. If there was a drawback, it was the fact that the river did not furnish water at all seasons, and that some engineering skill and a large amount of labor were required to secure a reliable supply for the orchards and gardens. A perennial stream would have been an improvement, yet the water problem was readily solved after a time by going a few miles up the river, building a dam, and conducting a supply to the place of use by means of tunnels and ditches. This was not done, however, at first, nor was there urgent need of it until the community had grown to some size. There was good pasturage; grain could be raised without irrigation; and water could be had from the natural flow of the stream for one crop of vegetables and small fruits each season, while the rich

STATUE OF FATHER SERRA AT MONTEREY

soil along the river, with plenty of underground water not far from the surface, encouraged the growth of trees. Thus the missionaries were able to make an early start in their new location and could safely reserve the finer forms of development until the time when they should be called upon to sustain hundreds or thousands by a more intensive cultivation of the soil.

Aside from these material considerations, the place must have appealed powerfully to the devoted priests. It was like their native Spain in all its essential aspects; it was in the midst of the gentiles whom they wished to christianize and to make useful in field and shop; and the scenery offered by hill and valley, by sea and mountains, was as charming as the eye of man ever beheld. So there the missionaries went in August, 1774, to make a new start and to lay the foundations of a mission which they fondly hoped might last for many centuries. For more than a year the work proceeded prosperously, with a constant increase in the number of converts, with growing herds and increasing crops, and with Fathers Fuster and Jáume in charge of affairs. All was quiet as the hills and peaceful as the sunshine. The converted Indians seemed to enter more and more into the true spirit of the work.

Thus they celebrated the Feast of Saint Francis, founder of the Franciscan order, with every evidence of satisfaction, on October 3 and 4, 1775. On the first day the priests baptized sixty new converts, and on the next day Spaniards and Indians assisted in the solemn mass and procession and, later, joined in sport and play. There were horse and foot races. The Spaniards gave exhibitions in the art of fencing and the Indians displayed their skill with bows and arrows. Everybody seemed happy and nothing occurred to mar the harmony of the scene. And yet within a month of that time the Indians rose in revolt, the mission was wiped from the face of the earth, and the cause of the Franciscans received a staggering blow at the moment when its promoters felt entirely secure.

There is no explanation of the event except the innate cruelty of the Indian character. They had received nothing but kindness from the missionaries. The soldiers had not attempted to oppress them. Those who had accepted the new faith had been clothed and fed, while those who rejected the faith had been let alone. The Spaniards had been in the country for more than six years, and if the savages resented their presence it took them a long time to discover their state of mind. Had they been a people of any spirit they could have expelled or annihilated the intruders at short notice and killed the seed of civilization wherever it touched the soil. Instead, they acquiesced in the Spanish occupation, took all they could get from the missionaries, and then, when they had fully established their friendly character, turned into demons and sought to strike down the hand that was leading them from darkness to light. Such was the way of the Indian.

A few days after the feast, two of the new converts slyly left the mission and returned to the mountains, where they proceeded to agitate for a movement against the Spaniards, visiting one ranchería after another to urge an uprising. They found most of the villages eager for the adventure, though a few declined to have any part in it. November 4, 1775, was fixed upon as the date for the attack, and large numbers of Indians wended their way toward the seacoast to engage in the affair. The plan was to divide the forces and attack the mission and Presidio, which were six miles apart, simultaneously, and it was arranged that the firing of the mission should be the signal for the attack on the Presidio. The eagerness of the force assigned to the mission saved the Presidio, for the party which was headed down the valley saw the flames at the mission and reasoned that the soldiers at the fort would be alarmed at the sight and thus prepared to resist attack. They overestimated the Spanish soldiers, who were sound asleep instead of standing faithfully on guard; and they slept through that fateful night in blissful ignorance of the tragedy in progress a few miles up Mission Valley. The Indians, however, turned back and joined their companions in the assault upon the mission buildings. Thus it happened that the savages were eight hundred strong when they stealthily surrounded the sleeping Spaniards—eight hundred sneaking cowards, marshaled for a battle against eight friendly whites under cover of midnight darkness! Surely, they should have made short work of them, yet when day dawned there were white men still alive in the mission and it was the savages who were fleeing, laden with dead and wounded. But is was an awful night up there in the shadow of the hills, where the stars looked down upon a scene which seemed eloquent of peace.

The first move of the Indians was to surround the huts of the converts, waken them gently, and command them to remain quiet, on pain of instant death; the next, to invade the vestry and steal the church ornaments. Evidently, none of the Spaniards were troubled with insomnia, for these preliminaries were accomplished without rousing them. Then the Indians snatched firebrands from the camp-fire which still burned in front of the guard-house and applied them to the building, which was soon enveloped in flames. At last, the savages were ready to announce their presence, which they did by sounding a horrible war-cry with all the power of their eight hundred lungs.

There were sleeping in the mission the two priests, Fathers Fuster and Jáume, two children who were the son and nephew of Lieutenant Ortega (then absent at Capistrano), four soldiers, two carpenters, and a blacksmith—eleven in all, but only eight who could fight, as one of the carpenters was confined to his bed with illness and the children could do little but shriek.

The soldiers got to work promptly with their muskets and Father Fuster joined them in the guard-house, with the children. The blacksmith tried to do the same, but was killed in the attempt. One of the carpenters succeeded in reaching the guard-house, but the one who was confined to his bed was terribly wounded and died the next day. "O Indian, thou who hast killed me, may God pardon thee!" he exclaimed, and when he made his testament, the next morning, he left to the mission Indians his small savings and belongings. Could there be a more striking evidence of the lofty spirit with which the Fathers imbued those around them than the Christlike attitude of this dying carpenter?

But it is Father Luis Jáume who will stand out forever in boldest relief as men read the story of that terrible night. He was quickly awakened and instantly understood what was happening, yet he did not seek the shelter of the guard-house nor seize a weapon for defense. He walked straight to the nearest and wildest group of savages and, extending his arms and smiling a gracious greeting, said: "Children, love God!" If there was ever a moment when the phrase, "Love God," meant "Love your fellow men," it was the moment when this saintly priest stood without fear in the midst of those howling demons. He loved them and would not have harmed a hair of their heads, but they fell upon him in overwhelming numbers, dragged him down to the river, tore his clothes from his body, tortured and stabbed him, and left him a mutilated mass of unrecognizable flesh.

In the meantime the six men and two children in the guard-house were fighting for their lives in the midst of roaring flames. The place became too hot for them, and they decided to move into a slight building adjoining, which served as a temporary kitchen. It had only three sides and was wide open to attack on the other, and through this open side came constant volleys of arrows, clubs, and firebrands. To improve their situation, the defenders brought boxes, sacks, and chests from the adjoining storeroom and thus barricaded the open side. Only three remained to carry on the fight — two soldiers and Father Fuster — as all the others had been disabled. At this critical moment, the party of Indians who had gone to the Presidio returned and reinforced the crowd at the mission. It was then that the priest noticed that one of the chests forming the improvised breastwork contained all the powder that remained and was in imminent danger of exploding, for it was already afire. He seized it, extinguished the flames, and, with the aid of the two children, proceeded to load the guns for the soldiers, who shot as fast as they could, and always shot to kill. So the fearful night wore on. Daybreak came, and the craven besiegers had not dared to carry the frail shanty and overwhelm its two active defenders by bold assault. They picked up their dead and wounded and went back to the mountains, leaving the Presidio untouched, but the mission a smoking ruin.

The neophytes crawled out of their huts and, with tears and sobs, assured Father Fuster and his bleeding companions that they had been closely confined throughout the night and unable to lift a hand in their defense. This was probably true enough, yet it seems a pity that they did not avail themselves of the opportunity to write one noble page to the credit of their race by showing some evidence of loyalty to those who had befriended them. However, Father Fuster required no explanations, but sent some of the converts to notify the Presidio, and others to find the missing priest, Father Jáume. They found the lacerated corpse by the river and identified it by reason of its whiteness.

The lazy incompetents at the Presidio listened with wide-mouthed wonder to the tale which the Indian messengers brought them from the mission. They had heard nothing, seen nothing, during the night, but had slept disgracefully well.

The destruction of the Mission of San Diego was a stunning blow to the Franciscans, and, indeed, to the whole scheme of Spanish settlement on the coast of California. The vibrations of the shock did not stop at Presidio Hill, but went on up the coast, and culminated at Monterey in the form of a general alarm. A relief party was at once put in motion, and Father Serra hastened south to lend the inspiration of his courage and of his indomitable persistence in the holy cause. There was no serious thought of abandoning the settlement, for this would have encouraged both Indian and foreign aggression and might have put an end to Spanish dominion much sooner than it came in response to the inexorable logic of events.

The survivors of the mission fight were removed to the Presidio and tenderly nursed back to health. The dead were buried at the Presidio, but many years afterward the body of Father Luis Jáume was removed to the mission and placed between the altars, where it yet rests. The place where he sleeps should be marked by an imperishable monument, for he was one of those rarest of heroes who, refusing to do violence even in self-defense, look smilingly into the face of death and go down to the dust with a prayer for their enemies on their saintly lips.

CHAPTER IV

THE DAY OF MISSION GREATNESS

WHEN PRESIDENT SERRA heard of the noble death of Father Jáume, he exclaimed: "God be thanked! now the soil is watered; now the reduction of the Dieguinos will be completed." And it was indeed a case where the blood of the martyr became the seed of the church. The mission was re-established and dedicated in 1777, though it was not completed until 1784, and was yet to be finally dedicated in 1813. But the uprising in which Father Jáume lost his life really marked the end of the first hard period of struggle in which the outcome seemed doubtful, while the rapid recovery from that disaster signalized the beginning of the long day of mission greatness.

Of that day it is important that we should have a true conception, for it will always supply a romantic and picturesque background to local history; but it would be an error to suppose that it is vitally related to the city which finally grew up in the neighborhood of the pioneer settlements and which now bears the name of San Diego. The real history of the place begins at a later period than that which saw the passing of the Mission Fathers and the crumbling of their works under the pitiless footsteps of the years. Nor were their institutions or their influence much more substantial than their adobe walls. And yet, for a period of about two generations, the Spanish soldier and the Franciscan missionary ruled the land and, partly by leading and partly by driving, converted many of the savages to the ways of religion and civilization.

Conflicting tales come down to us from the earliest years of the joint reign of the soldier and the priest, and the written records are so bound with red-tape and saturated with conscious piety that it is frequently difficult to get at the facts; but there can be no doubt that the sword was the constant ally of the Cross, and that the glory of God and of the King were utterly synonymous to the minds of that generation. Neither is there any doubt of the earnestness of the missionaries in bringing souls to Christ. They were so deeply in earnest that they did not hesitate to employ the military arm as a means of forcible conversion. There is reason to believe that whole villages were sometimes surrounded and their inhabitants driven to the missions. It appears that the soldiers themselves had a poor opinion of the Indians, yet co-operated heartily with the priests in bringing them under subjection. Apparently, neither the military nor ecclesiastical authorities were under any illusion concerning the inherent unfitness of the Indians for real citizenship. Both clearly understood that they could only be utilized in connection with a patriarchal establishment. Somebody else must think and plan and direct; it was their part to labor, and to labor in the fear of God. As to the treatment of the Indians, accounts differ widely. They were better clothed, fed, and housed than in their native state. They learned useful arts. They caught a spark of industry which, had they been made of more inflammable material, might easily have been fanned into a fierce enthusiasm for the modes of civilized life, and thus have lifted them permanently from barbarism. But there were many impartial observers who regarded their condition as no better than slavery. Thus Alfred Robinson, in his fascinating book, *Life in California*, said that "it is not unusual to see numbers of them driven along by the alcaldes, and under the whip's lash forced to the very doors of the sanctuary." He adds: "The condition of these Indians is miserable indeed; and it is not to be wondered at that many attempt to escape from the severity of the religious discipline of the Mission. They are pursued, and generally taken; when they are flogged, and an iron clog is fastened to their legs, serving as additional punishment, and a warning to others."

That the good Fathers thought it more important to save the souls of the Indians than to spare their feelings or their backs, is easily susceptible of belief, for their missionary zeal knew no bounds. Better a converted soul in chains than a free heathen! There is no doubt that they sincerely subscribed to this doctrine, and they were no more fanatic than many others of their time all over the world. Nevertheless, the fair-minded student will not forget that while they were saving souls they were organizing a mass of cheap labor which worked for the enrichment of the Franciscan order, and founding settlements which they thought would secure the permanent possession of an opulent land for the benefit of their sovereign. In other words, their duty and interest happened to be the same, and they had thus a double motive for what they did. They thought it was good religion and good statesmanship.

When the Spaniards came, the whole beautiful western slope of the present San Diego County belonged to no one—but the Indians. With the raising of the royal standard it came under

THE OLD MISSION DAM—Built by the Franciscans in the closing years of the eighteenth century in connection with the water supply of Mission Valley the nominal ownership of Spain, and it was agreed that each of the missions should take so much of the territory as it needed. The San Diego Mission laid under tribute something like forty square miles, with its religious and industrial headquarters in Mission Valley and its military base on Presidio Hill. It was expected that the mission would become self-supporting, and more. This expectation was grandly fulfilled after the first hard years had been outlived. But ships arrived each year in the harbor with supplies for the military establishment. The day came when they were able to depart with larger cargoes than they brought, for when the Mission Fathers had enrolled thousands of laborers, and when their herds had multiplied, they had a surplus of good things for exportation. The boundaries of the mission domain seem to have been quite indefinite, but when the property was finally transferred to Santiago Argüello, in 1846, the deed covered 58,208 acres; 22 and 21-100 acres, containing the mission buildings and gardens, were reserved for the church and still remain in its ownership.

In organizing the first expedition, in 1769, Galvez supplied it with material for planting such field, garden, and orchard crops as he thought adapted to the climate. It is probable that the famous olive orchard, which still flourishes, and which is recognized as the mother of all the olive trees in California, owed its existence to the thoughtfulness of Galvez. There were many other varieties of trees of the early planting, such as peaches and pears, but the olive outlives all its contemporaries, and those ancient trees in Mission Valley should remain to receive the homage of generations unborn.

By 1783 the San Diego Mission had begun to assume something of its permanent appearance. The church occupied a space eighty-two feet long by fifteen wide, running North and South. The granary was nearly as large. There was a storehouse, a house for sick women and another for sick men, a modest house for the priests, a good-sized larder, and these enclosed on three sides a square one hundred and fifty-one feet long, the remaining side being enclosed by an adobe wall eight feet high. As the years went on the establishment was gradually extended to provide a series of small shops around the *patio* for the artisans and mechanics and accommodations for the increasing numbers of neophytes outside the walls, but close at hand. It was not until 1804 that the buildings took on the final shape which is preserved in the pictures of the mission period. But the plan of the Fathers was always the same, with its low, gently-slanting roofs, its interior square, its Roman towers; and the material was always adobe, with burnt tile for roofs, windows, and doorways. The walls were about four feet thick. There can be no question that the architecture harmonized with the landscape, for it was the architecture of Spain in a landscape resembling Spain in all essential aspects.

There is a tradition of unusual interest concerning the building of the San Diego Mission, which is related as follows in the *San Diego Weekly Union* of September 24, 1878:

> From an old woman now living near San Luis Rey, named Josefa Peters, and whom we believe to be at least 124 years of age, Mr. W. B. Couts learned that the timber for the mission came from Smith's Mountain, at least sixty miles inland from this city. The old lady says that after the timbers had all been nicely hewed and prepared, and blessed by the priests on the mountain, on a certain day a vast number of the stoutest Indians were collected and stationed in relays of about a mile apart, all the way from the summit of the mountain to the foundations of the mission buildings in the valley near this city. At a given signal the timbers were sprinkled by the assembled priests on the mountain, and were then hoisted on the shoulders of the Indians, and were thus carried to the first relays and changed to their shoulders, and so on, all the way to San Diego, without touching the ground; as it was considered sacrilege to have one of them touch the ground from the time of starting until it arrived at its final destination in the Church. As there are an immense number of these timbers, it shows the zeal and devotion of the Indians at that date, and their obedience to the Reverend Fathers.

As the mission grew it became evident that the San Diego River could not support the large community without something better than the crude works which had been built at first. This condition gave rise to some talk about removing the mission, and there are early reports still extant which speak of the "barren soil." But the soil needed only water to make it produce successive crops of hay and vegetables, and annual harvests of fruit in great variety. There is nothing more remarkable about these priestly builders than the versatility of their talent and the manner in which they met all demands. Thus they were able to supply the engineering capacity to solve the problem of a permanent water supply. They went ten miles up the valley, found bedrock, and proceeded to build a dam of solid masonry across the river bed, two hundred and twenty-four feet long and twelve feet thick. The remains of this work are still in existence and exhibit a wall fourteen feet high, as seen from the lower side. The water was conducted by means of well built ditches and a short tunnel, and supplied the mission at all seasons of the year. It is this achievement which gives the Mission Fathers a high place in the history of irrigation, and the remains of that ancient dam should be regarded as a hallowed shrine in a land where water is the God of the Harvest. Having thus thoroughly possessed themselves of the charming valley, and established the material life of their mission upon firm foundations, the Franciscan enthusiasts were at last ready to proceed triumphantly with their designs, both religious and secular.

It is pleasant to linger upon the personal character of these California Fathers. While they furnished no exception to the rule that "there is a black sheep in every flock," they were for the most part men of the rarest virtues, consecrated to the work in which they were engaged. It would be difficult to select from human annals two loftier characters than Junípero Serra and Luis Jáume, yet these men are but conspicuous examples of the spirit which moved the Franciscans in all their labors for the upbuilding of California. The early priests came from Spain, the later ones from Mexico, and observers appear to have agreed in the opinion that the former somewhat excelled, both in attainments and zeal. It seems very remarkable that men so deeply immersed in spiritual concerns should also have been practical men of affairs and capable executives. Had they not been very competent in both respects they would have failed in their difficult undertaking. This very unusual combination of qualities seems to have been common to nearly all the priests, and it is little wonder that they obtained the confidence of the Indians to a very large degree and became their trusted advisers in all their troubles.

The ordinary dress of the Franciscan was a loose woolen garment, of brownish color, reaching nearly to the ground. It was made whole and put on over the head. The sleeves were wide, and the hood usually rested on the shoulders, though it could be drawn over the head when the weather required. A girdle was worn at the waist and was usually tied, with tassels hanging down in front. It was one of the requirements of the order that priests should have shaven crowns, the circular spot being about three or four inches in diameter. Thus the priest was readily distinguished wherever he went, and his benevolent, picturesque figure will always stand out clearly in California history.

As soon as the mission was firmly established the number of neophytes steadily increased, though it fluctuated a good deal with the passing years. The life of the place soon settled down into a regular routine, but it was ever marked by two predominant facts — worship and labor. The activities of the day began at daylight. Everybody who was able to move went to mass. Then the invariable breakfast of ground barley or *atole* was served and sunrise found everybody ready for the daily task. The midday meal was served between 11 and 12 o'clock. Again ground barley did duty in various forms. Sometimes mutton was supplied, and frequently the Spanish *frijoles,* or beans. The sick and aged were fed largely on milk, which was something of a luxury. An interesting custom was the distribution of a liquid made of vinegar and sweetened water, which was carried through the fields in the hot afternoon on the backs of burros and always received with enthusiasm by the workers. At six the evening meal was served. This consisted principally of the inevitable ground barley and of such nuts and wild berries as the Indians gathered for themselves.

The commissary department was organized on a semi-military basis with a keeper of the granary in charge. He distributed rations to each individual or family. The unmarried neophytes carried their share to a common kitchen where it was prepared and then served at a common table. The married men took their rations to their homes and shared them with their families.

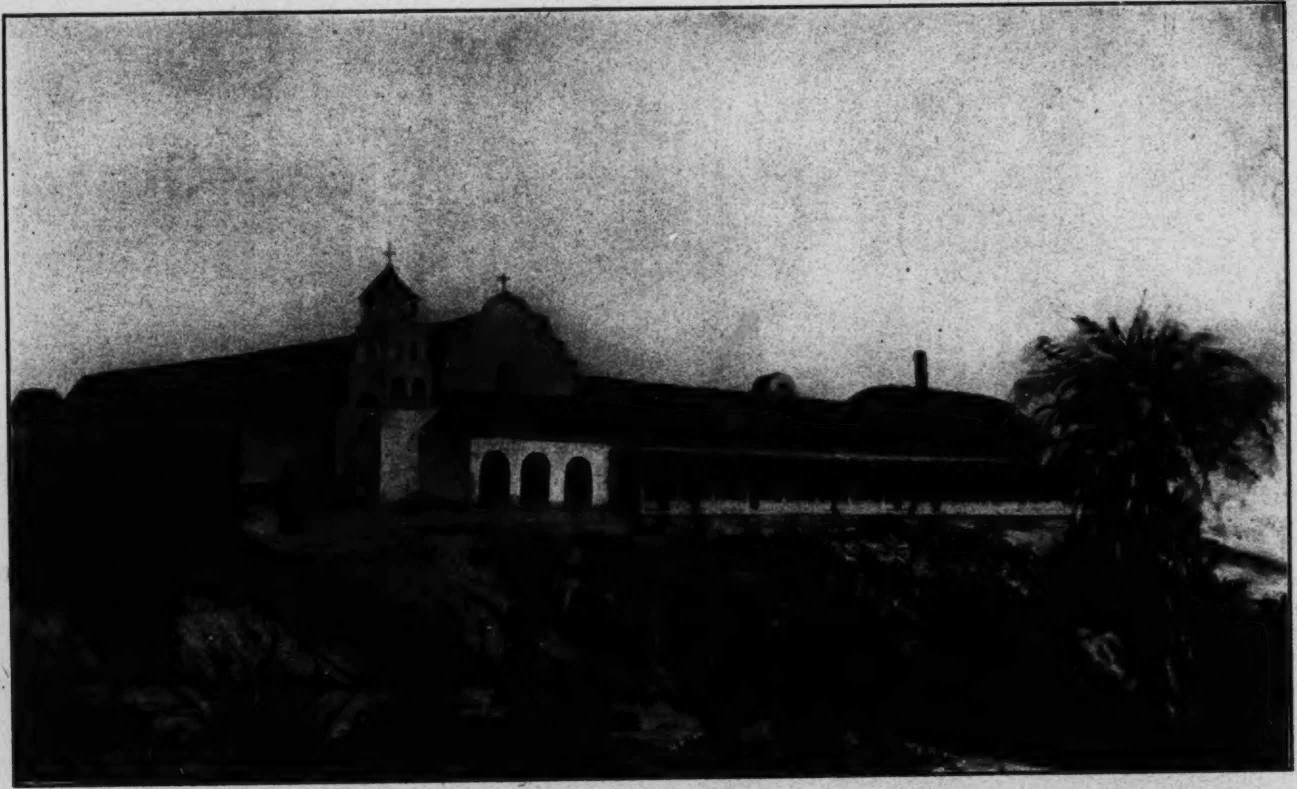
At sunset the angelus summoned the Indians, the workmen, and the priests to the chapel, where the litany was sung and the evening blessing pronounced. This marked the ending of the long day of devotion to religion and labor. Each night found the mission a little richer and the Indian no poorer.

The life of the Indian girls and unmarried women was somewhat different and the echo of cheerful laughter comes down to us through the years. There was a low building built around an open court which served as a sort of nunnery under the supervision of a trusted old Indian woman. Here the girls and young women lived, weaving and spinning, and making all the cloth which was used at the mission. They seem to have been happy in this association and to have had many love affairs which ripened into lawful marriage with the approval of the priests.

The Fathers ruled their little kingdom with a strong hand, which was doubtless necessary. It is easy to understand that discipline was indispensable and that the failure to maintain it must have resulted in speedy demoralization. Imprisonment was a common punishment, but the priests did not hesitate to use the rod for minor offenses. The most serious cases were turned over to the military authorities at the Presidio and sometimes resulted in the execution of the culprits by shooting.

Alfred Robinson visited the mission at the time of its greatest prosperity and left the following account of the hospitality he enjoyed:

> Riding along, following the course of the river up the valley, passing on their way two or three small huts, without anything particular to note, they reached the Mission, where they met the two Father Missionaries at the door, they having just returned from a walk around the premises. The visitors were welcomed, and alighted to have half an hour's chat before dinner—that is, before twelve o'clock, their usual hour for that meal; and accordingly sat down on one of the rude benches so generally found at all these establishments. The author's

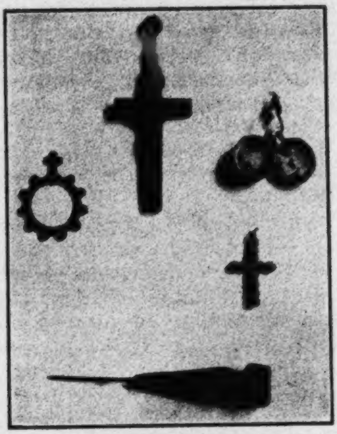


OLD MISSION OF SAN DIEGO DE ALCALA—This view represents the establishment in Mission Valley much as it appeared at the height of its prosperity

> friend, being an old acquaintance of the Fathers, had considerable to say to them in relation to their travels, which was of great interest to them. At length the church bells announced the hour of noon, when both the holy friars turned around, and knelt upon the bench upon which they had been sitting, with faces turned to the building, while three or four young pages knelt by their side, on the pavement, when the elder of the two friars commenced the *Angelus Domini*, in a very devout manner, and led the prayer, which was responded to by the brother friar and the pages, the bells of the church chiming an accompaniment.
>
> During the prayer a large fly alighted on the wall just in front of the Father, who, apparently without any attention to the prayer, was watching the course of the fly and following it with the large round head of his cane, as it moved about, sometimes up, sometimes down, sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left, and ready to annihilate it, when, at the closing of the prayer, and pronouncing the word Amen! Jesus! he brought his cane down on the poor fly and crushed it, and then turned around to renew the conversation, as though nothing had transpired. This incident was amusing to the beholder, but serves to show the simplicity of the reverend Father, who was probably not aware of having committed any impropriety.
>
> Dinner was now announced, when they entered through the large reception-room into the dining-room, where the table was spread, at which they sat down, and had an entertainment of the usual *guisados*, their *fritos* and *azados*, *frijoles*, and the universal *tortilla de maiz*, and plenty of good native wine, with the usual dessert of fruits peculiar to the climate; after which the old friars retired to take their *siesta*, and the author and his friend hurried away on their return to the town, where they arrived after half an hour's ride.

The economic life of the Mission was not confined to the cultivation of the irrigated fields and gardens in the fertile valley or the simple manufacturing that went on in the quaint little shops around the patio. The Mission Fathers were the merchants, the great stockmen, and even the bankers, of their period. They were busy men, indeed, with their spiritual affairs, their trade, and their management of immense herds of livestock. Vessels came to the port in increasing numbers, travelers constantly passed along the trail from Lower California to the north, and ranches were gradually established in the mountains. Thus it happened that the mission establishment more and more fulfilled the function of an ordinary town as a trading center. There were great opportunities for making money, and the shrewd priests made the most of them. They were bent upon the enrichment of their order because this meant a constant increase of their power, including the power to do good to the gentiles.

In those days the waters along the coast swarmed with sea-otters, a valuable fur-bearing animal. The priests encouraged the hunting of these animals by Indians and others, and thus built up a profitable fur trade. They also bought other skins, usually paying for them with goods from their store, and were thus able to make a double profit on the transaction. They were the first and best customers of the ships when they began to come around the Horn with cargoes from New England, and their store became constantly more important as a distributing center for all imported goods required in the country, and as a clearing house for surplus products available for shipment. They sometimes had large amounts of coin, which they kept beneath the tile flooring in their rooms. Their reputation for integrity was so high that they were implicitly trusted with the savings and property of others, and they were thus able to perform a useful service as bankers for their neighbors.



MISSION RELICS

The largest business operation conducted by the priests was in connection with the live-stock industry. They brought only 18 head of cattle, but by the year 1800, they had six hundred cattle, six thousand sheep, and nearly nine hundred horses. In 1830, the number of cattle had risen to fifteen thousand, of sheep to twenty thousand, and they had thousands of hogs. The horses which they originally brought to this country were shipped from Spain and were of Arabian blood. The annual harvest also reached large proportions, sometimes exceeding thirty thousand bushels of grain. The cattle were wastefully slaughtered, after the manner of the time, and were considered chiefly valuable for tallow and hides, which were sold to the masters of the ships coming to the port. Only the choicest portions of the beef were used for food.

From 1777 to 1833 — a period of fifty-six years — life flowed smoothly on at the Mission and the Franciscans waxed strong and prosperous. Two other missions were established within the County, at Pala and San Luis Rey, the latter being founded on June 13, 1798, by Father Antonio Peyri, and named in honor of Saint Louis, who was Louis IX. of France. These Missions also prospered and lent strength to the mother settlement in Mission Valley. The total number of baptisms from 1769 to 1846 at the Mission of San Diego, was 7126; of confirmations, 1726; of marriages, 2051. It would be interesting to know the total value of property accumulated, and the total amount of wealth produced, during the same period. These facts are not available, but we know that the half-century of rule by military and ecclesiastical government was a day of material greatness, as it undeniably was of marked spiritual achievement.

CHAPTER V

THE END OF FRANCISCAN RULE

THE FOOTING of the Franciscans in California rested from the beginning upon the power of Spain. They could not have come at all without the financial and military support of the Spanish monarch, nor could they have remained save with the aid of his soldiers. When the power of the Castilian began to wane, it was inevitable that the Franciscan rule should diminish in proportion, and that even the institutions which they had founded should begin to crumble and, at last, become a mere memory with no monument except mouldering heaps of adobe.

Spain's empire in Mexico lasted for three centuries. It was in 1521 that Cortés virtually completed his conquest, and it was in 1821 that Iturbide wrested the country from the feeble grasp of Ferdinand VII. The Mission of San Diego was then almost at the zenith of its prosperity, and as the good Fathers basked in the sunshine or looked out upon their smiling fields, they fondly believed that their works would endure to bless the land and enrich their order for many generations to come. They knew that the internal fires of revolution had been blazing in Mexico for more than a decade, but had little fear that the hand which had held the region for three hundred years would lose its hold, at least in their time.

The Spanish statesmen had given the missionaries the utmost latitude because their scheme of converting and utilizing the Indian population was admirably adapted to meet the political necessities of the Empire in this far country. But Mexico had different necessities and naturally proceeded to make different plans. It had no time to lose in strengthening itself against the rising power of the United States. It could not leave so precious a possession as California to the control of an element which, at best, could be but lukewarm toward the new-born power which had overthrown Spanish control, and thus done violence to the great tradition of which the missions were themselves an important part. Moreover, Mexico had friends to reward as well as enemies to punish. Some of the men who had fought its battles, and who would be needed to fight its battles again, looked with longing eyes upon the rich dominions of the missions and began to dream of founding great families and great estates.

It is a very convenient thing to be able to pay your debts with other people's property. Mexico was in this fortunate position and proceeded to take advantage of it. In 1824 the Colonization Law was enacted. This authorized the government to make grants of unoccupied lands to Mexican citizens to the extent of eleven square leagues. Under this law thousands of acres were parceled out among the supporters of the government. These grants encroached upon the mission holdings and gave the Fathers their first shock of serious apprehension for the future. In 1832 the Mexican power mustered the full courage of its convictions, its necessities, and its desires. It passed the Act of Secularization, which was simply an act of confiscation, from the Franciscan point of view. It was the object of this legislation to take all the property of the missions, real and personal, and divide it among those who would use their wealth and influence for the defense and development of Mexico. The attempt of Governor Figueroa to put it into effect in 1833 was a failure, but it was gradually executed, being extended little by little until the day when Mexico lost the country to the United States.

With the adoption of the policy of secularization, the Mission Fathers knew that their long day was passing into twilight and that it could be a question of but a few years when they must relinquish their hold upon California. Some of them were utterly discouraged and unwilling to attempt the continuance of their work. Some were frankly hostile to the new rulers and went home to Spain. A few persisted to the last and died peacefully at their posts. The effect of the new order of things on the Indians was demoralizing. Their loyalty could hardly be expected to survive the shattering of priestly power. The only government they understood was the patriarchal form, and the very foundation of this government had now disappeared. Nevertheless, the Mission of San Diego lived on for more than a dozen years, after its ultimate downfall was clearly foreshadowed. It was not until 1846 that the ownership of the property was legally and finally taken from the Church.

The full force of the blow could no longer be stayed. Mexico was threatened with invasion by the United States and it became imperatively necessary that the country should be put in the best possible condition of defense. Thus the governors of the various states and departments were vested with extraordinary powers and instructed to adopt drastic measures to strengthen the government. Governor Pio Pico sold the missions as rapidly as possible in order to raise money for the war which impended. In June, 1846, he sold to Don Santiago Argüello so much of the property of the San Diego Mission as had not already been granted to Mexican citizens. The deed of sale read as follows:

> Being previously authorized by the Departmental Assembly to alleviate the missions, in order to pay their debts and to avoid their total ruin; and knowing that Don Santiago Argüello has rendered the government important services at all times, and has also given aid when asked, for the preservation of the legitimate government and the security of the Department, without having received any indemnification; and, whereas, this gentleman has, for his own personal benefit and that of his numerous family, asked to purchase the mission of San Diego, with all its lands and property belonging to it, both in town and country, he paying fully and religiously the debts of said Mission, which may be established by the reports of the Committee of Missions, binding himself besides to provide for the support of the priests located at said Mission, and of divine worship. In view of all which I have made real sale and perpetual alienation of it forever, to Don Santiago Argüello, according to, and in conformance with, what has been agreed upon, with all the appurtenances found and known at the time as belonging to it, whether consisting of lands, buildings, improved real estate, or cattle.

The reader will not fail to note the pious terms in which the instrument was drawn. The object of the transfer was "to alleviate" the Mission, and to avoid its "total ruin." The purchaser was required to provide for the support of the priests and to maintain divine worship. These diplomatic phrases deceived no one, and least of all the priests. The idea of a proprietary mission dependent for its support upon the bounty of an individual, must have been repugnant to their souls. Certainly, such an arrangement could never have proven workable, but it was not put to the actual test. The war came on with swift footsteps, and when it had passed, Mexico had gone the way of Spain and the Missionary Fathers had gone with them, so far as the dominion of California was concerned.

What was the net result of Spanisn dominion in San Diego which nominally began with the discoveries by Cabrillo in 1542 and Viscaino in 1602, and ripened into actual occupation with the expedition planned by Galvez and executed by naval, military, civil, and missionary leaders in 1769?

They left, of course, a great memory which will endure to the end of time and which is likely to grow rather than diminish in the quality of picturesque and romantic interest. They left their nomenclature, and this is somehow so pleasing to the ear and eye of the composite race which has evolved into the American population of today that it seems likely to last as the visible expression of the Spanish tradition. Not only does it remain in the name of the city and of landmarks to which it was given by the Spanish explorers and founders, but it blooms perennially in many other forms, including the names of new residences and estates, for which it is frequently preferred to names associated with the racial, national, and family traditions of their owners. Nothing could more strikingly illustrate the power of the memories of Spanish occupation upon the popular imagination. The same influence is apparent in architecture, and this seems to be growing and likely to grow more in the future. The Spanish speech still lingers and may do so for a long time, though it tends to disappear and will some day be no more in evidence than the speech of other European peoples who had nothing to do with the early time.

RUIN OF SAN DIEGO MISSION

Aside from this virile tradition, expressed in the nomenclature and architecture of the city and its surrounding country, the Spaniard left nothing pertaining to his national life. But the value of this contribution to civilization should not be underestimated. Happy is the land which has memories to cherish! Twice happy when the memories are associated with the pioneers of pioneers! And thrice happy if, as in this case, those memories chance to be sanctified by the struggle to light the lamp of spiritual exaltation in the darkness of ignorance and savagery! As time goes on, the earliest history of San Diego will be revived in art. More and more, it will supply a rich theme for painting, for sculpture, and for literature. But the institutions which it sought to plant deep in the soil have perished almost utterly. English law and English speech have taken the place of Spanish law and speech, and even the religion which the founders brought apparently owes little or nothing of its present strength to their teaching or their building. The Catholic Church is powerful, of course, but by no means as powerful in San Diego, whose legitimate child it was, as in Boston, which was established by those who deliberately fled from its influence.

What shall be said of the missionary achievement? For the most part, the answer to this question depends upon the individual point of view. No mere material conquest is to be compared with the salvation of immortal souls. The Mission Fathers brought thousands to the foot of the Cross and persuaded them to live in accordance with religious ways. Those who believe that these thousands of souls would otherwise have been lost justly place the missionary achievement above the most enduring things done by the soldier, the law-giver, or the founder of institutions. Those who accept distinctly modern views of religion may hold more lightly the purely spiritual conquest accomplished by Junípero Serra and his fellow priests, yet even such must credit them with the noblest aspirations and must concede that the Indian population gained much in simple morality from the missionary teachings. Nor has this gain been wholly lost, even after Father Serra has slept for more than one hundred and twenty years in his grave at Monterey. The Indian was unquestionably elevated by his spiritual experience and by his manual training, and, dubious as his condition seems today, is still a better man because the Mission once flourished under the sunny skies of San Diego.

The literature of the missions is voluminous and constantly increasing. For reasons already stated, it is somewhat remote from the real history of San Diego. It is not the picture itself, but the shadowy background of the picture. Nothing more finely expressive of the appeal which it makes to the poetic senses has been written than the following extract from a sketch of the Mission of San Luis Rey, by Will H. Holcomb:

> To behold this beautiful structure for the first time under the softening effect of moonlight requires no great stretch of the imagination, to believe one's self among the romantic surroundings of some Alcazar in old Spain. Below, among the purple shadows of the valley, which half conceal and yet reveal, lies the river, a counterpart of the Guadalquiver; ranged about are the hills, dreamy, indistinct, under the mystic canopy of night, while nearer at hand are the delicate outlines of arches, façades, and vaulted roofs, reflecting the pearly light, and appearing half real, half visionary, against the ambient breadths of starless sky. The land breeze wafts down the valley from the mountain heights, cool and sweet, and whispers among the columns and arches, and we are tempted almost to inquire of these

voices of the night something of the tales of adventure, of love, of ambitions gratified and hopes unfulfilled, which cling to this sacred spot, from the shadowy period of the past.

PRIESTS OF SAN DIEGO MISSION

1769. July 16. Mission founded by Father President Junipero Serra. Also present: Fathers Hernando Parron and Juan Viscaino.

1770. Fathers Juan Crespí and Francisco Gomez had been at San Diego but departed with the land expedition for Monterey on July 14th. They returned January 24, 1770, and all five priests were present until February 11th, when Viscaino went south by land to Velicatá with Rivera. On April 17th, Serra and Crespí sailed for Monterey with Portolá (left at San Diego, Parron and Gomez, the former in charge).

1771. April. The *San Antonio* came up from Mexico with ten friars and left some of them at San Diego, among them Pedro Benito Cambon, Francisco Dumetz, and Father Somera. Same ship took Gomez to Monterey. Dumetz was in charge. In July, the *San Antonio* arrived with six friars from the north, and Cambon and Dumetz went overland to Mexico.

1772. May. Crespí came from the north and Dumetz returned with Father Tomás de la Peña to take Cambon's place. Sept. 27th, Crespí and Dumetz left for San Carlos and two friars, Usson and Figuer, came from Mexico.

1773. August 30. Father Francisco Palou arrived overland from Mexico, with Fathers Pedro Benito Cambon, Gregorio Amurrio, Fermin Francisco Lasuen, Juan Prestamero, Vicente Fuster, José Antonio Murguía, and Miguel de la Campa y Cos, assigned to different missions.

September 5. Paterna, Lasuen and Prestamero departed.

October 26. Palou, Murguía, and de la Peña departed.

This left at San Diego Luis Jáume, Vicente Fuster, and Gregorio Amurrio as supernumerary.

1774. March 3. Serra came by sea from Mexico. With him came Father Pablo Mugártegui, who remained for a time, but later went north.

April 6. Father Serra departed for Monterey, by land.

1775. November 5. Destruction of the Mission, Fathers Luis Jáume and Vicente Fuster in charge; the former killed, as related. At the Presidio, Fathers Lasuen and Amurrio.

1776. July 11. Serra arrived by sea from Monterey to arrange for rebuilding the mission.

October 17. Three friars, Fuster, Lasuen, and probably Santa María, occupied the new mission.

December. Serra departed the last days of the year, for the north, with Amurrio, and never returned.

1777. Juan Figuer came and served to December 18, 1784, when he died and was buried in the church.

1785. For about a year after Figuer's death, Lasuen served alone. In November, 1785, he went to San Carlos and his place at San Diego was taken by Juan Mariner (arrived 1785). With him was associated Juan Antonio García Riboo (arrived 1783), till October, 1786, then Hilario Torrens (arrived 1786). Mariner and Torrens served till the last years of the century. Torrens left California at the end of 1798, and died in 1799; Mariner died at the Mission, January 29, 1800.

1800. Their successors were José Panella (arrived June, 1797), and José Barona (arrived May, 1798). Pedro de San José Estévan was supernumerary, April, 1796, to July, 1797. Panella was accused of cruelty to the neophytes and was reprimanded by President Lasuen. He left the country in 1803. Barona remained as minister throughout the decade (1800-1810). Panella was replaced for about a year after 1803 by Mariano Payeras, and then José Bernardo Sanchez took the place in 1804. Pedro de la Cueva, from Mission San José, was here for a short time in 1806, and José Pedro Panto came in September, 1810.

1810. Father Sanchez continued to serve until the spring of 1820, when he was succeeded by Vicente Pascual Oliva. Panto died in 1812, and Fernando Martin took his place.

"Panto," says Bancroft, "was a rigorous disciplinarian and severe in his punishments. One evening in November, 1811, his soup was poisoned, causing vomiting. His cook, Nazario, was arrested and admitted having put the 'yerba,' powdered *cuchasquelaai*, in the soup with a view to escape the Father's intolerable floggings, having received in succession fifty, twenty-five, twenty-four, and twenty-five lashes in the twenty-four hours preceding his attempted revenge. There is much reason to suppose that the friar's death on June 30th of the next year was attributable to the poisoning."

The new Mission Church was dedicated November 12, 1813 (this is the building whose ruins yet remain). The blessing was pronounced by José Barona, of San Juan. The first sermon was by Geronimo Boscana, of San Luis, the second by the Dominican Tomás Ahumada, of San Miguel, and Lieutenant Ruiz acted as sponsor.

1820. Father Martinez served for a time in 1827.

1830. Fathers Oliva and Martin continued in charge. Martin died October 19, 1838. He was a native of Robledillo, Spain, born May 26, 1770. He was a Franciscan, and arrived at San Diego July 6, 1811. He was regarded as an exemplary frey. He was one of the few missionaries who took the oath of allegiance to Mexico.

1840. Oliva remained alone, and was the last missionary to occupy the mission, till August, 1846. Upon the secularization of the missions in 1835, José Joaquin Ortega was placed in charge as majordomo or administrator, and 1840 he was replaced by Juan M. Osuna. Others served at different times. Some Indians lingered at the place, and in 1848 Philip Crosthwaite leased the Mission. Oliva went first to San Luis Rey, then to San Juan Capistrano, where he died in January, 1848.

PART SECOND

When Old Town was San Diego

CHAPTER I.

LIFE ON PRESIDIO HILL UNDER THE SPANISH FLAG.

FOR MORE than a hundred years Old Town was San Diego. It began with the founding of the fort and mission in July, 1769; it ended, as a place of real consequence, with the fire of April, 1872, which destroyed most of the business part of the town and turned the scale decisively in favor of the new settlement which had sprung up at Horton's Addition, or South San Diego, as it was then called. It is rare that two historical eras are so clearly marked on the face of the earth as in this case. The site of Old San Diego is a thing apart from the location of the present city, just as the life of the older time is separated from that of the present by a space of years. And yet, it was in the soil of Old San Diego that the seed of the present city was planted and took root, and it was in that mother settlement that civilization began on the Pacific Coast of the United States.

From 1769 to about 1830—a period of over sixty years—San Diego lived within the adobe walls of its garrison on Presidio Hill and became a famous dot on the map of the world. Nothing now remains on Presidio Hill to show the casual observer that it was ever anything but a vacant plot of ground. Weeds cover the earth, wild flowers bloom in their season, and always the ice-plant hangs in matted festoons from the scattered mounds of earth. A closer examination of these mounds, however, shows them to be arranged in something like a hollow square. The soil, too, is found to be full of fragments of red tile and to show the unmistakable signs of long trampling by human feet. Looking more closely at the mounds, beneath their covering of weeds and earth, one finds the foundations of old walls built of thin red tile and adobe bricks. These remains are all that is left of the Spanish Presidio of San Diego.

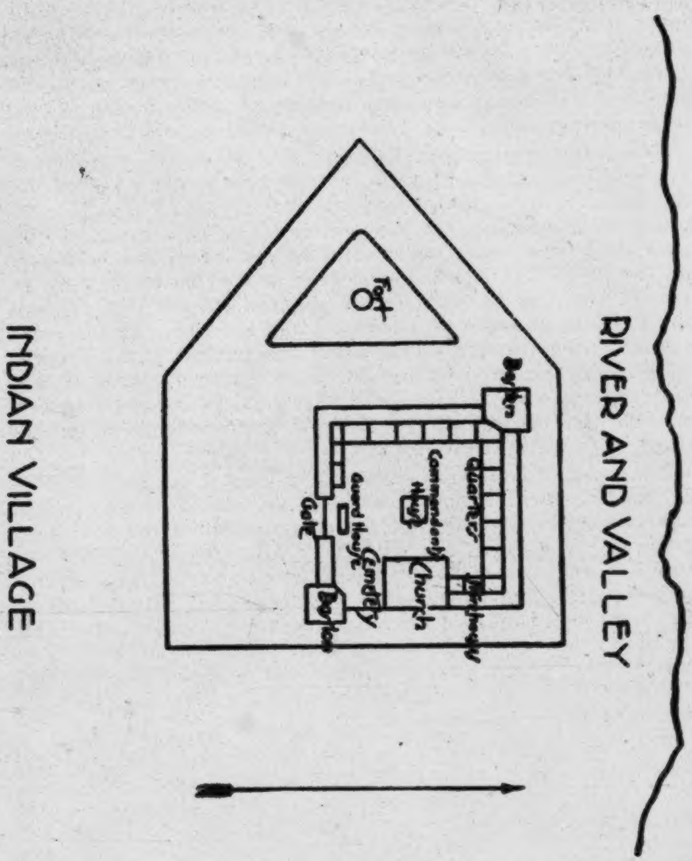
Standing on this historic spot, one is moved to wonder how the manifold activities of the ecclesiastical and military affairs of the Southern District, and of the political and social center of one of the four important towns in Upper California, were ever carried on for so many years upon this little space.

The commandant's residence was the principal building. It was situated in the center of the presidial enclosure and overlooked the garrison, the Indian village, the bay and surrounding country. On the east side of the square were the chapel, cemetery, and storehouses; the guard-house was near the gate on the south, and the officers' quarters were ranged around the sides of the square. The whole was enclosed, at first with a wooden stockade, and later with a high adobe wall.

It would seem that half a century of life should mean a great deal to any community, even to a frontier outpost on the edge of the world; but to San Diego, in the period with which this chapter deals, it meant very little. Of the mission activities the men and women at the Presidio were mere spectators, while only far echoes of events in the outside world came to their ears. They had enough respect for the Indians to keep well within the shelter of the garrison for all those years. Even when they went down into the valley to cultivate a little patch of soil, they took care to keep well within range of the guns. They led a lazy, dreamy life, not without some social diversions, yet mostly spent in attending to military and religious routine. As the years wore on and the nineteenth century dawned, the visits of foreign ships became more frequent. These visits must have seemed very grateful to the inhabitants, especially those few which were attended with sufficient excitement to break the monotony and lend a momentary zest to the stagnant life of the community.

The Spanish soldiers were usually men of good character. Among them were many cadets and young men of good families who had adopted a military career, whose birth and education entitled them to certain exemptions and privileges, and who afterward became distinguished in civil life. Officers could not marry without the king's consent, and to secure this, those beneath the rank of captain had to show that they had an income outside their pay. The chief officer was the commandant. Discipline was severe. The old Spanish Articles of War prescribed the death penalty for so many trivial offences that, as another writer has remarked, it was really astonishing that any soldier could escape execution. There is no record of any military executions at San Diego, however, except of Indians.

The principal duties of the soldiers were to garrison the forts, to stand guard at the missions, to care for the horses and cattle, and to carry dispatches. Both officers and men had usually a little time at their disposal, which they were allowed to employ in providing for their families. Some were shoemakers, others, tailors or woodcutters; but after the first few years most of them seem to have given their leisure hours to agriculture. The pay was small and subject to many vexatious deductions. Supplies were brought by ship from Mexico and the cost was deducted from the men's pay.



ROUGH PLAN OF PRESIDIO HILL (Drawn from descriptions)

The military establishment on Presidio Hill was always the weakest in the department. The rude earthworks thrown up in July, 1769, grew but slowly. In August there seem to have been but four soldiers able to assist in repelling the first Indian attack. But when Perez returned, in the following March, good use was made of the time. The temporary stockade was completed and two bronze cannon mounted, one pointing toward the harbor, the other toward the Indian village. Houses of wood, rushes, tule, and adobe were constructed. Three years later four thousand adobe bricks had been made and some stones collected for use in foundations. A foundation had also been laid for a church ninety feet long, but work upon this building had been suspended because of delay in the arrival of the supply ship.

When the mission establishment was removed up the river, all buildings at the Presidio, except two rooms reserved for the use of visiting friars and for the storage of mission supplies, were given up to the military. In September of this year there was some trouble with troops which had been sent up from Sinaloa. The following year, at the time of the destruction of the mission, related in a previous chapter, the force at the Presidio consisted of a corporal and ten men. In the panic caused by this tragedy, all the stores and families at the Presidio were hastily removed to the old friars' house, the roof of that building was covered with earth to prevent its being set on fire, and the time of waiting for the arrival of reinforcements was spent in fear and trembling.

The work of collecting stones to be used in laying the foundations for the new adobe wall to replace the wooden stockade was begun in 1778 and the construction of the wall soon followed. The population of the Presidio was then about one hundred and twenty-five. Small parties of soldiers arrived and departed, and some effort was expended in attempts to find improved routes of travel through the country. In 1782, the old church within the presidial enclosure was burned. Two years later, the regulations required the presidial force to consist of five corporals and forty-six soldiers, six men being always on guard at the Mission.

The visit of the famous English navigator, George Vancouver, in the *Discovery* in 1793, was the most important event breaking the monotony of these early years. His was the first foreign vessel that ever entered San Diego harbor. He arrived on the 27th day of November and remained twelve days. His presence disturbed and alarmed the Spanish officials, who did not relish the sight of the British flag in Californian waters. The San Diego commandant, however, treated him with courtesy and relaxed the rigid port regulations in his favor, so far as lay within his power. Vancouver gave Father Lasuen, of the San Juan Capistrano Mission, a barrel-organ for his church, made some nautical observations, and corrected his charts. But the most valuable results of his visit, so far as this history is concerned, are his shrewd observations upon the Presidio of San Diego and the whole Spanish military establishment in Upper California. He says the soldiers "are totally incapable of making any resistance against a foreign invasion, an event which is by no means improbable." The Spanish officials knew this; the relations between England and Spain, too, were strained and war broke out not long after. It is no wonder that Vancouver was regarded with dread and suspicion. He goes on:

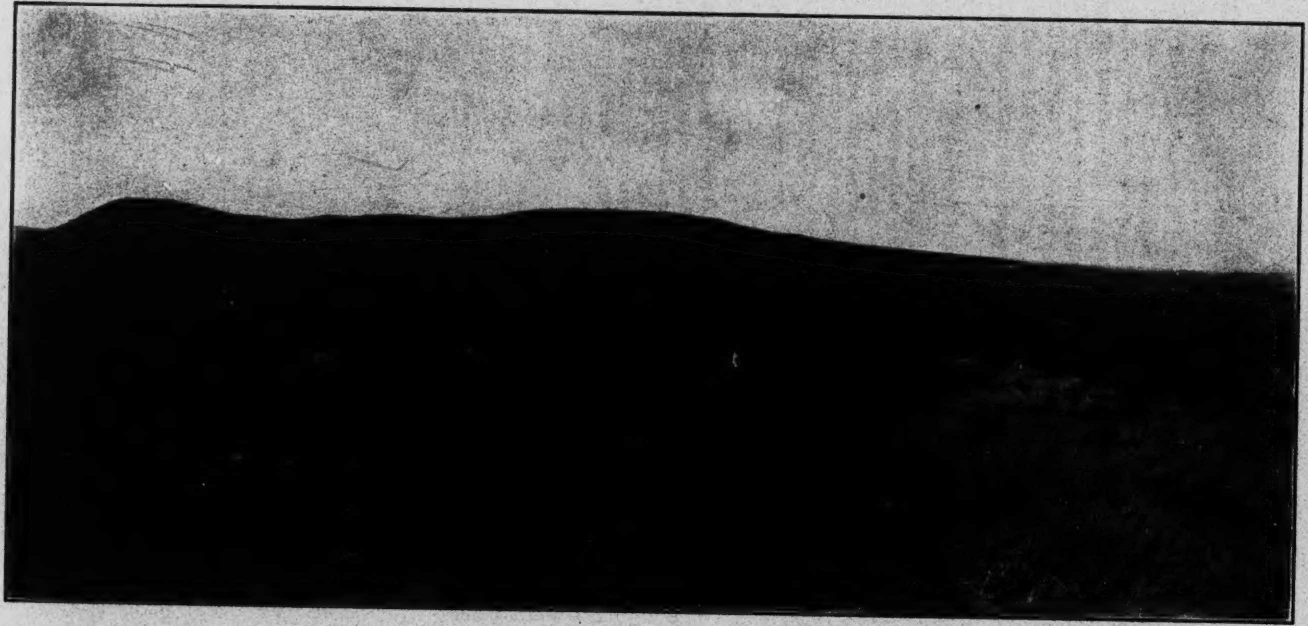
> The Spanish Monarchy retains this extent of country under its authority by a force that, had we not been eye-witnesses of its insignificance in many instances, we should hardly have given credit to the possibility of so small a body of men keeping in awe and under subjection the natives of this country, without resorting to harsh or unjustifiable measures.

And again:

> The Presidio of San Diego seemed to be the least of the Spanish establishments. It is irregularly built, on very uneven ground, which makes it liable to some inconveniences, without the obvious appearance of any object for selecting such a spot. With little difficulty it might be rendered a place of considerable strength, by establishing a small force at the entrance of the port; where at this time there were neither works, guns, houses, or other habitations nearer than the Presidio, five miles from the port, and where they have only three small pieces of brass cannon.

The "three small pieces of brass cannon" at the Presidio were somewhat like the toy cannon now used on yachts for firing salutes. One of the original San Diego Presidio cannon is now in the Coronel collection at Los Angeles, and a cut of it appears herein. These cannon were far less effective than a modern rifle, but, mounted in the bastions of the old Presidio, they served their purpose of making a loud noise and awing the Indians, who called them "creators of thunder."

Vancouver's visit, with its annoying revelation of the weak state of the country's defenses, led to the strengthening of the military arm. In the same year, upon the Governor's urgent request, the Viceroy ordered the Presidio to be repaired. A fort was also projected on what is now known as Ballast Point, then called Point Guijarros (cobblestones), the same spot which Vancouver's quick eye had noted as the strategic defensive point. Plans were drawn in 1795 for installing there a battery of ten guns, but the work proceeded slowly and was not completed for five years or more.



PRESIDIO HILL OF TODAY—This is the "Plymouth Rock" of the Pacific, scene of the first settlement by Europeans and original location of the first mission in California. It should be preserved as one of the foremost historical shrines in America

In November, 1796, the priests were called upon to perform the ceremony of blessing the esplanade, powder magazine, and flag at the Presidio, and a salute was fired in honor of the event. There were neither flags, nor materials for making them, in Upper California, and they were therefore sent from Mexico This marks the beginning of the fortifications proper on Presidio Hill, on the point of the hill below the Presidio walls. This fort was maintained, in a small way, during the Spanish administration, and to a certain extent afterward. Nothing whatever of the site now remains, the earth forming the point of the hill having been hauled away and used by the government engineers in making the embankment for turning the San Diego River, in 1877. Some of this earth was also used for grading the county road across the valley from then end of the Old Town bridge, in later years. These excavations also took large quantities of earth from the north side of the hill, the extent being measured by the widening of the road from a narrow track to its present width. During the year in which the fort on the hill was built, twenty-five soldiers and six artillerymen were added to the garrison, making the total force nearly ninety men.

The end of the eighteenth century was now close at hand and it brought a few events of unusual interest to the quiet community. In 1798 the soil of San Diego was first trodden by Americans. Four sailors had been left by an American ship in Lower California, whether by accident or design is unknown. They tramped to San Diego and applied at the Presidio for food and shelter, as well as for a chance to take the first opportunity to sail in the direction of home. They were not very hospitably welcomed by the Spaniards, who regarded them with some suspicion, but there was nothing to do except to care for them until a ship sailed for Mexico. In the meantime, they were given a chance to earn their bed and board by working on the fortifications. Later, they were sent to San Blas. The Americans bore the names of William Katt, Barnaby Jan, and John Stephens, and were natives of Boston. They were accompanied by Gabriel Boisse, a Frenchman, who had been left behind, like themselves, from the American ship *Gallant*,—a treatment hardly in keeping with the name.

The next year the English sloop-of-war *Mercedes* paid a brief visit to San Diego, but sailed away without any hostile demonstration. The last year of the old century found the Presidio with a population of one hundred and sixty-seven souls, mostly soldiers and their families, according to official report made to the Viceroy. During that year a number of foundling children were sent from Lower California, and eight of them were assigned to San Diego. As one of them inelegantly remarked, long afterward, they were distributed "like puppies among the families." There is no reason to suppose, however, that they were not well cared for.

With the year 1800 the Yankee trader began to cast his shadow before him. It was the palmy day of Boston's captains of commerce, when they used to load their ships with the products of New England ingenuity and send them forth upon the seas bound for nowhere in particular, but looking for good bargains in exchange for their cargoes. About all that California had to offer at that time was the trade in furs, chiefly those of the sea otter which, as we have seen in previous pages, was a considerable source of profit to the Mission Fathers. These skins were in great demand and the government tried in vain to monopolize the business. The commandants at all the ports did what they could to prevent foreign ships from getting any of the furs, but the Yankee skippers were enterprising and found many a weak spot in the Spanish lines.

The first American ship to enter San Diego Bay bore the good old English name of *Betsy*. She arrived on the 25th of August, 1800, in command of Captain Charles Winship. She carried nineteen men and ten guns, remained ten days, secured wood and water, and then departed for San Blas. In June, 1801, Captain Ezekiel Hubbell came in the *Enterprise*, of New York, with ten guns and twenty-one men. All he asked was wood and water, with which he set sail after a stay of a few days. If either of these earliest American captains succeeded in doing any illicit trade at San Diego, they kept the secret successfully, leaving not so much as a rumor of scandal behind them. Such was not the case with those who came shortly after.

Captain John Brown arrived on February 26, 1803, in the *Alexander*, of Boston. He was bent on getting otter skins, though he failed to mention the fact to the Spanish commandant. On the contrary, he told a touching tale of sailors down with the scurvy, on the strength of which he was permitted to land, though required to keep away from the fort. He was supplied with fresh provisions and, in view of the condition of his crew, granted permission to stay eight days. In the meantime, the wily captain was buying all the skins offered by Indians and soldiers. On the fifth evening of his stay, the commandant sent a party on board the *Alexander* to search for contraband. The search was rewarded, 491 skins coming to light. The Yankee was invited to leave San Diego without ceremony; also without the otter skins. There was nothing to do but to comply, unless it was also to grumble, which the captain did. He complained that his ship had been visited by a rabble before any demand was made for the surrender of the furs. He also complained that the soldiers relieved him of other goods to which they had no rightful claim. The evidence seems clear, however, that Captain John Brown, of Boston, abused the Spanish hospitality by perpetrating the first Yankee trick in the history of San Diego.

The *Lelia Byrd* dropped anchor in the Bay on March 17th, having sailed by the fort on Ballast Point without arousing any protest. But promptly the next day the commandant of the Presidio appeared on board with an escort of twelve soldiers. He made himself acquainted with the Captain, William Shaler, and with Richard J. Cleveland, mate and part-owner of the ship, a character who gains much additional interest from the fact that he was a relative of Daniel Cleveland, a prominent citizen of San Diego. Captain Cleveland left a good account of the exciting events precipitated by the presence of his ship. Among other things, he described the commandant as an offensively vain and pompous man, but it is possible that the captain's unsatisfied desire for otter skins may have prejudiced his opinion in the matter. The commandant agreed to furnish needed supplies, but informed the visitors that when these were delivered they must promptly depart. They were expressly forbidden to attempt any trading and five men were left as a guard to see that this injunction was enforced. Three days later, the commandant again visited the ship, received his pay for the supplies, and wished his visitors a prosperous voyage.

The Yankee crew, in the meantime, had been ashore, visited the fort at Ballast Point, and made the acquaintance of the corporal in charge of the battery, José Velasquez. Thus they learned that the commandant had on hand something like a thousand confiscated otter skins—which he would not sell. The corporal hinted, however, that he might be able to deliver some of the forbidden goods, obtained from other sources. Captain Cleveland was ready for the trade and sent a boat ashore that night for the skins. The first trip was successful, but a second boat failed to return. When morning came, the Yankee captain decided on vigorous action. He disarmed the Spanish guards who had been left on his ship, sent them below, and went ashore with four armed men. It was found that the crew of the second boat, which had failed to return the previous night, had been captured by a party of mounted soldiers, headed by the commandant himself. They had been bound hand and foot and compelled to lie on the shore, where they were captured, all night under guard.

In his account of the affair Captain Cleveland says: "On landing, we ran up to the guard, and, presenting our pistols, ordered them instantly to release our men from their ligatures. . . . . . . This order was readily complied with by the three soldiers who had been guarding them; and, to prevent mischief, we took away their arms, dipped them in water, and left them on the beach."

It was now necessary for the Americans to make their escape as quickly as possible. The men were full of fight, but their situation seemed desperate. There were only fifteen men, all told, in the crew, and the armament consisted of six three-pounders. Their inspection of Fort Guijarros had shown that it contained a battery of six nine-pounders, with an abundant supply of powder and ball. The force was probably sufficient to work the guns, although Cleveland is doubtless mistaken in thinking the ship opposed by at least a hundred men. He remarks that while the preparations for flight were making on board ship, all was bustle and animation on shore, and that both horse and foot were flocking to the fort; and it is a fair inference that most of this crowd were mere spectators.

The difficulties in the situation of the Americans were much increased by various circumstances. It took time to hoist the anchor and get up sail. There was only a slight land breeze blowing, and the Spaniards were able to fire two shots at the ship, one a blank shot and the second a solid one, before they began to move. They were under fire fully three-quarters of an hour before arriving near enough to reach the fort with their small guns. In the hope of restraining the Spanish fire, the guard were placed in the most exposed and conspicuous stations in the ship. Here they stood and frantically pleaded with their countrymen to cease firing, but without avail. At every discharge they fell upon their faces and showed themselves, naturally enough, in a state of collapse. As soon as they came within range, the Americans discharged a broadside at the fort from their six small guns, and at once saw numbers of the garrison scrambling out of the back of the fort and running away up the hill. A second broadside was discharged, and after that no one could be seen at the fort except one man who stood upon the ramparts and waved his hat.

There is no record of any blood being shed in this first "Battle of San Diego," although the ship was considerably damaged. Her rigging was struck several times early in the action, and while abreast of the fort in the narrow channel several balls struck her hull, one of which was "between wind and water." Safe out of the harbor, the terrified guard, who expected nothing less than death, were set on shore. Here they relieved their feelings, first by falling on their knees in prayer, and then by springing up and shouting, *"Vivan, vivan los Americanos!"*

"El Capitan" cast in Manila in 1783 and brought to San Diego in 1800; now at the Chamber of Commerce.

"El Nino" which came with the Spaniards 1769, now in the Coronel Collection at Los Angeles.

There is no doubt that Corporal Velasquez and his men did everything in their power to sink the *Lelia Byrd*. The battery was stimulated by the presence of the fiery commandant, and, perhaps, the corporal thought it prudent to make a showing of zeal, in view of his previous conduct. Captain Cleveland expresses the opinion that the contraband skins were offered them treacherously, for the express purpose of involving them in difficulties. It is a fact, however, that the corporal was placed under arrest for his part in the two affairs of the *Alexander* and the *Lelia Byrd*, accused of engaging in forbidden trade. The priest in charge of the Mission of San Luis Rey also wrote the commandant and asked for the return of one hundred and seventy skins which his Indian neophytes had smuggled on board the *Alexander*, doubtless by his own direction; but he was refused.

The animation of the controversy which raged over these otter skins, actually ending in a battle between an American ship and the Spanish fort, naturally suggests a question as to what they were worth in dollars and cents. The question is rather difficult to answer, because the value of these furs fluctuated over a wide range at different times and varied again with the different markets in which they were bought and sold. It is probable that the thousand skins at that time in possession of the commandant were worth at San Diego not far from $7,000 or $8,000, and that they could have been sold in China for five or ten times that amount. The margin of profit which could have been made on a successful transaction would have represented a good fortune, for those days, for the owners of the *Lelia Byrd*. And now comes the melancholy part of the story—melancholy or ludicrous, as the reader pleases. After all the trouble they had made, those valuable furs never did anybody good. They rotted before they could be legally disposed of and three years later were thrown into the sea! But the dignity of Spain had been vindicated.

The affair of the *Lelia Byrd*, which caused a tremendous excitement at the time, was long talked of on the Pacific Coast. They were still gossiping about it when Richard Henry-Dana visited San Diego, thirty-three years later. The story was always told in a way to reflect great credit upon the Americans, though it is likely that they would have preferred less credit—and the otter skins.

In January, 1804, Captain Joseph O'Cain, on a trading expedition in the *O'Cain*, ventured to call and ask for provisions. He had been mate of the *Enterprise* when she was at San Diego, three years earlier. He had no passport and his request was refused. While his ship was in the harbor, a negro sailor named John Brown deserted from her and was afterward sent to San Blas. Probably he was the first negro ever seen in San Diego. There is no record of any American visitors in 1805, but there was much perturbation in Spain and Spanish-America respecting the supposed designs of the United States upon California.

Upon Governor Arrillaga's arrival, early in 1806, more stringent measures were taken to prevent contraband trade. It had become something of a custom for the American trading ships to avoid the ports and, by standing off and sending boats ashore, to carry on their trade at will. The *Peacock*, Captain Kimball, anchored off San Juan Capistrano in April, ostensibly for the purpose of securing provisions. Four men were sent ashore in a boat, but they were seized and sent to San Diego. The ship soon after appearing off the harbor, the men broke jail and endeavored to rejoin her, but without success. They were therefore obliged to return to the Presidio and later were sent to San Blas. The names of these men were: Tom Kilven, mate; a Frenchman, boatswain; Blas Limcamk and Blas Yame, sailors from Boston. They were the first Americans to occupy a prison in San Diego.

In the summer of this year another craft whose name is not known with certainty, but which is said to have been under the command of Captain O'Cain, was off the coast and gave the San Diego military establishment some trouble and a good deal of fright. The Spanish accounts call her the *Reizos,* and it is possible she was the *Racer,* which was here in July. The captain, having asked for supplies and an opportunity to make repairs and been refused, went to Todos Santos, in Lower California, where he took water forcibly and made prisoners of three guards who had been sent to watch his movements. He then came back and endeavored to exchange his prisoners for the four men from the *Peacock;* this failing, he threatened to attack and destroy the fort and Presidio. Hurried preparations were made for meeting the attack, but Captain O'Cain thought better of the matter and sailed away, releasing his prisoners. The *Racer* was at San Diego again in 1807, and the

BURIAL OF JAMES O. PATTIE ON PRESIDIO HILL

The picture is somewhat fanciful, having been made from memory to illustrate the "Narrative" published by his son years afterward, but is interesting because it is the only representative we have of the appearance of Presidio Hill when it was an important seat of government. See Chapter IV.

Mercury, Captain George Eyres, in the following year. These were the last foreign ships which came for several years.

Again the annals of the quiet years grow scanty. The military force fluctuated slightly, officials came and went, quarrelled and became reconciled, and the ebb and flow of frontier life went on with scarcely a ripple.

In 1804 the sum of $688 was set apart by the Viceroy for the construction of a flatboat, twenty-five feet long, to be used as a means of transportation between Fort Guijarros and the Presidio. This boat was actually built and used many years. Evidently the San Diego river had not then filled in the tide lands near Old Town. This boat was wrecked at Los Adobes in the latter part of the year 1827, and in the following year the governor ordered that its timbers should be used for building a wharf. In 1812 some soldiers were arrested on a charge of being engaged in a plot to revolt and seize the post. Governor Pio Pico in his manuscript *History of California* says that his father,

JUDGE WITHERBY'S CHAIR

A genuine specimen of mission furniture, made when the missions were in their glory. It was used for many years by Judge O. S. Witherby and is now in Department One of San Diego Superior Court.

Sergeant José María Pico, was one of the accused men, and that three of them died in prison.

The struggle for Mexican independence in the decade from 1811 to 1821, caused very little disturbance in Upper California. The uncertainty of the soldiers' pay and the irregularity in the arrival of the supply ships were keenly felt; but the archives of the period are almost silent on the subject of the revolution, knowledge of which seems to have been purposely suppressed. Officials were blamed for their negligence, and there was much unrest and complaint, but the department as a whole, both military and ecclesiastical, was loyal to Spain. The sufferings of the soldiers were severe. Their wants could only be supplied by the missions, which took in exchange for their produce orders on the treasury of Spain which they knew might never be paid. At the Presidio these supplies were traded to foreign ships and sometimes disposed of by less regular methods. Governor Arrillaga importuned the Viceroy in vain on the subject of the necessities of the soldiers, and by 1814 the dependence of the military upon the missions was complete. At his visit in 1817, Governor Sola found the Presidio buildings in a ruinous condition, but apparently nothing was done toward restoring them under the brief remainder of Spanish rule.

In March of this same year, there was a slight revival of foreign trade following upon the visit of Captain James Smith Wilcox, with the *Traveller*. He came from the North where he had sold cloth to the officials for the Presidios and brought with him the share assigned to San Diego. On his departure he took a cargo of grain for Loreto,—the first cargo of grain exported from California in an American vessel. In June he returned and did some trading up and down the coast, seeming to enjoy the confidence of the authorities in an unusual degree.

In December, 1818, occurred the episode of the Bouchard scare, which made a deep impression. Captain Hippolyte Bouchard came to the California Coast with two vessels which he had fitted out at the Hawaiian Islands as privateers, flying the flag of Buenos Ayres. He was regarded by the Spaniards as a pirate, although his conduct scarcely justifies so harsh a term. What his designs were is not clearly known. He may have intended to seize Upper California. The expedition appears to have been a feature of the wars then raging between Spain and the South American countries, the latter employing the methods of privateers, which at that time were recognized by the laws of nations.

After committing some depredations at the north, particularly at Monterey, it was reported that the two ships of Bouchard were approaching the Mission of San Juan Capistrano. The Commandant at San Diego therefore sent Lieutenant Santiago Argüello with thirty men to assist in its defense. When

Argüello arrived he found that the Fathers had removed a part of the church property and concealed it, and he and his men fell to and did all they could toward completing the work. Bouchard arrived the next day and demanded supplies, which Argüello refused. Re-enforcements soon arrived, and after much bluster Bouchard drew off without venturing to give battle, but not before some damage had been done. For this damage and certain other irregularities the San Juan Capistrano Mission Fathers accused Argüello. These charges were the cause of much bad feeling and voluminous correspondence, but General Guerra, who was friendly to the friars, expressed the opinion that the charges were merely trumped up by the priests to cover their own neglect of duty.

Extensive preparations had been made at San Diego to receive Captain Bouchard, even down to such details as red-hot cannon balls. The women and children were sent away to Pala for safety. But the insurgent vessels passed by without stopping, and all was soon serene again. When the news of this attack reached the Viceroy, he determined to re-enforce the Upper California presidios, at any cost, although he was in extreme difficulties, himself, on account of the civil war then raging in Mexico. He accordingly managed to send a detachment of a hundred cavalrymen, which arrived at San Diego on the 16th of September the following year, and about half of them remained here. They were fairly well armed and brought money for the payment of expenses.

Up to 1819, the military force at the Presidio was about fifty-five men, besides a detail of twenty-five soldiers at the Mission, and twenty invalids living at Los Angeles or on ranchos. In that year the number was increased to one hundred and ten, and in 1820 the total population of the district was about four hundred and fifty. In August of this year the British whaler *Discovery* put in for provisions—the only foreign ship for several years, and Captain Ruiz got into trouble by allowing her commander to take soundings of the bay.

At the close of the Spanish rule, San Diego was still a sleepy little military post on a far frontier. The fortifications were dilapidated, the soldiers in rags and destined to lose their large arrears of pay, and the invalids their pensions. The missions had large possessions, but were impoverished by the enforced support of the military for many years. Commerce was dead and agriculture scarcely begun. But a better day was at hand.

LIST OF SPANISH AND MEXICAN MILITARY COMMANDANTS AT SAN DIEGO, 1769-1840.

Lieutenant Pedro Fages, military commandant of California, July, 1770, to May, 1774.

Lieutenant José Francisco Ortega, from July, 1771; made lieutenant and put in formal charge, 1773; continued till 1781.

Lieutenant José de Zúñiga, September 8, 1781, to October 19, 1793.

Lieutenant Antonio Grajera, Oct. 19, 1793, to Aug. 23, 1799.

Lieutenant José Font, temporary commandant of military post, ranking Rodriguez, Aug. 23, 1799, to 1803.

Lieutenant Manuel Rodriguez, acting commandant of the company from Aug. 23, 1799, till 1803, when he became commandant of the post and so continued till late in 1806.

Lieutenant Francisco María Ruiz, acting commandant from late in 1806 till 1807.

Lieutenant José de la Guerra y Noriega, for a short time in 1806-1807.

Captain José Raimundo Carrillo, from late in 1807 till 1809.

Lieutenant Francisco María Ruiz, lieutenant and acting commandant from 1809 till 1821; then captain and commandant.

Captain Ignacio del Corral, nominally commandant from 1810 to 1820, but never came to California.

Lieutenant José María Estudillo, Oct. 23, 1820, to Sept., 1821.

Captain Francisco María Ruiz, Sept., 1821, to 1827, when he retired at age of 73.

Lieutenant José María Estudillo, from early in 1827 to April 8, 1830.

Lieutenant Santiago Argüello, from April 8, 1830, to 1835.

Captain Augustin V. Zamorano, from 1835 to 1840; was here only during 1837-8 and never assumed command of the company.

Captain Pablo de la Portilla was nominally commandant of the post by seniority of rank, whenever present, from 1835 until he left California in 1838.

CHAPTER II.

BEGINNINGS OF AGRICULTURE AND COMMERCE.

THE range steer was the first historical character in the commercial life of San Diego. He it was who drew the ships from far-off New England; furnished material for an export trade with the United States, Mexico, South America, and the Sandwich Islands; and even laid the foundations of social life at Old Town by supplying an interest to attract and support a population, including some families of large means, when the military society began to pass away. Every early visitor to San Diego refers to the hide-houses which stood out conspicuously near La Playa and which, for many years, served as the emblem of its commercial importance. The trade in hides and tallow was the significant thing during that quarter of a century—1821 to 1846—in which San Diego rested under the Mexican flag. The cultivation of the soil was a different story, and one full of human interest.

The members of the first expedition of Spanish settlers brought seed with them from Mexico and it was planted in the fall of 1769 on the river bottom, directly opposite Presidio Hill, probably at a place now known as Serrano's field. This first crop was a total failure—the ground was too low and the winter rise of the stream in 1770 destroyed the grain. The second crop was also a disappointment. It was planted too far away from the stream to be irrigated and, as it was a season of light rainfall, only a small quantity of maize and of beans was harvested. The third year the scene of operations was moved up the valley to a place called Nuestra Señora del Pilar, near the site subsequently occupied by the Mission. The result was not immediately satisfactory, as only about twenty bushels of wheat were harvested, but the priests now bent their minds to the task in earnest, worked out crude methods of irrigation, and finally established their agriculture successfully. By 1790 they were raising fifteen hundred bushels of grain annually, and the production rapidly increased.

There is no record of any further attempts at agriculture in the Eighteenth Century. If any of the soldiers tried it, they probably had a varied experience.

It was the Spanish soldiers who made the first gardens at Old Town. Doubtless as they looked down from Presidio Hill they had an eye for choice spots of land where they would one day make a comfortable home for their old age and live under their own vine and fig-tree, in the literal sense of the term. The very first house in Old Town was doubtless the tule hut of a retired soldier. And the pioneer of successful gardeners was Captain Francisco María Ruiz. He planted the spot which afterwards came to be known as Rose's Garden, and his pears, olives, and pomegranates bore goodly crops for seventy-five or eighty years. These trees were planted early in the last century and it is only a few years since the last survivors of them, which happened to be pear trees, were removed. This pioneer garden was in the same block as the residence of George Lyons. The olive trees at the Mission, and the famous old palms at the foot of Presidio Hill, were the only plantings which antedated the orchard of Captain Ruiz.

There is no possible doubt that the two old palms were the first ever planted in California, and as such they constitute a most valuable and interesting historical exhibit. The seeds from which they sprang were a part of that remarkable outfit with which Galvez had thoughtfully supplied his expedition for the conquest of the new empire. They were planted in 1769, and there is good evidence that they bore a crop of dates in 1869, in honor of their one-hundredth birthday. There is a tradition that they never bore a crop earlier than that—a freak of nature, if true. The historic trees were shamefully neglected and abused for many years. They were gnawed by disrespectful horses, and fell victims to those thoughtless vandals who, for some inscrutable reason, never miss an opportunity to carve their own unimportant initials upon everything which the public is interested in having preserved unscarred. In April, 1887, a very modest fence was placed about the trees and now they bid fair to survive for many a generation.

By the year 1821 the little patches of cultivated land had multiplied at the base of Presidio Hill and even spread up and across Mission Valley. Don Blas Aguilar, who was born at San Diego, in 1811, recalled fifteen such rancherías, as they were called, which were occupied prior to the great flood of that year. At two places in the valley there were vineyards. Most of the rancherías were washed away or greatly damaged by the flood, which occurred in September or October and in a single night filled the valley and changed the course of the river. Large numbers of ripe pumpkins were brought down from the fields in the El Cajon country. Dana was able to buy, in July, 1836, a bag of onions, some pears, beans, watermelons, and other fruits.

The fine upper valley of the San Diego, including the El Cajon, was monopolized by the Mission Fathers; hence, the military were compelled to look elsewhere for their grazing and farming lands. For grazing purposes, they took possession of that fine district known in later times as the National Ranch, but called by the Spanish the Rancho del Rey, or Ranch of the King. Their grain-fields were located at the Soledad, twelve miles up the coast. This latter valley was treated as the commons of the San Diego military establishment, and, later, of the Pueblo. The land was not divided into individual holdings, but farmed in common. A man cultivating a plot one year had the option of doing so the next season, an arrangement which continued until a short time before the Mexican War.

Agriculture never acquired any great importance in all the years of Spanish and Mexican dominion. True, there is a record of grain exports in 1817, as already noted, and this is evidence of progress when it is remembered that it had formerly been necessary to import this staple from Mexico; but the exports never reached an important stage. The easy-going inhabitants were well content if they produced enough to meet their own needs, and their methods and implements were ridiculously crude. Until the Americans came, there were no plows in the country except those made of the fork of a tree shod with a flat piece of iron. Grain was cut with a short sickle, and horses threshed it with their hoofs.

But while the agricultural experience was a hard struggle from the beginning, the livestock industry was rapidly developed without encountering any difficulties worth mentioning. It involved but little labor, and that little was of a kind admirably suited to the Spanish disposition, for it could be done mostly on horseback with long intervals of rest between the periods of activity. The pasturage was usually excellent and the cattle took care of themselves and multiplied prodigiously. The Mission Fathers were, of course, also the fathers of the cattle business. It was not until the community acquired a population apart from that sheltered by the Presidio and the Mission that private herds began to appear, but the success of the Fathers inevitably attracted others into the profitable business of raising cattle on free pastures.

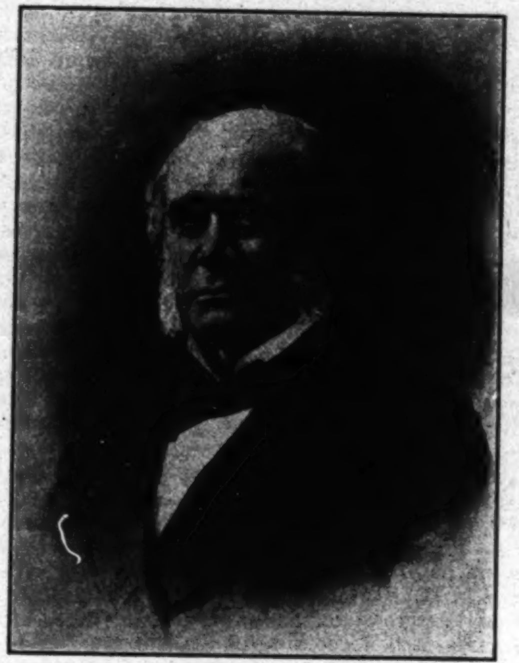
The Spaniards were lovers of horses and had them in such plenty that it was frequently necessary to slaughter them in order to prevent serious interference with the cattle industry. The Californians—a term which described the whole resident population of Spanish or Mexican blood—were noted for their horsemanship, yet they seem to have taken no pains to breed good stock. This they might easily have done, for they had good Arabian stock to start with, and doubtless the horse might have become an important item for export. With the exception of a few shiploads sent to the Sandwich Islands in early days, this opportunity seems to have been neglected. There were a few sheep in early times, but they never grew into large flocks—perhaps because they required more care than the Californians were willing to give them, or because the Californians were not fond of mutton.

The pioneer ship in the hide trade between New England and California was the *Sachem* of Boston, which first came to the coast in 1822. Her Captain was Henry Gyzelaar, while the supercargo was William A. Gale, a man of considerable note. He had been engaged in the California fur trade, and his glowing report of the resources and possibilities of the country was very influential in developing a fleet of trading ships and giving California its first boom. The Boston merchants who became interested included Bryant & Sturgis, Trot, Bumstead & Son, and W. B. Sweet. The important San Francisco firms engaged in this trade at the time were J. C. Jones, and Paty, McKinlay & Co. Captain Henry D. Fitch, the first great merchant of San Diego, was a member of the latter firm. The *Sachem* did not call at San Diego, securing a cargo elsewhere, but she was soon followed by other ships and a thriving trade in hides was established, which flourished until the Mexican War was well under way.

It was the custom of the hide ships to remain some time on the coast, going from port to port and bringing the hides which they collected to the large warehouses at San Diego, there to be prepared for shipment and stored until ready for the homeward voyage. These trips up and down the coast occupied three or four months and seven or eight trips were required for the collection of a cargo, so that two years or more were often spent on a voyage. The best account of this trade is that contained in Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast*.

The cattle were slaughtered from July 1st to October 1st. The methods used were wasteful. About two hundred pounds of the best part of the beef were dried and put aside for future use, and the remainder thrown away, greatly to the satisfaction of the buzzards and wild beasts. The hides were prepared for shipment by immersing them from two to four days in large vats of brine in order to make them immune against the attacks of insects. They were then spread out on the beach and dried, then hung on ropes and beaten with a flail until all the dust and sand were removed, and, finally, stored in the warehouses to await the sailing of the ships. A ship-load ranged from 25,000 to 50,000 hides.

The tallow was tried out in large pots and poured into bags made of hides, to cool, each bag containing from five hundred to a thousand pounds. In securing the tallow, the part lying nearest the hide was carefully removed and prepared for domestic use. A great deal of this grade of tallow went to Lima and Callao, to be used in making candles. The interior fat, weighing from seventy-five to one hundred pounds per animal, furnished the principal staple for export trade and was worth six cents per pound. This now seems very low, but of course, was due to the exceedingly small cost of producing cattle on the open range and to the heavy expense of shipping; otherwise the business could not have prospered with such enormous waste and such low prices for products.



RICHARD HENRY DANA

Author of "Two Years Before the Mast." The portrait shows him as he appeared at the height of his fame as jurist, politician and author. He died at Rome, January 6, 1882.

For the purpose of storing the hides, a number of large warehouses were erected by the Boston firms at a point on the shore nearest the anchorage, known as La Playa (the beach), near the site of the present government quarantine station. These houses were framed in Boston, sent out in the ships and set up here. They were named after the ships, and the names of four of them are recalled by old settlers as the *Admittance*, the *California*, the *Sterling*, and the *Tasso*. There do not appear to have been more than four in existence at one time. For instance, Dana says there were four in 1836. They stood until some time in the fifties. E. W. Morse says he spent his first night on shore, in April, 1850, in one of these old buildings, which was then used as a warehouse. Andrew Cassidy says there was only one of them standing when he arrived, three years later, and that it stood for several years after. Lieutenant Derby, who came in August, 1853, says there were then left the ruins of two of the old hide houses, one being the *Tasso*. Bartlett, in his *Personal Narrative*, states that when he was here in 1852, these houses were still standing "exactly as described by Dana in 1836," but this is clearly somewhat inexact. There were also warehouses in San Diego for the storage of the tallow which was to be sent to Peru or Mexico. No hides were exported to Peru or Mexico and no tallow to Boston.

The first hide house was built by the carpenter of the *Brookline* and occupied by James P. Arthur, mate of that ship, with a small party, while curing hides, in 1829. The *Boston Advertiser* says on his authority:

> They had a barn-like structure of wood, . . . which answered the purpose of storehouse, curing-shop, and residence. The life was lonesome enough. Upon the wide expanse of the Pacific they occasionally discerned a distant ship. Sometimes a vessel sailed near the lower offing. It was thus that the idea of preparing and raising a flag, for the purpose of attracting attention, occurred to them. The flag was manufactured from some shirts, and Captain Arthur writes, with the just accuracy of a historian, that Mr. Greene's calico shirt furnished the blue, while he furnished the red and white. "It was completed and raised on a Sunday, on the occasion of the arrival of the schooner *Washington*, Captain Thompson, of the Sandwich Islands, but sailing under the American flag." So writes honest Captain Arthur. He further states that the same flag was afterward frequently raised at Santa Barbara, whenever in fact there was a vessel coming into port. These men raised our national ensign, not in bravado, nor for war and conquest, but as honest men, to show that they were American citizens and wanted company. And while the act cannot be regarded as in the light of a claim to sovereignty, it is still interesting as a fact, and as an unconscious indication of manifest destiny.

The following is a list of all the American trading ships which have been found, known to have called at San Diego during the life of the hide trade. A few of these were doubtless whalers, and there were probably others of which no record has been found; but it is believed this list contains the names of substantially all the hide ships.

In 1824, *Arab, Mentor.*
1825, *Sachem.*
1825-6, *Rover.*
1828, *Andes, Courier, Franklin, General Sucre.*
1829-31, *Brookline, Louisa.*
1829-32-34, *Volunteer.*
1831, *Harriet.*
1831-3-6-8-9-40-2-3-4, *Alert.*
1831-2-3-7-8-9-40-1-2-3-4, *California.*
1832-3, *Plant.*
1833, *Newcastle.*
1833-38-45, *Don Quixote.*
1833-36-43, *Bolivar Liberator.*
1833, *Harriet Blanchard.*
1834, *Roxana.*
1835, *Pilgrim.*
1836, *Lagoda, Loriotte, Catalina.*
1836-7, *Kent.*
1837, *Rasselas, Sophia.*
1839, *Morse.*
1840, *Alciope.*
1840-1, *Monsoon.*
1841, *Thomas Perkins.*
1841-2-3-5-7, *Tasso.*
1842-4-6-7, *Barnstable.*
1839-43-4, *Fama.*
1844, *Menkar.*
1844-5, *Sterling.*
1845, *Martha, Admittance.*
1846, *Vandalia.*
1847-8, *Olga.*

The hide and tallow trade practically ended with the transfer of California to the United States. This was a mere coincidence, due to economic rather than to political causes. New England found that she could get her hides cheaper somewhere else. The trade had marked the high tide of prosperity in old California days, and supplied an interesting and romantic episode in the history of the country. Excellent accounts of this period may be found in the writings of Bancroft, Dana, Robinson, and Davis. The latter, perhaps the most competent authority, estimates the total number of hides exported from California at about 5,000,000 and the tallow at 250,000,000 pounds.

Even after the cattle business passed mostly into private hands, the missions profited largely from it, by means of tithes, a form of ecclesiastical tax scrupulously paid by the rancheros and diligently collected by the missionaries. This tax was collected, in some instances, as late as 1850 or 1851. The missions were also the principal customers of the American ships. Their cargoes consisted of sugar, tea, coffee, rum, silk, furniture, calico, clothing, and blankets for the Indians, which they sold to the friars for cash and exchanged for hides. William A. Gale. Alfred Robinson, and William Heath Davis did a large business with the missions for many years.

In Robinson's *Life in California* is an interesting account of the pains which were taken, upon his first visit to San Diego, in 1829, to entertain the good Father Antonio Peyri, founder of the San Luis Rey Mission, and especially to impress him with the excellence of the stores brought in the *Brookline*, from Boston. This entertainment seems to have proven quite profitable, in the end. The missionaries kept the first, and for many years the only, stores, from which they supplied the wants of their neophytes and sold goods to such as desired them. Their success soon stimulated emulation in this, as in other, lines and private fortunes began to grow. The first storekeeper at San Diego, and the only one for some years, was Captain Henry D. Fitch, who dealt in furs, hides, and general merchandise. After the cattle business began to assume importance and private residences were established in the country, at every important rancho was maintained a general store and depot of supply for the surrounding country.

With the growth of the hide and tallow trade, land began to assume more value and private holdings increased. Under the Spanish administration, only the king could make grants of land, and it was many years before the right was exercised toward any except the missionaries. The general laws of Spain provided for the granting of four square leagues of land to newly-formed settlements, or pueblos as they were called, upon certain conditions. As early as 1784, application was made to the Governor by private individuals for grants of land, and he issued a few written permits for temporary occupation. Two years later he received authority to make grants of tracts not exceeding three leagues, not to conflict with the boundaries of existing pueblos, and on certain conditions which included the building of a stone house and the keeping of not less than two thousand head of livestock on each rancho.

It was considered that vacant lands outside the pueblos and missions belonged to the Indians, to be utilized by them whenever they should become sufficiently civilized. In 1793 it was reported that no private grants had been made, but a few years later a number were made near the presidios, subject to confirmation later on. Several governors in succession preferred to make these conditional grants, and at the close of the 18th century the situation was this: The Presidio was without settlers, but expected ultimately to become a pueblo, and was entitled to four square leagues of land whenever proper organization should appear; and there were in the whole department twenty or thirty men engaged in raising cattle on lands to which they had only such possessory permits, but none of these appear to have been at San Diego. In 1813 the Spanish cortes passed a decree relative to the reduction of public lands to private ownership, designed to improve agricultural conditions and reward the country's defenders. Lands might be granted to veterans and invalid soldiers.

This decree was unknown in California before 1820. One of the earliest of the grants made under this law was that of the Peñasquitos Rancho, of nearly nine thousand acres, to the veteran Captain Ruiz and Francisco M. Alvarado, on June 15, 1823. This grant was made against the earnest protests of the missionaries, as conflicting with their boundaries. In a report made in 1828 are named the Rancho del Rey, now known as the National Ranch, where the Presidio had 250 cattle and 25 horses; the San Antonio Abad, which had 300 cattle, 80 horses and 25 mules, besides producing some grain; the Peñasquitos Rancho, with 50 cattle, 20 horses, and 8 mules; El Rosario, or Barracas, which had 25 head of live-stock and some grain; and the San Ysidro stock range. It also appears from a statement of the missionaries in this year that the Temescal Rancho had been occupied by Leandro Serrano, majordomo at San Juan. In January or March, 1829, Governor Echeandía granted one league at Otay to José Antonio Estudillo, and another to María Magdalena Estudillo.

From about 1832 grants were rapidly made of the public or unoccupied lands of California; and subsequent to the acts of secularization of 1833-4, it was the practice of the government to grant to individuals tracts of land belonging to the missions, but which were no longer used or occupied by them. In spite of the opposition of the priests, grants were constantly made by the government within the limits of the so-called mission domain, and this continued up to 1846, when the dominion of Upper California passed to the American Government. And so it went on, until the country, except the mission and pueblo lands, had passed into private hands. A table showing these early land grants is given at the end of this chapter.

Mr. Theodore S. Van Dyke has written very instructively about these land grants in his *City and County of San Diego*. He says:

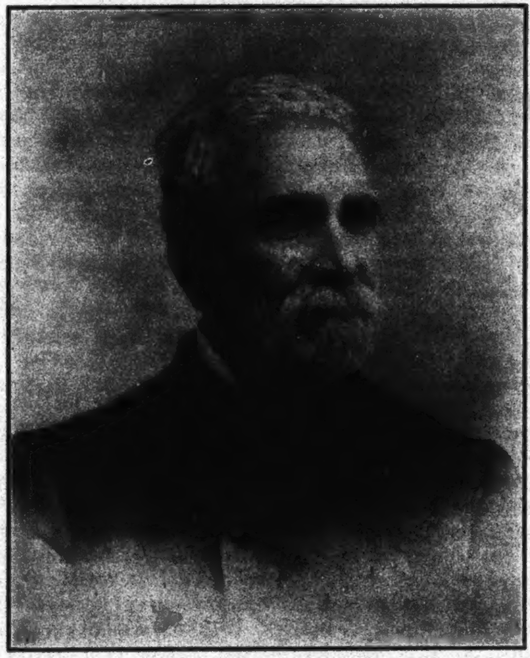
> Soon after the establishment of other missions in California, and the quieting and gathering in of the greater part of the Indians around the missions, settlers from Spain and Mexico began to come in, and later on a few from the United States, England, and elsewhere. Nearly all these settlers obtained grants of large tracts of land from the Mexican Government, which have since been the cause of much litigation, envy, and quarrelling. These grants were simply Mexican homesteads, given to settle the country just as the United States homesteads are given, for practically nothing.
>
> Instead of selling a man, as the United States then did, all the land he wanted for $1.25 an acre, the Mexican Government gave it to him by the square league. The grants were made large partly as an inducement to the settler to go into

> such a wild and remote country, but mainly because the raising of cattle for the hides and tallow being the only industry, a large range was absolutely necessary for profit as well as the support of the band of retainers necessary for profit and safety. . . .
>
> The first effect of these large grants was to retard settlement. The County of San Diego, in common with the rest of Southern California, was then believed to be a veritable desert of sand, cactus, and horned toads, fit only for stock range at the rate of about one hundred acres to each animal.

Dairying was practically unknown among the ranchos, and often there was no effort even to keep the tables supplied with milk. Davis says that he has frequently drank his coffee or tea without milk, on a ranch containing from 3600 to 8000 head of cattle. Other methods were equally wasteful. The horns were not thought worth saving, and the Americans who chose were allowed to gather and ship all they cared to, without money and without price. These lax methods may be further illustrated by the fact that in 1840 the Mission of San José ordered the slaughter of two thousand bulls, which were killed simply for their hides, none of the meat, and little of the tallow, being saved.

Next to the cattle industry, and the trade in hides and tallow, the fisheries made the most important contribution to the early commerce of San Diego. And the fisheries included the exciting chase for the sea otter, which was very valuable for its fur. The otters were far more plentiful in the north, yet were frequent visitors to the San Diego coast, especially to the kelp beds off Point Loma and La Jolla. The Indians were acquainted with the use of their furs when the Spaniards came, and one of the early cares of the missionaries was to train their converts to improved methods of catching them. The Indians do not appear to have been remarkably energetic hunters, but enough skins were brought in to form an important item of export and a subject of contention between the commandants and the missionaries, both of whom thought themselves entitled to a monopoly of the traffic. The heyday of the Spanish trade was about the time of the *Lelia Byrd* affair, when virtually the whole population had skins to sell, openly or covertly, and the commandant had a collection of about a thousand confiscated skins.

By the time the Americans began to settle at San Diego otters were not so common in the bay, but along the coast of Lower California and its adjacent islands there was still good hunting. Philip Crosthwaite was one of the earliest and best known otter hunters. He stated that there were two companies of hunters at San Diego, in 1845, which were fitted out each season by Captain Fitch. The hunting season was during the spring and summer months, when the otters could be found among the kelp, often asleep, and shot with rifles from boats. This work required a peculiar equipment of patience, keen sight, steady nerves, and marksmanship. Each company sent out three canoes together which hunted in the day and lay up on the beach at night. There were places on the shore known to the hunters, where wood and water could be found, and at night they landed at such spots through the surf and made their camp. As late as 1857, two otter hunters were drowned in the surf on the beach near Point Loma, while trying to land in a small boat. Otters are, of course, now extinct in this vicinity. In 1845 the skins were worth $40 each at Fitch's store. There are no statistics of the extent and value of the otter catch, but it was very considerable.



WILLIAM HEATH DAVIS

Noted author, associated with Lieut. Gray in abortive effort to found new town, frequently called "Davis's Folly."

That strange animal, the sea-elephant, was also a native to this coast, and for a short time was a victim of the chase. Very early settlers tell how, on stormy days, the yelps of the elephants lying on the sand at what is now Coronado Beach could be heard in San Diego above the roar of the breakers. They were also plentiful in the haunts of the otter, along the coasts and islands of Lower California. They seem never to have formed an extensive object of the chase by the population. The story of their destruction is short and sad. Some of the Yankee whalers heard of them and conceived the idea that there might be money in elephant oil. There was a rush for them; they were slaughtered by thousands, and soon exterminated. It is said that some of these ships secured an entire cargo of elephant oil in a single season's chase. At any rate, these curious animals are gone, forever, from these parts. And does the reader ask, "What is a sea-elephant?" Merely a big seal—the biggest of his family—with a snout so prolonged as to be suggestive of an elephant.

The Spanish population never pursued the chase, either by land or sea, with noteworthy daring and vigor. It was great sport for the expert vaqueros to lasso a bear now and then and lead him home, to be baited to death by dogs and bulls; it never occurred to their uncommercial souls that this sort of thing could be turned into a money-making enterprise. Cattle were plentiful and cheap; why should a man incur fatigue and danger in the pursuit of articles of luxury which the state of society did not require? Such things were left to the restless and incomprehensible Americans. Cattle were something the Spanish could understand, and it was all very well to shoot an otter now and then as it lay asleep in the sun on beach or kelp; but to spend one's days amidst the toil and danger of the ocean chase, was much too strenuous. The finest of otter skins were worth no more than the hides of four or five bullocks, and there was neither use nor sale for whale oil, until the American ships came.

The story of the American whaling trade in the Pacific is one of the most picturesque and romantic in our history, and the half has never been told. The enterprise, hardihood, daring, and skill which made it possible, form a worthy sequel to the wonder-tales of England's Elizabethan age. This chase began long before the Mexican War and still continues to a limited extent. The chief rendezvous of the whale ships was first at the Sandwich Islands and later at San Francisco. In 1855 their number had reached five hundred, but it was not until ten years later that San Francisco became the headquarters. Whales were known to exist on the coast from the time of the earliest settlements. Father Crespí has left it on record that upon his arrival at San Pablo Bay, in March, 1772, he saw whales spouting, and there is no doubt the same phenomenon had been observed here, where whales were no less plentiful.

As late as the early forties, San Diego Bay was a favorite resort for female whales in their calving season, and at such times, on any bright day, scores of them could be seen spouting and basking in the sunlight. On North Island there was a spring which the inhabitants of La Playa were in the habit of visiting in canoes to get a supply of fresh water. Often when these whales were passing in or out, it was deemed unsafe to cross, and the boatmen had to wait for hours. But when the chase began in earnest and steamers began to visit the harbor, the whales abandoned the place and went farther down the coast. They still passed by near the shore, however, in the winter and spring months, and came in near Ballast Point in great numbers. Andrew Cassidy says he has often counted as many as eleven whales inside Ballast Point, all spouting at one time, and in January, 1872, it is on record that fifteen were seen at one time.

Dana tells this story regarding an adventure with a whale at San Pedro:

> This being the spring season, San Pedro, as well as all the other open ports upon the coast, was filled with whales that had come in to make their annual visit upon soundings. For the first few days that we were here and at Santa Barbara we watched them with great interest, calling out "There she blows," every time we saw the spout of one breaking the surface of the water; but they soon became so common that we took little notice of them. We once very nearly ran one down in the gig, and should probably have been knocked to pieces or blown sky-high. We had been on board the little Spanish brig, and were returning, stretching out well at our oars, the little boat going like a swallow; our backs were forward, and the captain, who was steering, was not looking out, when all at once we heard the spout of a whale directly ahead. "Back water! back water, for your lives!" shouted the captain, and we backed our blades in the water and brought the boat to in a smother of foam. Turning our heads, we saw a great, rough, hump-backed whale slowly crossing our forefoot, within three or four yards of the boat's stem. Had we not backed water just as we did we should inevitably have gone smash upon him. He took no notice of us, but passed slowly on, and dived a few yards beyond us, throwing his tail high in the air.

The whales passed south from December to February, and on their return trip north in March and April. The local whale companies were formed early in the fifties, at San Diego and other places, notably at Monterey, and they continued in business for many years and were very successful. The business began to assume importance here in 1853. In February, 1858, the company of whalemen at La Playa had killed "about a dozen" whales since they commenced operations, "only five of which they have been able to get into the port." These five yielded 150 barrels of oil, worth about $2,000. Editor Ames expressed the opinion that if some means could be devised to prevent the whales from sinking, a good business could be done in catching them within ten miles of the harbor. A little later, they captured five in as many days, each of which produced from thirty-five to forty barrels of oil. By 1868 the business had grown so that there were two companies with twenty men at work in the boats and a dozen rendering the oil, and it had become a favorite diversion of San Diegans to go out to the lighthouse and watch the chase.

In the season of 1870-1, the yield of oil was 21,888 gallons, and in 1871-2 it was estimated at 55,000 gallons and two hundred pounds of whalebone were collected. In 1873-4, 21,600 gallons, and in 1874-5 four hundred barrels of oil were produced. As late as 1886, three hundred barrels of oil were made and about a thousand pounds of whalebone gathered. In the eighties the business was declining, however, and soon became unprofitable and was abandoned.

The trying-works were on Ballast Point. The captured whales were towed in and cut up and the flesh thrown into two large iron pots, having a capacity of 150 gallons each. At each pot was stationed a man with a large strainer, whose business it was to fish out the pieces of blubber as fast as they became sufficiently browned. These pieces were then pressed to extract the oil, after which the refuse was used for fuel. It seems to have burned very well, but made "a villainous stench." The oil was ladled into casks and when cool was stored awaiting shipment.

The method of killing the whales was by a bomb lance from small boats. At first the work seems to have been unskillfully done, but in later years it was carried to great perfection. The whales were of the gray species. No reliable statistics can be given as to the total output, but it ran well into the thousands of barrels and was an important article of export. Among the older citizens of San Diego are several who came here to engage in this chase, and followed it for many years. The only remains now left of this interesting period are the vertebrae of whales which are used as ornaments and may still be seen in many San Diego dooryards. The Society of Natural History has also collected some valuable relics, which are preserved in the public library building.

Such were some of the principal commercial features affecting the early life of the place.

LIST OF LAND GRANTS.

Following is a list of ranchos of San Diego County, showing the number of acres in each rancho, names of grantees, and date each grant was confirmed. The names of the grantees do not represent the present proprietors, the ownership having changed, in many cases, since the confirmation of the grant:

Name of Rancho.	Owner.	Grant Confirmed.	Acres.
Santa Margarita and Las Flores	Pio & Andrés Pico		89,742.93
Ex-Mission of San Diego	Santiago Argüello	1846	58,208.00
San Jacinto Nuevo	Miguel de Pedrorena	1846	48,823.67
El Cajon	María Antonia Estudillo de Pedrorena		48,799.34
Santa Rosa	Juan Moreno	Oct. 10, 1872	47,815.10
San Jacinto Viejo	José Ant. Estudillo	1846	35,504.00
Cuyamaca	Agustin Olvera		35,501.32
La Nacion (National Rancho)	John Forster	Aug. 3, 1858	26,631.94
San José del Valle (Warner's Ranch)	J. J. Warner	1846	26,629.88
Pauba	Luis Vignes	Jan. 19, 1860	26,597.96
Temécula	Luis Vignes	Jan. 18, 1860	26,608.94
Sobrante de San Jacinto	Miguel de Pedrorena and Rosario E. de Aguirre		22,195.00
San Bernardo	José Francisco Snook		17,763.07
Santa Ysabel	José Joaquin Ortega et al.	May 4, 1872	17,719.40
Santa María (Valle de Pamo)	José Joaquin Ortega et al.	July 30, 1872	17,708.85
San Vicente	Juan Lopez	1846	13,539.96
La Laguna	Abel Stearns	Sept. 3, 1872	13,338.80
Monserrate	Ysidro María Alvarado	July 17, 1872	13,322.90
Valle de las Viejas	Ramon & Leandro Osuna	1846	13,314.00
Agua Hedionda	Juan María Marron		13,311.01
Pauma	José Ant. Serrano, José Aguilar, & Blas Aguilar	Aug. 29, 1871	13,309.60
Guejito	George W. Hamley	May 24, 1866	13,298.59
Rincon del Diablo	Heirs of Juan Bautista Alvarado	May 3, 1872	12,653.77
San Felipe	Juan Forster	Aug. 6, 1866	9,972.08
San Marcos	José María Alvarado		8,978.29
Jamacha	Apolinaria Lorenzana		8,881.16
Jamul	Pio Pico		8,876.00
La Jolla			8,872.00
San Dieguito	Juan María Osuna		8,824.71
Peñasquitas	Francisco María Ruiz & Francisco M. Alvarado		8,486.01
Otay	Magdalena Estudillo et al	1846	6,557.98
Tecate	Juan Bandini		4,439.00
Janal	Victoria Dominguez	June 30, 1872	4,436.00
Los Encinitos	Andrés Ybarra	April 18, 1871	4,431.03
Island or Peninsula of San Diego	Archibald C. Peachy & William H. Aspinwall	June 11, 1869	4,185.46
Guajome	Andrés & José Manuel (Indians)		2,219.41
Buena Vista	Felipe (an Indian)		2,219.08

Potrero San Juan Capistrano			1,167.74
El Cariso and La Cienega			1,167.00
Ex-Mission of San Luis Rey	Bishop J. S. Alemany,	March 10, 1865	53.39
Ex-Mission of San Diego	Bishop Alemany	May 23, 1862	22.21

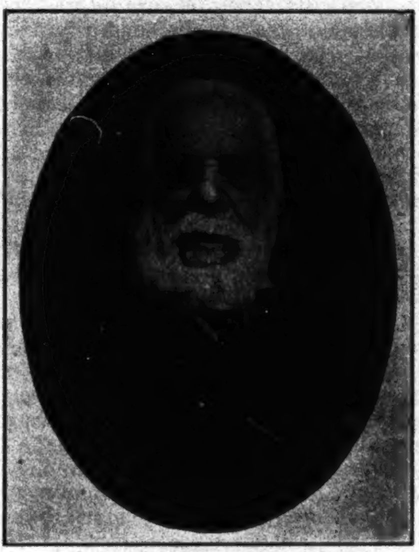
CHAPTER III

POLITICAL LIFE IN MEXICAN DAYS

ALTHOUGH twenty-three Governors—ten Spanish and thirteen Mexican—ruled California before the days of American dominion, only two of these impressed themselves upon the history of San Diego. Governor Echeandía loved the place so well that he virtually made it the capital during his administration, and Governor Pico was himself a San Diegan in whom his neighbors felt considerable pride. Several of the others appeared for a moment upon the stage of picturesque local life, but few exerted any influence upon the course of events in this neighborhood. It must be remembered that for sixty-six years San Diego lived under military rule and that it was not until the establishment of the pueblo in 1835 that civil government became dominant. Less than a dozen years then remained to the Mexican power, but this brief period was crowded with interesting political episodes. As we study the record, we are strongly reminded that the men of that time were of the same race as those who have made the turbulent politics of Central and South American states, for there is the same story of mimic wars and of the rise and fall of ambitious rulers. There were but few people to govern, but relatively many who desired to govern them, and the energies which Americans have given to the development of natural resources the Mexicans preferred to spend on the stormy field of politics.

When the Spanish flag went down, and gave place to the emblem of Mexico, on April 20, 1822, the people of San Diego submitted gracefully, but without enthusiasm. Only far echoes of the revolutionary struggle had reached them during the previous decade and their sympathies clung fondly to the Spanish tradition of the country. It is related that there was no flagstaff upon which to hoist the new colors; that the soldiers grumbled because there was no distribution of money; and that the next day they cut off their queues as an expression of their disgust. In December, the imperial commissioner, charged with the change of government in Upper California, stopped in San Diego for a week on his way home, but there is nothing to show that he transacted any business at this place. He gambled with a rollicking priest, named Fernandez, quarreled with Santiago Argüello about it, and departed in an unhappy frame of mind.

It was in 1825 that General José María Echeandía, who was both political chief and military commandant of Upper and Lower California, arrived with a detachment of soldiers and a number of subordinates and established himself at the Presidio. This was after the fall of the Emperor Iturbide and at the very outset of the effort to establish republican institutions. The task he had undertaken was by no means easy. The troops were destitute and mutinous; the old Spanish population was still unfriendly to the new order of things, and the region lacked capital and population and was far from prosperous.



PIO PICO

A notable San Diego politician and last Mexican governor of California

Late in 1826, the governor ordered the election of five representatives to meet in San Diego for the purpose of choosing deputies charged with the duty of reorganizing the territorial assembly, as well as to select a member of the national congress. These representatives met in San Diego in February, 1827. They were Francisco de Haro, for San Francisco; Estévan Munras, for Monterey; Carlos A. Carrillo, for Santa Barbara;

Vicente Sanchez, for Los Angeles; and Augustin V. Zamorano, for San Diego. They chose Pablo de Sola as congressman, but doubts rose as to his eligibility and the vote was therefore reconsidered and Captain José de la Guerra y Noriega chosen, instead, with Gervasio Argüello as substitute. De la Guerra y Noriega was a Spaniard, although he had left Spain when quite small. But the Mexican prejudice against Spaniards at that time was so great that, upon his arrival in Mexico, he was not only refused admission to the national assembly, but forced to hurry home in order to avoid serious trouble. Thus ungraciously did Mexico receive the first representative to the national assembly elected in Upper California. Argüello, the substitute, then took the seat and served out the term, in 1827-8. The San Diego assembly also chose seven members and three substitutes for the assembly which later convened at Monterey.

Echeandía's choice of San Diego as his capital was not popular with the people of the North. His attempt to hold a meeting of the assembly here in the spring of 1827 was barren of results. The members met, protested that San Diego was not conveniently situated for their purpose, and adjourned. In October of the same year they again met here, and chose four new members. Another futile session of the body was held at San Diego in January, 1829. Then the Governor issued a summons for a meeting at Monterey, but his call was ignored.

Early in November of this year, from causes arising largely out of the prevailing destitution and discontent of the military, the Solis insurrection broke out at Monterey. Echeandía appears to have acted with vigor and moderation. He first convened a council of seven officers, whom he asked for a frank criticism of his administration. Fortified by their unanimous approval, and assured of the support of the inhabitants of San Diego, he set about his preparations for a campaign. Alfred Robinson was here at the time and gives some description of the bustle of preparation. Guns were repaired, swords sharpened, and lances manufactured. The troops departed on December 1, with the governor at their head, and it was several weeks before news of his complete success, after an *opera bouffe* campaign at Santa Barbara and Monterey, reached San Diego.

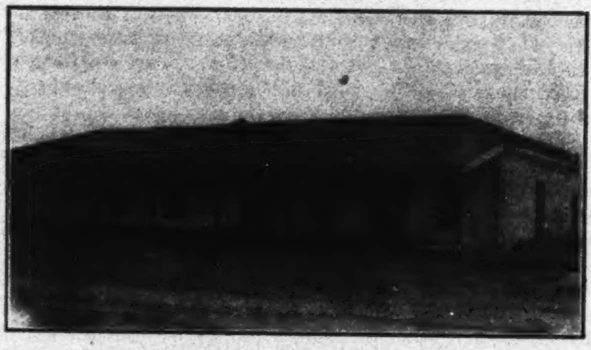
Echeandía was disturbed no more by armed revolts, but encountered much opposition in his attempts to carry out the orders of the Mexican government directed against the Spanish population. A number of laws relative to the expulsion of all Spaniards who should refuse to take the oath of allegiance was passed, debarring them from office or employment until Spain should recognize the independence of Mexico. It was undoubtedly intended that he should enforce these regulations and expel recalcitrants from the country, but he chose to put a more liberal interpretation upon his instructions. He proclaimed the laws and published lists of resident Spaniards required to take the oath, but does not appear to have used his power to persecute those who refused. Some of the missionaries surreptitiously fled the country, and others demanded passports and left openly, rather than submit. It appears that Echeandía regarded the presence of these stubborn missionaries as undesirable, and even went so far as to ship Father Martinez, of San Luis Obispo, out of the country, after a council of war, on a charge of having given aid and comfort to the rebels in the Solis insurrection. He was also desirous of carrying out the wishes of his superiors with regard to the secularization of the missions, and discussed plans to that end, but no definite steps were taken during his administration. He did, however, issue a decree of partial emancipation of the neophytes, permitting such as had been Christians from childhood or for fifteen years, who were married or at least not minors, and who had some means of livelihood, to leave the missions.

Trade was brisk on the coast during Echeandía's administration, for it was a time when the hide and tallow business was rapidly growing in importance. In 1828, the revenue collected at San Diego was $34,000—nearly six times that at San Francisco. In July of that year, Captain John Bradshaw, of the *Franklin*, anchored in San Diego Bay after doing considerable trading on the Lower California coast. A warning had come from Loreto, and he was accused of having been engaged in smuggling, and other offenses, although his supercargo, Rufus Perkins, had been allowed to travel overland from mission to mission. Bradshaw was ordered to deposit his cargo in the warehouse and await the investigation of these charges. He promised compliance, but returned to his ship and, once on board, refused to obey any orders given him and changed his anchorage to a point near the harbor entrance. The governor prepared to place a guard on the ship and applied to a French captain then in the port, Duhaut-Cilly, for the loan of a boat. The boat was loaned, but Bradshaw was also warned, and on the morning of the 16th of July he cut his cable and ran out of the harbor, passing the fort, although a shower of cannon balls was hurled after him. The Frenchman met Captain Bradshaw, later, at the Islands, where he learned that his hull had been perforated, rigging damaged, and the gallant captain himself wounded.

The Hawaiian brig *Karimoko* was also in trouble at San Diego, late in the fall. The records seem to make it clear that she was engaged in contraband trade, having a rendezvous on Catalina Island. Her sails were seized and Santiago Argüello was sent to the island to investigate and bring over the goods.

In the same year, an American named Lang, with two sailors and two Kanakas, was arrested in a boat near Todos Santos. The prisoners told a story about coming from the Sandwich Islands to settle in California; but as Lang's effects included a barrel-organ and two trunks of drygoods, they were confiscated and sold. Lang had previously been at San Diego and confided to a countryman that he was engaged in smuggling. These and other irregularities led to the closing of the way ports to foreign vessels and caused considerable inconvenience to legitimate trading ships.

In December, 1830, the rule of Echeandía ended with the arrival of Colonel Manuel Victoria, the newly-appointed governor, at San Diego. Victoria proceeded north, where the transfer of office was made. With his coming the jurisdiction of Upper and Lower California was divided and the governor's residence again removed to Monterey. The new governor was soon embroiled with his deputies in a fierce quarrel. He refused to convene the assembly, even when petitioned to do so by the members, and a bitter wrangle ensued in which Juan Bandini of San Diego, then substitute congressman for Upper California, and Pio Pico, senior vocal of the assembly from the same place, were involved, and incurred the governor's displeasure. It was claimed that Victoria was setting up a military dictatorship and overriding the popular will. He was severe in the administration of justice and shocked the Californians by his strict enforcement of the law's penalties. He also quarrelled with many prominent men and sent a number of them into exile.



THE AQUIRRE HOUSE, OLD TOWN
Later the parsonage owned by Father Ubach

In November, 1831, Abel Stearns, a naturalized Mexican citizen, and José Antonio Carrillo, both of whom were among the men banished by Victoria, but neither of whom had gone farther than the frontier, secretly met in San Diego with Juan Bandini and Pio Pico, and laid plans for a revolt. Pico, Bandini, and Carrillo set out with fourteen men besides themselves, seventeen in all, to seize the post. Bandini went to the house of Captain Argüello, where he found that officer and Lieutenant Valle playing cards. He presented first an apology and then a pair of pistols, and marched the two officers off to prison, where they found Commandant Portilla had preceded them. The troops gave no trouble, Echeandía was persuaded to head the movement, and soon all San Diego parties were agreed to make it unanimous. A long pronunciamento was drawn up, which Juan Bandini is credited with having written. Portilla was appointed commander, a force was mustered and marched northward and soon took possession of Los Angeles. Victoria had placed implicit confidence in Portilla, who had given him notice of the movement and promised to aid in its suppression.

The governor had left Monterey before learning of the revolt, and even upon his arrival at Santa Barbara seems to have received no accurate information of the nature and extent of the trouble. He started for Los Angeles with about thirty men, full of confidence in his ability to restore order without delay, and spent the night at San Fernando Mission. Next day, the 6th of December, Portilla moved out toward Cahuenga with about two hundred men, and was met by Victoria with his little band of thirty. A war of words ensued, followed by a brief conflict in which two men were killed, and then Echeandía's men fled. But Victoria, who had shown great personal bravery, was badly wounded and a few days later he surrendered to Echeandía and agreed to leave the country. This promise he kept, arriving in San Diego on the 27th and going at once on board the *Pocahontas*, with the Captain of which vessel Juan Bandini had made a contract to transport the exile to Mazatlan for $1,600, silver, in advance.

On the way down the coast, Victoria had spent some days at San Luis Rey, and the venerable founder of that Mission, Father Antonio Peyri, decided to leave the country with him. He was among the Spanish friars who had suffered persecution under Echeandía, and now quit the country rather than submit further. The ship sailed on the 17th of January, 1832, and Echeandía remained acting governor until the meeting of the assembly at Los Angeles. Pio Pico was then chosen governor, in accordance with the plan drawn up at San Diego, but the officials of the pueblo of Los Angeles refused to recognize him and Echeandía, having paid no attention to the notice of his election, now thought it opportune to repudiate it and declared

Pico incompetent and his election illegal. Pico was governor twenty days, and then the matter was referred to the national government, and in the meantime Echeandía continued to act.

A new rebellion now broke out at Monterey, headed by Captain Zamorano, in which quite a number of foreign residents were involved. After a wordy warfare, the deputies met at San Diego in March at Echeandía's call, to consider the state of the country. The net result of this meeting seems to have been a circular letter to the governing bodies of the pueblos asking them to preserve order, to recognize the assembly, and to disregard the junta of the north. The disaffection continued to spread, however, and in a short time the hostile parties were arming and drilling recruits for war. The neophytes at San Luis Rey were adherents of Echeandía, and came into camp in large numbers. In April he marched north with about a thousand Indians, but a truce was arranged by which the political jurisdiction was divided between the two leaders and the assembly left with no power whatever.

AUGUSTIN V. ZAMORANO
For many years prominent in Spanish politics in San Diego.

On May 15, 1832, the assembly again met at San Diego and reviewed the exciting events of the year in an address to the president of the republic, especially condemning Zamorano. In the spring of 1832, General José Figueroa was appointed governor, but he had an adventurous trip up the coast and did not reach Monterey until the middle of January, 1833. With his assumption of office, San Diego ceased to figure as the political headquarters of Upper California. Echeandía welcomed the new governor and laid down the cares of office, with joy. He gave Figueroa valuable aid in the early days of his administration, but was required to report to Mexico, and sailed from San Diego May 14, 1833, and never returned. He lived for nearly forty years longer in Mexico, supporting himself by his profession of civil engineer.

The estimates of his public services as well as of his character, vary with the point of view of the writers. As an administrator he was inefficient, but personally he was both dignified and affable. The early American traders regarded him as a man of undecided character, who tried to please everybody; but he seems to have had strong republican views which he stubbornly strove to carry out in his administration. He is described as a tall, gaunt personage, full of true Spanish dignity.

San Diego was never the capital of Upper California in the proper sense of the term. The political events here during the thirties were due simply to the fact that Governor Echeandía preferred it as a residence and chose to order the assembly to meet here. It was, however, for a few years during and following Echeandía's administration, a hotbed of political activity.

In 1831, the first revolution, which ended in the expulsion of Victoria, began here, as related. One cause of this political activity seems to have been a local jealousy between the northern and southern establishments. The people of San Diego naturally desired a continuance of the arrangement by which their town served as the capital, and many of the disturbances of the time arose over such questions as the maintenance of a custom house at the port. Monterey was offended by Echeandía's action, as well as by the choice of congressional representatives from the south. San Diego was gratified by the selection of Pio Pico as Governor in 1832 and again in 1845.

On the 1st of September, 1834, the brig *Natalie* arrived at San Diego, having on board Juan Bandini and Señor Híjar, with a portion of the political colony sent by the Vice-President of the Mexican republic, Gomez Farias. Bandini had gone south in May, in time to fall in with the plans of Farias and Híjar. The failure of the enterprise is a matter of history, but does not belong peculiarly to San Diego; our interest in it relates to the brief entertainment of the party here, and to the disappointment of Bandini at the outcome. None of his larger political ambitions, of which he had many, were ever realized.

The *Natalie* is said to have been the vessel in which Napoleon made his escape from the island of Elba. She was afterward wrecked by being driven on the beach at Monterey in a storm, December 21, 1834, and went to pieces. The passengers in Híjar's colony numbered between 130 and 140. For two days the families were sheltered in the hide houses at La Playa, and fed by the owners of the hide houses. They were detained in quarantine for fear of measles, and a number died and were buried at the Mission. Híjar and his friends were entertained by Bandini, and the others were scattered among the residents of the town and entertained free of cost.

THE SERRANO HOUSE, OLD TOWN

The colonists were of nearly every occupation except those which the country needed. There were goldsmiths, blacksmiths, carpenters, shoemakers, tailors, painters, printers, musicians, and other artists and mechanics, but not a single agriculturist. Most of them were finally shipped back to Mexico, but a few settled and remained at San Luis Rey and places farther north.

The annals of the Presidio throughout these years are scanty, and merely a story of progressive decay. In 1826 a military commission reported the presidial buildings in a "deplorably ruinous condition," and estimated the cost of repairs at $40,000. Fort Guijarros, also, needed repairs to the value of $10,000. It does not appear that anything was done at this time, but in 1828 the battery was repaired.

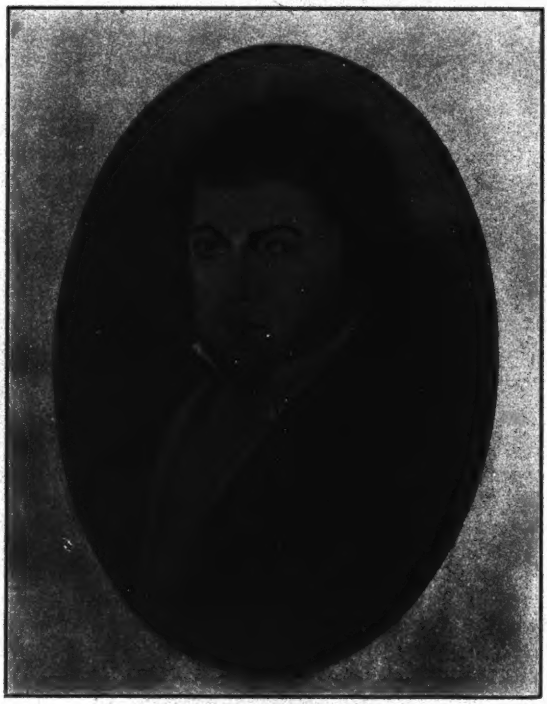
In October of this year, the soldiers sent a committee of five to the commandant to complain of hunger and lack of clothing and demand a payment on account of back pay. The commandant began to put them in irons, but the threats of their comrades compelled him to desist. They appealed to the General, who promised them justice, which he soon after administered—by distributing the five soldiers among other presidios. In May, 1830, a civilian cut a soldier with a knife and took sanctuary in the church, raising an interesting question of the right of asylum. He was sentenced to eight years' labor on the chain-gang.

The ranks of the presidial company were not kept full, and by 1830 the total force had dwindled to 120 men. In this year the armament consisted of 13 cannon, 8 of which were brass and 5 of iron; 3 eight-pounders, 7 six-pounders, and 3 four-pounders. The fort and powder magazines were of stone, situated close under the hill at Ballast Point. A reservoir of stone and mortar was constructed near the fort, but the water soon broke it. The ruins were visible for many years after. Nothing whatever now remains of the Spanish works on Ballast Point. The last traces were obliterated in the construction of the modern fortifications on the spot, in recent years.

A petty uprising of the local military force in 1833 is of some interest. A private of the presidial company of Loreto, named Antonio Alipás, was placed under arrest and confined in the guard-house. On the 26th day of March, Corporal Inocensio Arballo, a comrade of Alipás's, assembled a squad of seven soldiers and, all armed and mounted, rode up and demanded the release of the prisoner. The sergeant of the guard refusing this demand, the soldiers broke into the guard-house, released Alipás, and carried him off. This was an exceptional occurrence, and anything resembling vigilante proceedings was rare, among either the civil or military population. The soldiers were harshly treated, but obedience was thoroughly taught.

The Spanish military system was continued under Mexican rule. One of its admirable features was a provision for retiring veterans and invalids on pensions. Privates who had served for thirty years could retire on half pay with the honorary rank of sub-lieutenant, and those who had served forty years, with the rank of full lieutenant, with the privilege of wearing a uniform. The conditions seem hard, but many of the men, including some of the early company of Catalonian volunteers, fulfilled them and lived to end their days in peaceful industry. Some of the invalids remained at the Presidio, performing such service as they were able, and were also permitted to settle outside the Presidio walls. Mention has been made of the fact that all soldiers had a little time of their own; and thus, with the pressure of slowly increasing numbers and hard-won knowledge of correct methods of agriculture, the Spanish soldiers began to cultivate successfully their little garden plots at the foot of Presidio Hill.

The pueblo of San Diego was organized by an election of the necessary officials on December 21, 1834. These officials consisted of an *alcalde,* or mayor, for which the successful candidate was Juan María Osuña, who was elected over Pio Pico; a first *regidor,* or alderman, Juan Bautista Alvarado; a second *regidor,* Juan María Marron; and a *syndico procurador,* or town attorney, Henry D. Fitch. Thirteen votes in all were cast, and the officers entered upon the discharge of their duties on the first day of January, 1835, which marks the beginning of



CAPT. HENRY D. FITCH

San Diego's first merchant, who was also very prominent in the political life of the town.

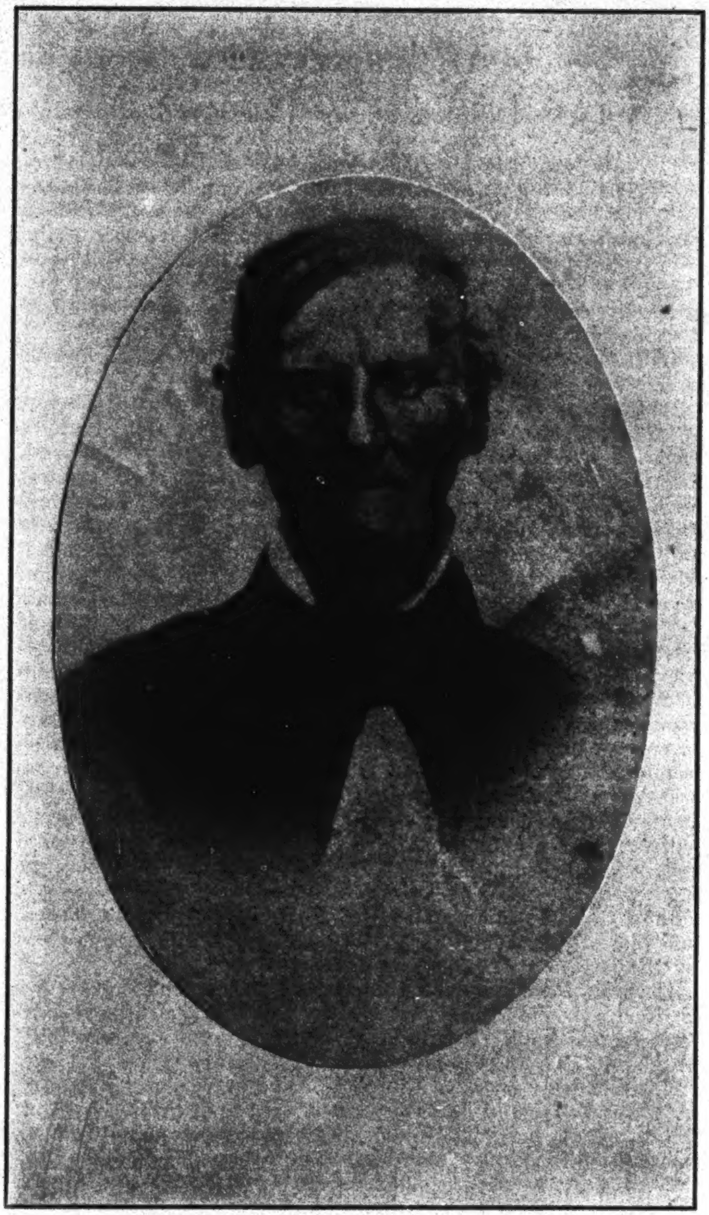
civil rule. They constituted the first *ayuntamiento,* or town council.

The new town was governed by its own council for only three years. The country was not prosperous and population decreased until, in 1838, there were not enough people to entitle it to a council, the number required being five hundred. Accordingly, from the 1st of January, 1838, until the Mexican War, San Diego was part of the sub-prefecture of Los Angeles and governed by judges appointed annually by the governor. José Antonio Estudillo was the first judge, or *juez de paz.*

In 1836 a tax was imposed on the hide-salting establishments of foreigners, as had been done before in 1834.

In this year, soon after a revolution at Monterey, as a result of which Governor Guiterrez had been banished and Juan B. Alvarado selected as governor in his place, San Diego was again drawn actively into the political affairs of the time. There was considerable local dissatisfaction with the course of events, and Juan Bandini and Santiago E. Argüello were sent to Los Angeles and Santa Barbara as commissioners to consult with the councils of those towns upon the situation. It was decided to insist upon the carrying out of a law already upon the books making Los Angeles the capital, to invite the co-operation of Los Angeles and Santa Barbara, and a provisional political chief was to be selected to act until the national laws should be again in force. Provision for the military support of the movement was also anticipated. The report of the commissioners was approved upon their return, but obstacles to the program soon began to appear. The soldiers showed a disposition to make the occasion a pretext for demanding their arrears of pay. The Santa Barbara council, too, failed to endorse the plan in its entirety, and proposed one of its own. It therefore appeared that nothing could be done, and at the end of the year as the net result, the Los Angeles council awarded the San Diegans a vote of thanks. Early in 1837, new town councils were elected, and that of Los Angeles evolved a new plan which was indorsed by the restless San Diego politicians.

Governor Alvarado left Monterey with an army of eighty-five Californians and foreigners, about Christmas. At Santa Barbara he was kindly received, and entered Los Angeles without opposition about the 22nd of January. Andrés Pico was present with a body of twenty soldiers, and Pio Pico and Francisco M. Alvarado, also of San Diego, were said to be on the way, but did not arrive until all was over. Alvarado succeeded in temporarily pacifying the Los Angeles town council, and everything was quiet in the southern district during February and March. On account of disquieting rumors, however, Alvarado thought it necessary to send General José Castro southward, with orders,



JUAN BANDINI

Politician and Revolutionist, forever memorable in local annals as a Spanish leader who stood with the United States in the struggle with Mexico.

in case these rumors should prove well founded, to remove or spike all the guns, carry off the horses, and distribute the supplies in such a manner as to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. A new assembly was gotten together at Santa Barbara on April 10, 1837, and submitted a new series of propositions for the pacification of the country. Los Angeles promptly rejected these proposals, and San Diego, while more politic, pleaded for delay.

During all this time Juan Bandini was acting upon the advice of a friend who, on a former occasion, had suggested that he should "go home and keep quiet," and appears to have taken little part in the turmoils of the time, although the Picos and other San Diegans were deeply implicated. The matters about which the different factions were quarreling were such as would form proper subjects of discussion in political campaigns—mainly about the form of the civil and political code after which the government of the country should be patterned. The southerners were restless and irreconcilable, and Alvarado seems to have had cause for his suspicions.

On May 21, 1837, Bandini, who had been for some time living quietly upon his ranch, came into San Diego with an armed force, proclaiming their purpose to engage in hostilities. Again he and Argüello were sent as commissioners to Los Angeles, with a ready-made plan for the cure of all the country's woes. The Los Angeles town council approved, but feared to act, and Bandini therefore proceeded to inaugurate the revolution himself, by seizing the Los Angeles garrison and guns. There was doubtless an understanding with the commandant of the guard, as the *coup* was accomplished without resistance, including the capture of a gun which Pico had carried off from San Diego. Three commissioners were appointed to treat with Alvarado, and Bandini was then obliged to hurry home to San Diego, whence alarming reports of Indian hostilities had been received.

Bandini and his men carried the captured gun with them and were received with shouts of triumph by a procession of their townsmen. The Indian troubles soon came to an end, and then, the military spirit running high, the "Army of the Supreme Government," numbering over a hundred men, was recruited and left for the north on the 10th of June. Captain Portilla was in command of this expedition, which occupied Los Angeles, hastily evacuated by Castro's forces on the 16th.

In the meantime Captain Andrés Castillero, representing himself to be a commissioner of the general government, arrived at San Diego with the new laws of December 29, 1836, which were to replace the federal constitution of 1824. The oath of allegiance was administered to the San Diego council and citizens on June 12th, and then Castillero joined the revolutionary army at San Luis Rey. Arrived at Los Angeles he summoned the council, as well as the officials, soldiers, and citizens, and they took the oath on June 18th amidst festivities and great rejoicing. He then proceeded to Santa Barbara, where he met Alvarado in July, and induced him to take the oath of allegiance to the new constitutional laws. This the southern contingent regarded as an act of treachery, but being left without a cause to fight for, the army and the San Diego plan alike melted into thin air. Alvarado remained governor under the new laws, until in October, when Carlos Carrillo succeeded him.

In January, 1838, Governor Carrillo closed the ports of San Francisco and Monterey and established the custom house at San Diego. He was no more fortunate than his predecessors in maintaining peace, and was soon involved in a war which culminated in the battle of San Buenaventura, the latter part of March. Being defeated, Carrillo with a few friends and the remnant of his army fled to San Diego. Here he endeavored to raise a force to renew the war, and was aided by Bandini and others. A force of about a hundred men and three cannon was collected and met the enemy at Las Flores, on April 21st. A long negotiation followed which ended in a compromise—the enemy carried off the cannon and Alvarado again became Governor.

The result of all this political anarchy was a distressing condition for the military at the Presidio. For instance, in April, 1834, Lieutenant Salazar cannot go to Monterey for want of a shirt and jacket! He has only a poor cloak to cover "the frightful condition of his trousers." There is no food for prisoners and they are farmed out to any citizen who will feed them. In February, 1837, fourteen prisoners were engaged on public works—three in repairing the plaza road, and several more at work on the courthouse and jail, which were deemed more urgent than the church. The Presidio building was abandoned about 1835 and by 1840 was in ruins. A few half-starved soldiers lingered as a melancholy reminder of former glory.

There is a tradition that in 1839 the garrison consisted of one soldier at the Presidio and eight at San Luis Rey, and that they disbanded in September of that year, in order to escape death by starvation. Much of the building material on the hill had by this time been carried down and used in the erection of the new town at the foot of the hill. At Christmas, 1838, earthworks were thrown up on the hill above the Presidio, for protection of the town at the time when an attack was expected by José Castro, and two cannon were dragged up to it from the fort, but nothing came of these labors. Fort Guijarros had no garrison after 1835. In 1839 it was reported that there were nine cannon, two of which were serviceable, and fifty canisters of grape and three hundred balls. An effort to have a guard provided for this property failed, and on January 17, 1840, the contents of the fort were sold to Juan Machado for $40.

The secularization of the missions and the political disturbances of the time had impoverished the country. The church and other remaining buildings were unroofed by the commandant and the tiles sold to satisfy demands which he had against the government. Robinson says that in April, 1840, he found everything prostrated, the mission depopulated, the town almost deserted, and its few remaining inhabitants miserably poor.

In June, 1842, there was a rising of the Indians and it was reported that there were only five men at San Diego, three of whom were foreigners, while all the rest were absent on ranchos. Early in the year, the French traveler, de Mofras, says he found a few soldiers and one officer at the pueblo, and that there were a few cannon and balls lying in the sand at the Presidio and castillo. In October, José A. Estudillo was directed to carry away in carts all the useful guns and ball at the fort. The *Alert*, Captain Phelps, was lying at La Playa at this time, however. Phelps heard of the capture of Monterey by Commodore Jones of the United States Navy, and also that Governor Micheltorena had sent a force to seize all property at San Diego and, anticipating trouble, he decided to act promptly. He put his men at work night and day to hasten their departure, and in the meantime sent a party to old Fort Guijarros which spiked all the guns and threw the copper shot into the sea. Estudillo was therefore saved any trouble in the matter. An investigation in the following month showed that there was one officer at San Diego, with fourteen men under him, but no arms or ammunition.

On August 25, 1842, San Diego had a last glimpse of Mexican military glory in the arrival of Governor Micheltorena in the brig *Chato*, who remained about a month drilling and outfitting his "battalion of cholos," as they have been justly called. This invasion was the last of the convict colonies sent from Mexico. Fortunately, they did not remain long here, but moved on to devastate the rest of the country. They showed themselves very poor soldiers, but exceedingly expert night prowlers and pilferers. Alfred Robinson, who was here at the time and saw a part of them land, says:

> They presented a state of wretchedness and misery unequalled. Not one individual among them possessed a jacket or pantaloons; but naked, and like the savage Indians, they concealed their nudity with dirty, miserable blankets. The females were not much better off; for the scantiness of their mean apparel was too apparent for modest observers. They appeared like convicts; and, indeed, the greater portion of them had been charged with the crime either of murder or of theft. . . . The remainder of the "convict army" arrived in course of time, and I had an opportunity of seeing them

> all, afterwards. . . . They mustered about three hundred and fifty men, and their general had given them, since their arrival, a neat uniform of white linen. . . . Day after day the place resounded with the noise of the trumpet and the drums; and a level spot, on the river's margin, was the scene of military manoeuvers. At night, the gardens and vineyards were plundered, and the neighboring farms suffered greatly, from the frequency of the soldiers' visits.

He also says there was no ammunition with which to salute the new governor, and that a salute from the Yankee ship in which Robinson had arrived, was the only welcome of the kind he received.

The new governor was received with social honors and was given a reception lasting several days. For a week there was a succession of balls and other amusements, and Micheltorena made a speech. There were troubles, too, as well as rejoicing. Twenty-five of the men deserted and tried to escape into Mexico, but were overtaken and brought back. It was found that a large part of the balls did not fit the guns, and had to be remelted. There were also financial difficulties, but the battalion finally departed, spreading desolation and terror. There is no episode of the days of the Mexican rule which caused more heart-burnings than the coming of this band of desperados.

De Mofras estimated the population at one hundred in this year. Three years later the town had grown somewhat and was made a subdivision of the Los Angeles district and Captain Santiago E. Argüello was appointed the first sub-prefect.

The political life sketched in this chapter ended with the Mexican War, when an entirely different set of men and influences took the stage of local history. The soldiers and statesmen of Mexico, in their rule of a quarter of a century, had added practically nothing to the accomplishment of their Spanish predecessors. To a very large extent, they had squandered their time and energies in petty squabbles over personal rivalries. They had virtually destroyed the economic structure evolved by the Mission Fathers and dissipated the strength of the military establishment. If commerce prospered to some extent under their rule, the fact was chiefly due to the enterprise of outsiders rather than to that of the Mexicans. Their policy of dividing the mission lands into private grants undoubtedly gave some impulse to settlement, but even this development was conducted in the most extravagant and wasteful way.

Before turning to the brighter days which dawned with American occupation, we must consider several other aspects of San Diego life in the early time.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY HOMES, VISITORS, AND FAMILIES

AS THE citizens and tourists of today look upon the crumbling adobe walls of Old Town, they naturally wonder in what order the houses were built, by whom they were inhabited in the early time, and what visitors from abroad mingled in the life of the place and went away to speak the name of San Diego in distant parts. It is these quiet annals of the old time to which this chapter is given.

There is no record of the erection of any dwelling outside the Presidio enclosure earlier than the year 1800. It seems likely that the first house at the foot of the hill was a very humble affair, and that it was built by Captain Francisco María Ruiz. The earliest authentic list of houses that has come down to us begins with 1821. At that time the following houses were standing on the present site of Old Town:

The small house of Captain Ruiz, on the tract afterward known as "Rose's Garden," where he lived until his death in 1839. The house has now disappeared.

The "Fitch house," a row of buildings where Captain Fitch lived and had his store from the early thirties; this is now a heap of ruins.

A building on the corner of Washington and Juan Streets, belonging to the Doña María Reyes Ybañes, the maternal head of the Estudillo family. This house was afterward used by José María Estudillo as a stable. It is now in ruins.

A two-story house on Juan Street, nearly opposite the one last named, belonging to Rafaela Serrano. This is now owned by Louis Serrano and was occupied until a recent date.

A small house on the plaza, owned by Juan María Marron. This house afterward became the property of Andrés Pico, and the late E. W. Morse was responsible for its final destruction. Some of the early views of Old Town show this building standing as it did out of line with the others and quite near the "Rose house," where Morse's store was located. Having tried in vain to buy it from Pico, Mr. Morse bided his time until the easy-going Californian allowed it to be sold for taxes, then bought it and immediately had it torn down and removed. He remarked, with a quiet smile, while telling this story, that he supposed the tax title really gave him no right to act so summarily, but he correctly reasoned that no trouble would come of it.

These were the five oldest buildings, all of which were standing in 1821 and only one of which (the Serrano house) stands today. There were in this year several small gardens, or rancherías, at the foot of the hill and near by in the valley. Don Blas Aguilar recalled the following names of persons then cultivating such places:

Ignacio Lopez, Villobobo, Miguel Blanco, Pedro Garcia, Tenorio, José Manuel Silbas, and Andreas Ybarra who afterward owned the Encinitos Rancho; all of whom were soldiers and whose gardens were in the valley. Rafaela Serrano, whose place adjoined "Rose's garden"; Juan Machado, who lived a short distance up the valley; Juan María Ybarra, a lieutenant from Mazatlan; el *Alferez Delgado* ("the thin lieutenant"), whose name Aguilar did not recall, but who was also from Mazatlan; Lus Ruiz, whose place was across the river, opposite the Presidio; Juan Marine, who had a garden and small vineyard on the other side of the river going toward the Tecolote; Los Arcias, who had garden and vineyard adjoining that of Marine; Santiago Argüello, whose garden was at the first cañada above the Presidio, called by the pious *Canada de la Cruz*, but by the wild soldiers *Canada del Diablo*, just above the present waterworks. These little farms were seriously damaged in the flood of 1821, as already related.

THE MACHADO HOUSE, OLD TOWN, (WEST SIDE OF PLAZA)

Building in the new town began to progress as the military establishment decayed and commercial prosperity increased. In

1824 the "Pico house" was built, on Juan street, and between that year and 1830 several large and substantial residences were constructed. Alfred Robinson, the earliest American visitor who has left a good account, says that on his first visit in 1829 the town "consisted of about thirty houses of rude appearance, mostly occupied by retired veterans." The house of Don Juan Bandini, then in an unfinished state, excited his admiration. This house is one of the utmost historical interest, having been the center of social gaiety and political affairs for nearly twenty years. It was the headquarters of Commodore Stockton during the Mexican war. Soon after the civil war it was purchased by A. L. Seeley, who added a second story of wood and used it as a hotel (the Cosmopolitan) in connection with his stage line between San Diego and Los Angeles. It is now occupied by Ackerman & Tuffley, who use it as an olive pickling works, and it is still in a state of very good repair.

ESTUDILLO HOUSE, OLD TOWN
Popularly called "The Ramona House"

Other houses built before the year 1830 were: the house of Juan Rodriguez, adjoining the Franklin house in later years; the house of José Antonio Estudillo, later the residence of José Guadalupe Estudillo, and long an important landmark, (this house is the picturesque ruin at the south end of the plaza popularly, but erroneously, called the "Ramona house"); the house of Doña Tomáso Alvarado; the "French bakery"; the house of Rosario Aguilar which was situated on what is now a vacant lot adjoining the house of Louis Rose; and the Carrillo house in "Rose's Garden," adjoining the Serrano house on the east. Bandini and Estudillo were granted a lot in common in 1827, which doubtless marks the time of their beginning preparations to build.

Some of the accounts of foreign visitors at this time, though not always accurate, are worth quoting. Vancouver and Capt.

Cleveland have already been mentioned. Benjamin Morrell, junior, on the American schooner *Tartar,* arrived in April, 1825. He remained twelve days, and in a book which he published in 1832 told some remarkable stories. According to this veracious chronicler, the form of the Presidio was "nearly circular, and it is surrounded by a wall about 20 feet in height, which forms the back sides of the houses. There are about 250 houses erected in this manner, from one to two stories high, built of freestone and neatly finished. There is also a large church, one nunnery, and a very neat little court-house. This town contains about 1,500 inhabitants, principally natives of the coast." Does the reader care for more? Well, it seems that while here, he and seven Spanish companions had a desperate hand-to-hand conflict with fifty mounted Indian warriors of whom they killed seventeen, while on a hunting expedition. Notwithstanding the gallant captain's evident weakness for drawing a long bow, his statement that a whale boat was built during his stay here is perhaps entitled to belief.

In December, 1826, the American explorer and trapper, Jedidiah S. Smith, and party, who had crossed the desert, following down the Colorado river and reached San Gabriel, were brought to San Diego to be dealt with by Governor Echeandía. They had a somewhat unfriendly reception, but were allowed to secure supplies and depart. The accounts of this visit do not seem to include anything of interest regarding the town or people of San Diego.

The next visitor was the French Captain Duhaut-Cilly, who came in 1827 and liked the harbor better than the town. He writes that the port is "without doubt the best in all California," safer than that of San Francisco even, and that this is due to natural advantages rather than to artificial improvements. He continues: "A sad place is the Presidio of San Diego, the saddest of all that we had visited in California, except San Pedro. It is built on the slope of an arid hill and has no regular form. It is a shapeless mass of houses, all the more gloomy because of the dark color of the bricks of which they are rudely constructed. Under the presidio on a sandy plain are seen thirty or forty scattered houses of poor appearance and a few gardens badly cultivated."

The American, James O. Pattie, claimed to have spent the greater part of the year 1828 in the Presidio prison, and afterward published a narrative in which he described only his prison, thus: "My prison was a cell eight or ten feet square, with walls and floors of stone. A door with iron bars an inch square like the bars of window sashes, and it grated on its iron hinges as it opened to receive me. Over the external front of this prison was inscribed in capital letters *Destinacion de la Cattivo.*"

The episode of the Pattie party in 1828 is a most interesting one and not as well known as it deserves to be. These eight Americans occupied a prison on Presidio hill for several months, and the leader died there. The feeling of the Californians was not particularly hostile to Americans, perhaps rather less so than to Spaniards; but all foreigners were regarded with suspicion and kept under as strict a surveillance as the inefficient administration of the time could contrive. The earlier visits of sea rovers on the coast were now being followed up by incursions of trappers and semi-military parties from the interior. Many books had appeared giving glowing accounts of the country, and the mysterious ichor in the blood of the American pioneer which still draws him ever toward the setting sun was full of potency. The Californians had just cause for alarm, as events soon proved. Some acts of violence and injustice resulted, at other places, notably the arrest and deportation to Tepic of a large number of foreigners at Monterey and other places in 1840. But on the whole, considering the volatile temperament of the ruling class and the difficult situation in which they found themselves, it must be said that they acted toward foreigners for the most part with moderation and good sense. The treatment of the Pattie party, if Pattie's narrative is to be believed, is the single notable exception to this rule, so far as events at San Diego are concerned.

Sylvester Pattie was a Kentuckian, an Indian fighter, lumberman, and trapper. In 1824 he and his son, James O. Pattie, a young man of about twenty, went on an expedition to New Mexico, where they remained three years. In September, 1827, a company was organized at Santa Fé for the purpose of operating on the Colorado river, and the elder Pattie became its captain. Eight of this company, including the two Patties, reached the junction of the Colorado and Gila rivers on December 1, 1827, in desperate straits for food and supplies. After floating down the Colorado to tide water in a vain search for a mythical settlement of white men, they buried their traps and furs and started westward across the desert. They reached the Mission of Santa Catalina, in Lower California, on March 21, 1828, after suffering severely, and arrived at San Diego, under guard, by Echeandía's order, on the 27th. The names of the companions of the Patties appear to have been James Puter, Jesse Ferguson, Isaac Slover, William Pope, Richard Laughlin, and Nathaniel M. Pryor.

The governor, for some reason, chose to regard the unfortunate men with suspicion and disfavor. He accused them of being Spanish spies, tore up their passport, and ordered them to prison. They were quite willing to die resisting this indignant treatment, but they were disarmed, carefully guarded, and locked up in separate cells, so that there was never an opportunity to attempt an escape. The elder Pattie died within a month, and if the account of the son is to be believed, they were all fed on insufficient and nauseating food and subjected to continual taunts and insults. It is clear that he totally misunderstood the character of the Californians, and in the printed accounts cannot sufficiently express his scorn and contempt for the supposed cowardice and treachery of his captors. Through the grated door of his prison he could see the governor at his residence in the center of the Presidio, and the sight filled him with bitterness. "Ah," he exclaims, "that I had had but my trusty rifle well charged to my face! Could I have had the pleasure of that single shot, I think I would have been willing to have purchased it with my life." And again: "How earnestly I wished that he and I had been together in the wild woods, and I armed with my rifle!"

But Echeandía's mood was not always inflexible. Within a month he allowed young Pattie, who had picked up a little Spanish in New Mexico, to leave the prison for the purpose of acting as interpreter during the trial of Captain Bradshaw, of the *Franklin*. The governor also employed Pattie as an interpreter and made friendly overtures to him, which the young man regarded from the first as "vile and deceitful lies." He took advantage of the opportunity to plead his cause and debate questions of international law, as well as to endeavor to secure permission to return to the Colorado and recover the buried traps and furs. He even carried the matter, in his own words, to the extent of "teasing him with importunities." But when he refused to translate any more letters, Echeandía lost patience, struck him on the head with the flat of his sword, and had him returned to prison.

In the following September the governor released the prisoners and proposed a plan by which the buried traps and furs might be recovered. A military escort was to be provided, greatly to the delight of the prisoners, who at once formed the resolution to overpower the guard and escape at the first opportunity. Pattie's vindictiveness shows itself in his instant resolution to "rise upon them, take their horses for our own riding, flea (flay) some of their skins to show that we knew how to inflict torture, and send the rest back to the general on foot." At the last moment, however, the shrewd old general spoiled the whole plan by refusing to send any horses and by keeping the young fire-eater himself as a hostage for the safe return of the party. "At this horrible sentence," he declares, "breaking upon us in the sanguine rapture of confidence, we all gazed at each other in the consternation of despair."

The expedition returned in the latter part of September and reported that the furs had been spoiled by a rise of the river and the traps had to be sold to pay mule-hire. While his comrades were gone, Pattie seems to have had a stormy time of it in his prison cell, where he lay under constant expectation of a violent death. He had some consolations, however; Captain Bradshaw had been kind to him, and W. H. Cunningham, A. W. Williams, and Seth Rogers are named as captains of American vessels who befriended and gave him money. He also had a guardian angel in a Spanish young lady whom he calls Miss Peaks, but whom Bancroft says was Miss Pico. His ungovernable tongue seems to have been largely responsible for most of his troubles, as he would not leave off from importuning and disputing with the governor. There is no doubt his conduct and language greatly exasperated the proud old Spaniard.

There is nothing to show that the six men who went after the outfit were incarcerated after their return. The final release of the whole party was due to an epidemic of smallpox which broke out in the northern missions. It chanced that Pattie had a small quantity of vaccine matter with him, and he resolved to use it as a means of obtaining their liberty. As he tells the story, he now became master of the situation and dictated terms, refusing to be set at liberty or to vaccinate the governor or even Miss Pico, unless his demands were granted. In return for the liberty of himself and men, he would undertake to vaccinate everybody in Upper California. The stories of Pattie and others do not agree about this and many other matters. He would have it that vaccination was a mystery to the Californians and Russians, which is not correct. It seems strange, too, that if he had this vaccine matter among his effects, the Californians should possess neither the intelligence nor the power to find it for themselves. After his release he vaccinated everybody at the Presidio and Mission and on his arrival at San Francisco, in June, 1829, he claimed to have operated on 22,000 persons.

The truth of the matter probably is that Echeandía was tired of the whole business, perhaps convinced that the men were harmless, and anxious to find an excuse for releasing them, and that Pattie's threats and violent tongue did him more harm than good. At any rate, the governor seems to have seen in Pattie's possession of the vaccine virus and ability to use it, an opportunity to get rid of his unwelcome visitors and to do something for the public health at the same time.

The principal points in this story, as related above, are in accordance with Pattie's *Narrative*. Considerable doubt has been thrown upon Pattie's veracity, however, and the present writer cannot vouch for it all. Indeed, it seems highly probable that the party was not badly treated at San Diego, at all. Pryor, Laughlin, and Ferguson remained in California and lived in Los Angeles, and the stories they told differed materially from young Pattie's. It seems that young Pattie (or, more probably, the man who wrote his *Narrative*, had an unreasoning hatred of Catholics and Spaniards, and the whole book is colored by it. For instance, he entirely suppressed the fact, which is well authenticated, that the elder Pattie became a Catholic before his death and was buried in consecrated ground on Presidio Hill, although the picture of "The Burial of Mr. Pattie," in his *Narrative*, itself betrays the fact that the interment took place on the hill.

From 1830 onward, the town grew rapidly and was soon, for the time and country, an important commercial and social center. When William Heath Davis first came, in 1831, he found it quite a lively town.

Captain J. C. Bogart was in charge of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company's coal hulk, *Clarissa Andrews*, for many years. His reminiscences of the country at that period relate chiefly to trees, agriculture, and live stock. He says: "In 1834 it was good to see the hills about San Diego. Wild oats grew upon them to a height which reached above the head of a man on horseback. Cattle were abundant and rolling in fat. Whenever any of the crew of the *Black Warrior* wished to use a horse, the animal was furnished by the native Californians for a whole day for a dollar. It made no difference if the rider pressed the horse to death, so he packed the saddle back. Horses were too plentiful to be a matter of any consequence."

The next visitor, in order of time, was the well known Richard Henry Dana, who was here in 1836, and whose story has already been drawn upon in earlier pages.

In 1838, there were nine foreigners in San Diego, among whom were Thomas Russell and Peter Weldon, who were concerned in a search for treasure supposed to be buried at the Mission.

In the early part of 1839, a Mr. Spencer came here as one of the crew of the Boston ship *Sophia*. In 1873 he revisited San Diego, and in his recollections given at that time recalled the San Diego of his earlier visit as "a few miserable huts." He may have had a disagreeable experience here which influenced his opinion of the place. During their stay, they purchased 6800 hides of very fat cattle. "San Diego," he said, "was at that time a beautiful picture of fertility. A luxuriant vegetation graced the mesa. Chaparral and mesquite grew abundantly and countless herds of cattle pastured around the edge of the bay."

The decline of San Diego began about 1836 and continued steadily until the Mexican War. In 1840, the population was the smallest for fifty years. De Mofras estimated it at one hundred and Bancroft thinks it was about 150. Late in 1841 the newly appointed Bishop of the Diocese of Upper California, García Diego, came with the intention of making San Diego his residence. He abandoned the idea, however, and located at Santa Barbara, instead, chiefly on account of the poverty of the Mission and town of San Diego. In 1844-6, in an effort to raise troops for the defense of the country in the pending American invasion, there were only about seventy men capable of bearing arms.

The foreign settlers living in San Diego in 1845, according to Crosthwaite's recollection, were: Himself, Henry D. Fitch, Don Juan Warner, Abel Stearns, John Forster, Captain John S. Barker, Thomas Wrightington, John Post, Peter Wilder, John C. Stewart, Thomas Russell, Caesar Walker, Captain Edward Stokes, an English carpenter known as "Chips," Enos A. Wall, Albert B. Smith, and two negroes named Allen B. Dight and Richard Freeman.

Frequent reference has been made to Alfred Robinson and William Heath Davis. Robinson was a native of Massachusetts who came here in 1829 as clerk of the ship *Brookline*. He was baptised as José María Alfredo before 1833, and early in 1836 married at Santa Barbara, Ana María, daughter of Captain José de la Guerra y Noriega. This wedding is the one described in Dana's book. The following year he and his wife went to Boston. He returned in the *Alert* in 1840, and remained two years. His employment in these days was as clerk and supercargo of different ships. In 1849 he returned to California as agent for the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, and in later years was engaged in some real estate transactions in San Francisco. His *Life in California* is a standard work and one of the best of its kind. They had eight children. Mr. Robinson, although of a somewhat reserved disposition, was a competent man and his standing in California was good. He deserves to be remembered among the pioneers who saw clearly, and judged with common sense.

William Heath Davis was born at Honolulu in 1821, and came to California as a boy on the *Louisa*, in 1831. In November, 1847, he married María de Jésus Estudillo, daughter of José Joaquin Estudillo. His wife lived in San Diego when young, and Mr. Davis's book is full of information about the life here in early days. For many years he was one of the most prominent merchants in San Francisco, and engaged in some of the largest trading ventures on the coast. He took little part in public affairs, but was a thorough and successful business man. He resided at San Diego for a short time and part of his account of his life here is used in the following chapter. He was one of the founders of New San Diego, and built the first wharf there in 1850, a circumstance of which he was always proud, although the venture was not a financial success. In 1889 he published his *Sixty Years in California*, which is one of the most interesting and informative books ever written about California. In this book, like Alfred Robinson, he stands up manfully in defense of the Californians—that is, of the better families, such as that into which he married.

He is still living in Oakland, California, and has a new set of reminiscences written and ready for publication.

A DANCE IN OLD SAN DIEGO

It is on the bough-roofed dancing-floor,
'Way back in the brave days now no more:
It is among the cavaliers,
A-tripping with the lissome dears
That bared those famous ankles, down
In gay old San Diego town.
The viols strike up and the guitar,
And yonder, as comes the evening star,
Her filmy skirt a little lifted—
A curling cloud afloat, wind-shifted,
Blown now to the left, and now to right—
Glides Josefita into sight.
Yon rider, he to every dear
The boldest, gayest cavalier,
Is rocking, rocking in his seat,
Keeping the motion of her feet.
He turns his horse, he runs him round
The circuit of the dancing-ground.
The earth is heaving like an ocean,
Witched with Josefita's motion.
He comes again, he comes a-riding,
And comes, too, Josefita gliding.
The bamba! Brighter shines the star;
He claps his spurs, he leaps the bar.
Dancing! Sweet heavens, look on her now!
Not so light are the leaves that dance on the bough.
The brimming glass upon her head
Dreams like a lily upon its bed!
See! Something she whispers in his ear
That you would give the world to hear.
Aha! Somebody will come down,
Tonight, in San Diego town;
But where's the shape that he would fear,
He, Josefita's cavalier!

—*John Vance Cheney.*

CHAPTER V

PLEASANT MEMORIES OF SOCIAL LIFE

WHATEVER was lacking in Old San Diego, the social life was rich and beautiful. This is the testimony of all visitors and all the old residents who have lived to tell the tale. People did not take life too seriously in those days. They made the most of their opportunities for happiness, and collected large dividends of content, whether they had any other sort or not. The echo of their laughter still rings down the pathway of the years, and suggests to the nervous Americans of today that there might be some pleasant compromise between the extremes of energy and indolence which would result in forms of life peculiarly suited to the rare environment of this southern land.

The different classes of society were quite distinct in the early time, the division running on lines of birth. Natives of Spain or direct descendants of such natives, constituted the upper class and prided themselves upon the purity of their blood. Aside from this, they had other and better claims to consideration, for they were usually well educated and always possessed of considerable culture. In a society accustomed to caste, they naturally assumed a position of leadership. Some of them were gentlemen in reduced circumstances who had taken to soldiering in the hope of retrieving their fortunes. Others were men of good families who had secured official appointments. All of them were proud and dignified in bearing, even when they happened to be very poor.

The lower classes consisted, first, of Mexicans with more or less Aztec and Indian blood, and, last of all, the native Indian. Most of the Mexicans were soldiers, some of whom brought their wives, while others married Indian women after coming here. They were a class corresponding to the Spanish peasantry and furnished the labor of the country.

The social customs which flourished in the midst of these conditions were so deeply marked with the spirit of common kindness that one can hardly escape the thought that something has been lost, as well as gained, in our present-day struggle to get ahead, as individuals and communities. Take, for instance, the matter of hospitality to strangers. To offer to pay for entertainment was an affront. The traveler was supplied with a fresh horse at every stage of his journey, and had no care or expense in the matter of returning them to their owners. On a table beside his bed he found a quantity of silver, to which he was expected to help himself, according to his needs, and no questions were asked. If a man needed a bullock, he might send a vaquero to lasso one from the herd of his wealthy neighbor, and pay for it when convenient—and if it did not become convenient, it was no matter. If a horse were borrowed and not returned, it was of no consequence—there were plenty more. The average of wealth among the cattle owners was large and their bounty was as free as air.

Incivility was absolutely unknown. Even the poorest peasant saluted you politely and was prepared to carry a message or do any little courtesy without charge and with an air of cheerfulness and good humor. The kindness of the people was genuine and unaffected. It was the custom to call all persons by their Christian names, with an easy familiarity. Older men received the prefix of *Don* or *Senor Don,* and ladies of *Dona* or *Senorita Dona,* if unmarried, and *Senora Dona,* if married. It was also quite usual to playfully nickname one's intimate friends in a humorous manner to which the Spanish language lends itself most happily. For instance, Wm. A. Gale was known as *Quatro Ojos* (four eyes), on account of his wearing glasses. He was also called *Tormenta* (gale), and *Cambalache* (barter), both for obvious reasons.

One of the most remarkable characteristics of the Californians was the very great respect shown to parents by their children. This deference was not abandoned with the passing years, but even a grown man coming into the presence of his father or mother always removed his hat and remained standing until invited to sit. No man, whatever his age, ever smoked in the presence of his father or mother. If a young man met an elder in the street, he would throw away his cigar and lift his hat, whether to his parents or a stranger. Servants showed the same deference to their employers. One scarcely knows what to say about the current stories of old men chastising their grown sons, and the latter, although themselves the fathers of families, kneeling meekly to receive the punishment. They may be true, and do seem fairly well authenticated.

The better class of Californians were temperate, with few exceptions. They were fond of smoking, however, and the habit was almost universal with them. The Mexican ladies were also fond of tobacco, and brought the custom of smoking cigaritos to California.

Notions of propriety were strict and young people, even when engaged, were not left to themselves. Courtships were usually arranged by the mother or aunt of the young lady. This was followed by a written proposal for the young lady's hand, from the suitor to her father, and the reply was also given in writing. Weddings were made the occasion of much social gaiety. Davis says that at a wedding which he attended in 1838, he was met on the road by a brother of the groom, gorgeously attired and splendidly mounted. Horses were lassoed for the wedding cavalcade. He had brought his own saddle, according to the custom, even though a guest. There were two cavalcades for the use of the party, one of red roan horses and the other of twenty-five blacks. On returning from the Mission and approaching the house of the groom's father, the old gentleman fired a salute with a brass cannon which he kept in the plaza in front of the dwelling.

It was customary for the Californians to marry young. One reason for this was in order that the young men might thereby escape being drafted into the army. It was not uncommon for boys of sixteen, or seventeen, and girls of fifteen or sixteen, to marry. Balls given at the celebration of the nuptials usually lasted three days. Arbors were carefully prepared, with beaten earthen floors, and lined with sheets and other articles to exclude the wind. The feasting and dancing did not cease, night or day.

One of the best descriptions of the wedding customs is that contained in Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast*, wherein he describes the wedding of Alfred Robinson and Señorita de la Guerra y Noriega, at Santa Barbara in 1836. He says:

> At ten o'clock the bride went up with her sister to the confessional, dressed in deep black. Nearly an hour intervened, when the great doors of the mission-church opened, the bells rang out a loud, discordant peal, a private signal was run up for us by the captain ashore, the bride, dressed in complete white, came out of the church with the bridegroom, followed by a long procession. Just as she stepped from the church door, a small white cloud issued from the bows of our ship, which was in full sight, a loud report echoed among the surrounding hills and over the bay, and instantly the ship was dressed in flags and pennants from stem to stern. Twenty-three guns followed in regular succession, with an interval of fifteen seconds between each, when the cloud cleared away, and the ship lay dressed in her colors all day. At sundown another salute of the same number of guns was fired, and all the flags run down.
>
> After supper we rowed ashore, dressed in our uniforms, beached the boat, and went up to the *fandango*. As we drew near we heard the accustomed sound of violins and guitars, and saw a great motion of the people within. Going in, we found nearly all the people of the town—men, women, and children—collected and crowded together, leaving barely room for the dancers;

> for on these occasions no invitations are given, but every one is expected to come, though there is always a private entertainment within the house for particular friends. The old women sat down in rows, clapping their hands to the music, and applauding the young ones. After the supper the waltzing began, which was confined to a very few of the *gente de razon* and was considered a high accomplishment and a mark of aristocracy. The great amusement of the evening—which I suppose was owing to its being carnival—was the breaking of eggs filled with cologne, or other essences, upon the heads of the company. One end of the egg is broken and the inside taken out, then it is partly filled with cologne, and the hole sealed up. The women bring a great number of these secretly about them, and the amusement is, to break one upon the head of a gentleman when his back is turned. He is bound in gallantry to find out the lady and return the compliment, though it must not be done if the person sees you. A tall, stately don, with immense grey whiskers and a look of great importance, was standing before me, when I felt a light hand on my shoulder, and turning round saw Doña Augustia (whom we all knew, as she had been up to Monterey and down again in the *Alert*), with her finger on her lip, motioning me gently aside. I stepped back a little, when she went up behind the don, and with one hand knocked off his huge sombrero, and at the same instant, with the other, broke the egg upon his head, and springing behind me was out of sight in a moment. The don turned slowly round, the cologne running down his face and over his clothes, and a loud laugh breaking out from every quarter. He looked round in vain for some time, until the direction of so many laughing eyes showed him the fair offender. She was his niece, and a great favorite with him, so old Domingo had to join in the laugh. A great many such tricks were played, and many a war of sharp manœuvering was carried on between the couples of the younger people; and at every successful exploit a general laugh was raised. . . .
>
> The next day two of us were sent up to the town, and took care to come back by the way of Captain Noriega's. The musicians were still there, scraping and twanging away, and a few people, apparently of the lower classes, were dancing. The dancing is kept up at intervals throughout the day, but the crowd, the spirit, and the *élite* come in at night.

A more intimate view is given by Robinson himself, in his account of the wedding of his wife's sister, a little earlier, both the contracting parties, in this case, being Spanish:

> On the marriage eve, the bride went with her father to the Mission, dressed in her usual church costume, which was deep black; where the joining of hands took place towards morning, and, at a later hour, the church ceremonies were performed. Breakfast was served with considerable taste, a task to which the worthy friar was fully competent. At its conclusion the bride and bridegroom were escorted to the house of her father. Padre Antonio had made his Indians happy by distributing presents among them; and many of the younger ones, well attired for the occasion, joined in the procession. They approached the town without any regular order, until

arriving almost within its precincts; when, under the direction of the friar, they formed and marched in the following manner. First came the military band, consisting of about twenty performers, who were dressed in a new uniform of red jackets trimmed with yellow cord, white pantaloons made after the Turkish fashion, and red caps of the Polish order. Then followed the bride and bridegroom, in an open English barouche, accompanied by the sister of the former. After these, in a close carriage, came Don José and Father Antonio; in another the *Madrina* [godmother] and cousin; and lastly, numbers of men and women on horseback. Guns were fired, alternately, at the Mission and in the Presidio, until their arrival at the house, to the *fiesta de boda* [nuptial feast]. At one o'clock a large number of invited guests sat down at a long table, to partake of an excellent dinner. The married couple were seated at the head with the father spiritual on the right, and the father temporal on the left. Dinner being over, part of the company retired to their homes, whilst some of the younger adjourned to a booth, which was prepared in the courtyard, sufficiently large to contain several hundred people. Here they danced awhile, and then retired. Early in the evening, people, invited and uninvited, began to fill up the booth, and soon dancing commenced. The music consisted of two violins and a guitar, on which were performed many beautiful waltzes and contra dances, together with a great number of local melodies. During the evening all took active part in the amusement, and as the poorer classes exhibited their graceful performances, the two fathers, from an elevated position, threw at their feet, silver dollars and doubloons. The *fandango* . . . lasted until the morning light

OLD SAN DIEGO IN 1846

> appeared, accompanied with all the variety customary on such occasions.
>
> On the next day, Father Antonio, as a further compliment to the bride, had dinner prepared in the corridor of the Mission—the table reaching from one end to the other, and the place being adorned with flags. Here all the town was invited to participate, when old and young, rich and poor, lame and blind, black and white, joined in the feast. For several succeeding nights the *fandango* was repeated at the booth, and they had enough of feasting and dancing intermingled with the amusements of the *Carnestolendas* [shrove-tide] to last them for some time.
>
> The usual season for *Carnestolendas* is during the three days previous to Ash Wednesday, but here they commence two weeks earlier. Whilst these amusements last, it is dangerous for one to go into a house where he is acquainted, for he is liable to be well drenched with Cologne or scented water. This is accomplished by the following preparatory process. As many eggs as may be required, are emptied of their contents, by perforating a hole at each end, through which they are blown by the mouth. The shells are afterwards immersed in a large basin of prepared essences, with which they are partly filled, and the holes then sealed with wax. Thus made ready, they are broken upon the heads of individuals; but it must be understood, that this is done only where great intimacy exists between the parties. Oftentimes invitations are given for a select company to assemble at a specified place, when all attend at the time appointed, "armed and equipped" for a battle with the eggs. On such occasions, as the excitement grows warm, and the ammunition becomes nearly exhausted, they resort to wet napkins, which they slap at each other. From these they have recourse to tumblers of water, and from these to pitchers, and from pitchers to buckets, until, tired and exhausted by the exercise, they desist!

Even a funeral was made the occasion of feasting and dancing. Dana thus describes his first encounter with this custom in Santa Barbara:

> Inquiring for an American who, we had been told, had married in the place, and kept a shop, we were directed to a long, low building, at the end of which was a door with a sign over it in Spanish. Entering the shop, we found no one in it, and the whole had a deserted appearance. In a few minutes the man made his appearance, and apologized for having nothing to entertain us with, saying that he had had a *fandango* at his house the night before, and the people had eaten and drunk up everything. "Oh, yes!" said I, "Easter holidays." "No," said he, with a singular expression on his face, "I had a little daughter die the other day, and that's the custom of the country."
>
> At this I felt a little strangely, not knowing what to say, or whether to offer consolation or no, and was beginning to retire when he opened a side-door and told us to walk in. Here I was no less astonished; for I found a large room filled with young girls from three or four years of age up to fifteen or sixteen, dressed all in white, with wreaths of flowers

> on their heads and bouquets in their hands. Following our conductor among all these girls, who were playing about in high spirits, we came to a table at the end of the room, covered with a white cloth, on which lay a coffin about three feet long with the body of his child. Through an open door we saw in another room a few elderly people in common dresses; while the benches and tables thrown up in a corner and the stained walls gave evident signs of last night's "high go."
>
> Later in the day, the sailors rode out to the Mission and overtook the funeral procession. The coffin was borne by eight girls, who were continually relieved by others, running forward from the procession and taking their places. Behind it came a straggling company of girls, dressed as before, in white and flowers, and including, I should suppose by their numbers, all the girls between five and fifteen in the place. They played along on the way, frequently stopping and running altogether to talk to some one, or to pick up a flower, and then running on again to overtake the coffin. There were a few elderly women in common colors; and a herd of young men and boys, some on foot and others mounted, followed them, or walked or rode by their side, frequently interrupting them by jokes or questions. But the most singular thing of all was that two men walked, one on each side of the coffin, carrying muskets in their hands, which they continually loaded and fired into the air.

Some of the things at which Dana wondered seem natural and beautiful enough. Mrs. Whaley describes a funeral at Old San Diego, which was very similar, except that the body was carried on a bier and not placed in the coffin until the cemetery was reached. A priest walked before, saying prayers, and the musicians walked on both sides playing violins, guitars, and other instruments. At the rear followed a man with firecrackers which he was setting off as they moved.

The last interment in the cemetery within the presidial enclosure was that of Captain Fitch, in 1849. Nothing now remains to show that the spot was ever used for such a purpose. The Catholic cemetery on the mesa was used until February, 1874, when the large new cemetery, on the hill above the town, was laid out under Father Ubach's direction, and has been in use ever since.

On the subject of dancing and other amusements, it is again convenient to draw upon Robinson. Don Juan Bandini had his house blessed during the stay of Gale and Robinson at San Diego in 1829, and they were invited to attend.

> The ceremony took place at noon, when the chaplain proceeded through the different apartments, sprinkling holy water upon the walls, and uttering verses in Latin. This concluded, we sat down to an excellent dinner, consisting of all the luxuries the place afforded, provided in Don Juan's best style. As soon as the cloth was removed, the guitar and the violin

were put in requisition, and a dance began. It lasted, however, but a little while, for it was necessary for them to spare their exertions for the evening *fandango*. So *poco a poco* [little by little], all gradually retired to their homes.

At an early hour the different passages leading to the house were enlivened with men, women, and children, hurrying to the dance; for on such occasions it was customary for everybody to attend without waiting for the formality of an invitation. A crowd of *leperos* [dependents] was collected about the door when we arrived, now and then giving its shouts of approbation to the performances within, and it was with some difficulty we forced our entrance. Two persons were upon the floor dancing *el jarabe*. They kept time to the music, by drumming with their feet, on the heel and toe system, with such precision, that the sound struck harmoniously upon the ear, and the admirable execution would not have done injustice to a pair of drumsticks in the hands of an able professor. The attitude of the female dancer was erect, with her head a little inclined to the right shoulder, as she modestly cast her eyes to the floor, whilst her hands gracefully held the skirts of her dress, suspending it above the ankle so as to expose to the company the execution of her feet. Her partner, who might have been one of the interlopers at the door, was under full speed of locomotion, and rattled away with his feet with wonderful dexterity. His arms were thrown carelessly behind his back, and secured, as they crossed, the point of his *serape* [sash], that still held its place upon his shoulders. Neither had he doffed his *sombrero*, but just as he stood when gazing from the crowd, he had placed himself upon the floor.

The conclusion of this performance gave us an opportunity to edge our way along towards the extremity of the room, where a door communicated with an inner apartment. Here we placed ourselves, to witness in a most favorable position the amusements of the evening. The room was about fifty feet in length, and twenty wide, modestly furnished, and its sides crowded with smiling faces. Upon the floor were accommodated the children and Indian girls, who, close under the vigilance of their parents and mistresses, took part in the scene. The musicians again commencing a lively tune, one of the managers approached the nearest female, and, clapping his hands in accompaniment to the music, succeeded in bringing her into the centre of the room. Here she remained awhile, gently tapping with her feet upon the floor, and then giving two or three whirls, skipped away to her seat. Another was clapped out, and another, till the manager had passed the compliment throughout the room. This is called a *son*, and there is a custom among the men, when a dancer proves particularly attractive to anyone, to place his hat upon her head, while she stands thus in the middle of the room, which she retains until redeemed by its owner, with some trifling present. During the performance of the dances, three or four male voices occasionally took part in the music, and towards the end of the evening, from repeated applications of *aguardiente* [brandy], they become quite boisterous and discordant.

The waltz was now introduced, and ten or a dozen couple whirled gaily around the room, and heightened the charms of

> the dance by the introduction of numerous and interesting figures. Between the dances refreshments were handed to the ladies, whilst in an adjoining apartment, a table was prepared for the males, who partook without ceremony. The most interesting of all their dances is the *contra danza*, and this, also, may be considered the most graceful. Its figures are intricate, and in connection with the waltz, form a charming combination. These *fandangos* usually hold out till daylight, and at intervals the people at the door are permitted to introduce their *jarabes* and *jotas*.

The *bamba* was a favorite dance, in which the lady would often dance with a glass of water poised on her head, or with her feet muffled in a handkerchief. The *jota* and the *zorrita* were danced by couples and accompanied by singing. The *contra-danza* was indulged in by the better classes and young persons seldom participated.

Before 1800, few houses had other than an earth floor, and the dancing was done upon the ground, which from constant use became very hard. A wooden platform was constructed, upon which the women and more skillful males might dance. After the ball was over, the men in groups accompanied the women to their homes, playing music as they went. After this, they would sometimes ride about the streets and sing or indulge in rougher sports.

BANDINI HOUSE, OLD TOWN, (PRESENT APPEARANCE)

"How often," exclaims Doña Refugia de Bandini, "did we spend half the night at a *tertulia* till 2 o'clock in the morning, in the most agreeable and distinguished society. Our house would be full of company—thirty or forty persons at the table; it would have to be set twice. A single *fiesta* might cost $1,000, but in those days the receipts at my husband's store were

$18,000 a month. The prettiest women were to be found at San Diego."

"Ah, what times we used to have," exclaims another, "every week to La Playa, aboard the ships—silks! officers! *rebozos!* music! dancing! frolic!"

These "good times" continued until long after the American occupation and formed the pleasantest part of the recollections of old settlers now living. "We used to have great times here," says one, "real jolly good times. The people didn't think of anything else, then, but pleasure and amusement. We used to have *fandangos*, or little parties, at night. We could get up one of these balls in a couple of hours. There was horse-racing, too." Mrs. Whaley relates that on the day of her arrival, the 8th of December, 1853, there was a festival and ball at the Gila House and she was prevailed upon to go. "We had splendid dances there," she says. "The musicians were Californians and played only Spanish airs. They looked as if they were asleep while they played. I remember particularly the *cascarones*—eggs filled with tinsel and cologne water, which were broken over the heads of the dancers. I have had many a *cascarone* broken on my head. The suppers were also fine, but at first I found the Spanish cooking too highly seasoned for my taste."

The frequent *fiestas* were one of the most highly prized features of the social life of early days, and one which persisted after nearly all the other characteristic amusements had passed away. In the *Herald* of September 3, 1853, Lieut. Derby wrote: "The great event of the past week has been the *fiesta* at San Luis Rey. Many of our citizens attended, and a very large number of native Californians and Indians collected from the various ranchos in the vicinity. High mass was celebrated in the old church on Thursday morning, an Indian baby was baptized, another nearly killed by being run over by an excited individual on an excited horse, and that day and the following were passed in witnessing the absurd efforts of some twenty natives to annoy a number of tame bulls, with the tips of their horns cut off. This great national amusement, ironically termed bull-fighting, consists in waving a *serape*, or handkerchief, in front of the bull until he is sufficiently annoyed to run after his tormentor, when that individual gets out of his way, with great precipitation. The nights are passed in an equally intellectual manner."

On August 28, 1858, Editor Ames says: "Our quiet village was nearly deserted during the whole of last week, the greater portion of our citizens being absent at the Feast. We have heard it estimated that 3,000 persons were present at San Luis Rey during the Feast week."

Horse-racing was a common source of diversion and was indulged in by all classes. No feast day passed without a number of races, which were always attended with great interest and sometimes large sums of money were lost and won. They were usually run by two horses, in short heats of from two to four hundred yards. Dana found the population greatly interested and excited by these events. The Old San Diego racecourse was on the flat ground between the town and San Diego Bay, and in the fifties and sixties some famous races took place there.

In its first number, October 3, 1868, the *Union* says: "To-morrow at two o'clock a two-mile race will be run over the Mission track. Alfredo Carrillo names b. h. Muggins, Jesus Marron names b. h. Buck. We are not advised as to the amount of the stakes, but learn that besides a large amount of money already up, the winner takes the losing horse." In early times, when money was scarce, the stakes were more often in cattle.

It is to be feared that bull-and-bear fights were not unknown here, although not so common as in other parts of the territory. The animals were placed in a strong enclosure and the whole population went to see the combat, seats being provided for women and children. A hind leg of the bear and a fore leg of the bull were strapped together, and the combat sometimes lasted for hours before one of the animals succumbed.

Far more pleasant to recall are the picnics, in which it was the custom to indulge with joyous abandon. The married ladies rode on their own saddles, while the young women were carried on horseback by the young men. This service was considered a post of honor, and discharged in the most polite and gallant manner possible. A bride was often carried to church in this manner. Sometimes the picnickers would ride in wagons drawn by oxen, and, if one of their number could play, there would be both instrumental and vocal music, going and coming. At the picnic grounds, mats were spread and a feast held, after which games were played. In the evening, after the return, the day would be finished with the inevitable dancing.

The only thing resembling dramatic performances were the *pastores*, or sacred comedies, in which the inhabitants took a deep interest. On Christmas night, 1837, such a *pastorela* was performed, and Alfred Robinson has left an account of it. Among the performers were Guadalupe Estudillo, Felipe Marron, Isadora Pico, and other girls. He thus describes the performance and the midnight mass which preceded it:

> At an early hour illuminations commenced, fire-works were set off, and all was rejoicing. The church bells rang merrily, and long before the time of mass the pathways leading to the Presidio were enlivened by crowds hurrying to devotion. I

> accompanied Don José Antonio [Estudillo], who procured for me a stand where I could see distinctly everything that took place. The mass commenced, Padre Vicente de Oliva officiated, and at the conclusion of the mysterious *sacrificio* he produced a small image representing the infant Saviour, which he held in his hands for all who chose to approach and kiss. After this, the tinkling of the guitar was heard without, the body of the church was cleared, and immediately commenced the harmonious sounds of a choir of voices. The characters entered in procession, adorned with appropriate costumes, and bearing banners. There were six females representing shepherdesses, three men and a boy. One of the men personated Lucifer, one a hermit, and the other Bartolo, a lazy vagabond, whilst the boy represented the arch-angel Gabriel. The story of their performance is partially drawn from the Bible, and commences with the angel's appearance to the shepherds, his account of the birth of our Saviour, and exhortation to them to proceed to the scene of the manger. Lucifer appears among them, and endeavors to prevent the prosecution of their journey. His influences and temptations are about to succeed, when Gabriel again appears and frustrates their effect. A dialogue is then carried on of considerable length relative to the attributes of the Deity, which ends in the submission of Satan. The whole is interspersed with songs and incidents that seem better adapted to the stage than the church. For several days this theatrical representation is exhibited at the principal houses, and the performers at the conclusion of the play are entertained with refreshments. The boys take an enthusiastic part in the performance, and follow about from house to house, perfectly enraptured with the comicalities of the hermit and Bartolo.

In later days there was an occasional circus, which must have been a godsend to the laughter-loving people. The late Mrs. E. W. Morse, who arrived here in July, 1865, says:

> A Spanish circus visited San Diego soon after my arrival. It exhibited in the evening in a corral with high adobe walls, the company having no tents. The place was lighted by strips of cloth laid in cans of lard and then set on fire. The primitive lanterns were set on high posts and at best furnished a poor light. The spectators included nearly all of the population of the town who could pay the admittance fee of fifty cents. I think the Indians were admitted at half-price. The Americans and Spanish occupied one side of the corral, and the Indians squatted on the ground on the other. The performances on the trapeze and tight-rope looked especially weird and fantastic in the smoky light of those primitive lanterns.

The Californians were famous horsemen, as everyone knows. Indeed, the Californian who was not a good rider was looked upon with contempt. The greatest tribute which could be made to friendship, was a present of a good horse. The usual gait in riding was a hard gallop, which was not slackened even when lighting a cigar. The trappings were heavy and gorgeous and covered the horse from neck to tail. Many of the ladies were skillful riders. Their saddles had no stirrup, but they rested their foot in the loop of a silken band, instead.

The only other means of locomotion was in the primitive ox-carts of the time, which were truly a survival of ante-diluvian days. They had either two or four wheels, which were made of the section of a tree about four feet in diameter, sawed off about a foot thick. The body of the vehicle was set upon the axle, with no springs. A light canopy was erected over this. They were all wood, no metal at all being used. The cart was drawn by oxen, the tongue being attached to their horns by ropes. The driver walked in front, to guide the team, and the women and children in the body of the cart prodded them with sticks. This primitive contrivance was the only means of conveyance, besides horseback riding, for many years. All freighting was done in this manner and many long journeys performed, as well as nearby picnics. Considerable skill was required to guide these carts safely over the crude roads. It is said that the Californians were somewhat negligent about keeping the axles greased and did not mind the frightful shrieks which usually accompanied their progress. It is said, too, that it was not uncommon for the oxen to be trained to run races, and that this diversion was often indulged in on the way to and from church.

E. W. Morse related that one Pedro Gastelhum left his home in Ensenada, with his family, and traveled in such a conveyance to the homes of friends and relatives in Sonora, fully a thousand miles. "It may have taken them six months to reach their destination," says Mr. Morse, "but what of it? Unlike the Gringos, they saw no need of hurrying and worrying through this life. Their countrymen occupied ranches all along the route, to which they were heartily welcome, without money and without price, whether their stay was long or short. This family returned in the same manner, having been gone about two years, and, I doubt not, have always looked upon that trip as the most enjoyable of their lives."

This was the only vehicle in the country until the fifties. In 1853, Abel Stearns imported a carriage from Boston, which was looked upon by the Californians as a deplorable and dangerous piece of vanity. At Santa Barbara, where there was more wealth, we have seen that Captain de la Guerra y Noriega owned a barouche several years earlier.

The Californians were not, as a rule, fond of hunting although they sometimes indulged in such branches of the sport as could be pursued on horseback. It was great fun to lasso a bear and lead him home, gagged and foaming, to be kept for a bull-and-bear fight on the next feast day. For game which had to be stalked on foot, or in boats, however, they had small taste. There was nothing of the spirit of the pot-hunter about them. The testimony concerning the abundance and variety of game in the country is quite conclusive. Besides those which have been previously mentioned, antelope were very plentiful. In the early fifties, Captain Bogart sowed a field of barley on North Island, but reaped nothing, for the antelope came along the peninsula at night and ate it up. In 1853, a party of four San Diegans, who had been camping on the hills for ten days, brought into town forty deer and "a cord" of smaller game, and this was only one instance out of many. As late as 1868 deer and antelope were plentiful at the Encinitos. In March, 1869, a son of Captain English, assisted by a Californian, captured a large wildcat on the mesa between old and new San Diego, and in December, 1871, the San Diego markets were well supplied with venison.

WRIGHTINGTON HOUSE, SHOWING THE COURT

Dana tells how, while left in charge of a hide house in San Diego for some weeks, a part of his duties was to gather wood for use in cooking. This fuel consisted of scrub oak trees, which they brought in on a hand-cart, from the hills back of La Playa. While so engaged, they had considerable sport with various kinds of game. Coyotes (which Dana calls *coatis*) were so plentiful that the pack of dogs kept at the hide houses frequently caught and killed them. They also shot hares and rabbits, and Dana makes quite a story of the killing of a rattlesnake.

The *rodeos,* or "round-ups" of cattle, were held frequently for the purpose of keeping the herds together, as well as of branding the cattle. They were more in the nature of sport than of labor and gave fine opportunity for the display of horsemanship. As the importance of the cattle interest increased, regulations were enacted by the territorial assembly for the due government of these important functions, which were presided over by the *juez del campo,* or judge of the plains. These officials were continued under the American administration and regularly appointed for several years.

The houses in which the Californians lived were of a type peculiarly adapted to the climate and to their habits of life. The walls were of adobes, or large, thin, sun-dried bricks. Usually there was no frame-work, and no wood in the structure except the doors, window frames, and roof timbers. The walls were laid up and cemented with mud and whitewashed without and within. The roof timbers were laid upon the walls, usually without other support, and the roof covered with thin red tiles so shaped and laid as to be an effectual protection against rain. The poorer people used tule or earth instead of tiles, for their roofs. The wealthier classes had board floors, either at first or later on, but others were content with the hard-packed ground. Doors were sometimes of wood, but not infrequently consisted of a dried bullock's hide, especially on ranchos. When carefully built, these houses were very comfortable as well as durable; but when exposed unprotected to the weather, they soon decayed. There were no stairs to climb and no plumbing to get out of order; they were cool in summer and warm in winter; and the extent to which the later comers are reverting to the Mission type of architecture shows how sensibly they were built.

Some of these houses—the simplest—consisted of only four walls and one room. The next better ones had a partition, making two apartments, and a little farther up the scale, a very long building was erected, with numerous rooms and entrances. But the highest type of house was built in the Spanish fashion, in a square, with an inner court. This *patio* was surrounded by a corridor, off which doors opened into the rooms. Several of the houses in old San Diego were of this kind.

The furniture was simple—in the earliest days quite primitive. Later, the wealthier families secured furniture from Spain and bought that made at the missions. A good deal of this old Spanish and mission-made furniture can still be found at the country seats of the principal ranchos. When the Boston ships began to pursue their profitable traffic in hides, they brought quantities of New England-made furniture, which became the rage and was preferred in San Diego to the plainer and more substantial Spanish and mission products.

The Californians ate a great deal of meat—almost subsisted upon it. The staple food was beef broiled on an iron rod, or steak with onions, and sometimes mutton, chicken, and eggs. A lunch put up for Alfred Robinson in San Diego consisted of one boiled chicken, one smoked beef tongue, half a dozen hard-boiled eggs, a loaf of bread, a small cheese, a bottle of wine, and a little paper of salt and pepper—not bad, if one were not a vegetarian. The bread was *tortillas,* sometimes made with yeast. Beans they knew how to cook admirably, also corn and potatoes. Their *tamales* and *chili con carne* (meat cooked with chili peppers) are too well known to require description. The use of soups was understood, and fish were considerably eaten, especially on Fridays.

Duhaut-Cilly says that the Californians considered venison unfit for food. We also learn that they cared little for mutton, pork, or bear's meat, but were exceedingly fond of veal. They were famous makers of sugared pastry. The cooks were largely Indians who had been trained for the work, and some of whom became quite expert. This was something to which the later comers found it hard to become accustomed. Mrs. Morse said respecting this matter: "The cooking at the hotel was quite unlike the cooking at the Hotel Del Coronado at the present time. I sat at the table alone, being the only woman in the house. An Indian boy waited on me at the table, and also gave me the news of the town. The landlord, an Irish gentleman, kindly told me that I could go into the kitchen and cook whatever I wished, if I did not like the Indian style. I availed myself of the privilege and there were some interesting discoveries. The cook was sitting on a bench in front of an open sack of flour, vigorously scratching his head. This brought unpleasant suggestions to mind, as did also his stirring of the food while it was cooking with his long hair dangling over it."

When diet is mentioned, one naturally thinks of the fondness of Californians for high seasoning. The use of red peppers in meat was quite general. In hot countries, these peppers serve a highly important use and are to the Spaniard very much what his pork and beans are to the Bostonian. In the cool climate of San Diego, their use would not appear to have been so necessary.

The women were neat and cleanly in their housekeeping. The bedding, especially, was much praised. The coverlids and pillow-cases were frequently of satin and trimmed with beautiful and costly lace. Except in a few of the wealthiest families, no table was set, but the family would proceed to the kitchen where food was passed around in plates or clay dishes. Forks and spoons were of horn.

The subject of dress is another of those topics which can scarcely be touched without the temptation to write a volume, but to which only a paragraph can be given. The dress worn by middle class women was a chemise with short sleeves, embroidered and trimmed with lace. A muslin petticoat was flounced with scarlet and secured at the waist by a scarlet band. Shoes were of velvet or blue satin, and with a cotton scarf, pearl necklace and earrings, completed the costume. The hair was worn plaited and hanging down the back. Others substituted a silk or satin shawl for the *reboso.*

The English style of dress was early adopted, especially by the better class. When Robinson first came, the picturesque Spanish costumes were almost universally worn by both sexes. The ordinary dress of the men was in short clothes and jacket trimmed with scarlet, a silk sash about the waist, *botas* of ornamented and embroidered deer skin, secured by colored garters, embroidered shoes, the hair long, braided and fastened behind with ribbons, a black silk handkerchief around the head, surmounted by an oval, broad-rimmed hat. The "best clothes" of both sexes were very gorgeous and expensive, but cannot be described in detail here. A glimpse of the ordinary dress and diversions of the soldiers is afforded by Robinson, at his first visit to the San Diego Presidio. He says the soldiers were amusing themselves at the guard-house, "some seated on the ground playing cards and smoking, while others were dancing to the music of the guitar. . . . At the gate stood a sentinel, with slouched hat and blanket thrown over one shoulder, his old Spanish musket resting on the other; his pantaloons were buttoned and ornamented at the knee, below which, his legs were protected by leggings of dressed deer-skin, secured with spangled garters."

With the coming of the Americans and the setting of the tide of business toward New England all these things soon began to be affected and, in time, passed into complete eclipse. Manners and customs went with the tide, especially after the Mexican War, and left only loving memories. It took some time to thaw the natural reserve between two peoples who did not understand each other. This thawing process, marking the period at the beginning of which Americans were regarded with distrust, if not dislike, and the time when they were received with marked favor, may be said to have occurred between 1830 and 1835. At the beginning of this period, intermarriages between the two races were rare and when they did occur created a sensation; at the end, they were too common to excite comment. In this connection, and to illustrate what has been stated, the story of Henry

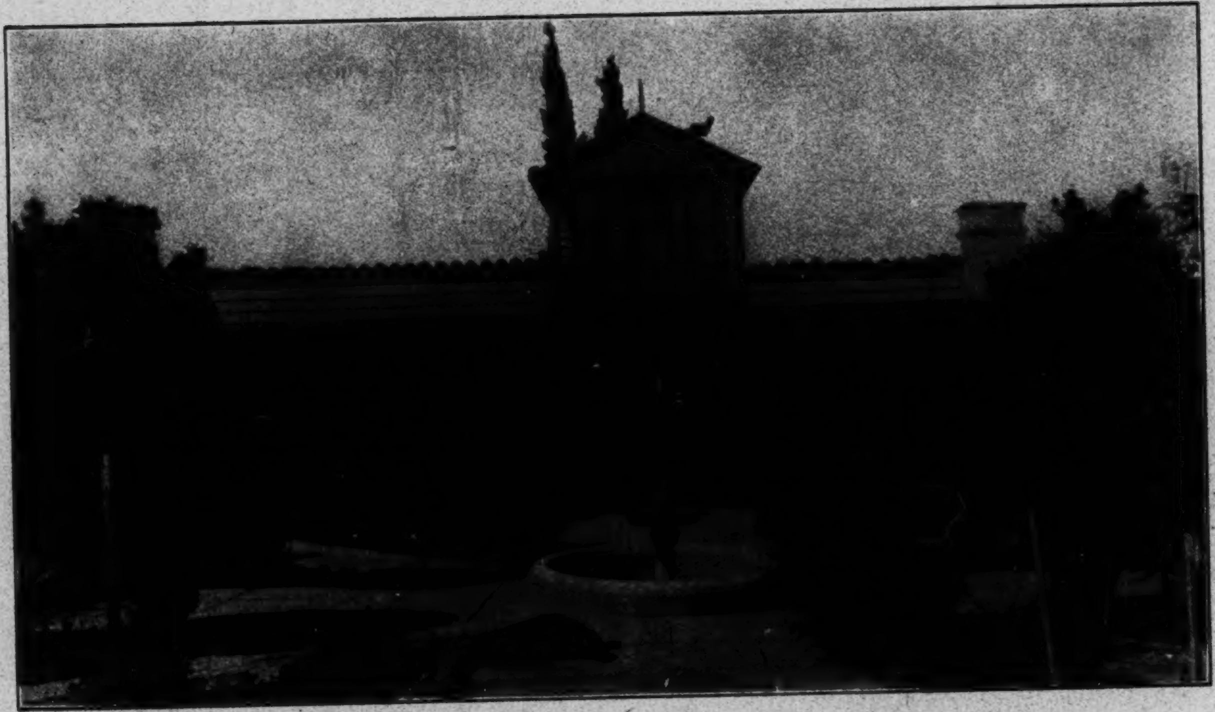
D. Fitch's elopement and the troubles which it brought upon him, is worth telling.

Josefa Carrillo, eldest daughter of Joaquin Carrillo, of San Diego, was one of the beautiful women of the place in 1826 when Captain Fitch first came here, and he soon surrendered to her charms. He gave her a written promise of marriage in 1827, according to the custom of the country, and the family consented to the match, provided the impediments could be removed. The first impediment was that Fitch was a foreigner and a Protestant. He announced his intention of becoming a Mexican citizen, and was baptised by Father Menendez on April 14, 1829, at the chapel in the Presidio, Lieutenant Domingo Carrillo acting as godfather. Menendez had promised to marry the couple the fol-

MRS. HENRY D. FITCH

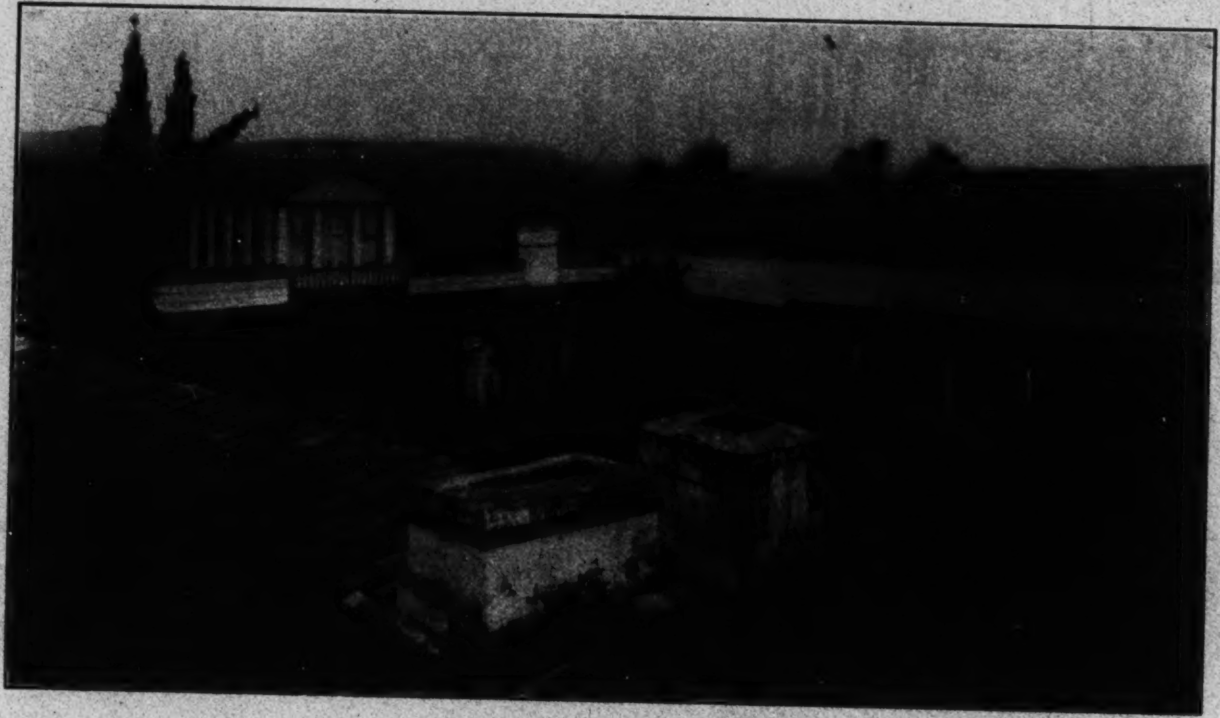
lowing day, but at the last moment he weakened. The governor had decreed that no foreigners should marry within the territory without his special license, and this could not be secured. Domingo Carrillo, uncle of the bride, also refused to serve as a witness, and the case looked hopeless. But Menendez was a man of resources; though not willing to get into trouble himself, he was not averse to helping the lovers, and so suggested an elopement. This was soon arranged and Fitch hastily made ready for a voyage. He bade adieu to his friends, including Miss Carrillo, and got under way in the *Vulture*. But the departure of the Captain and the ship was only a blind, and in the darkness of night they were hovering close to the shore. Pio Pico, the cousin of Señorita Carrillo, took her on his saddle and carried her swiftly to a spot on the bay shore where a boat was in waiting, and soon the lovers were reunited on the deck. All went well, and they were married at Valparaiso on the 3rd of July, by the Curate Orrego.

This elopement caused considerable scandal, and, the matter having been arranged with some secrecy, various rumors were in circulation. One account had it that the lady was forcibly abducted. Fitch re-appeared the next year with his wife and infant son, and after touching at San Diego proceeded to San Pedro where he was arrested by Echeandía's order and sent to San Gabriel for trial. Mrs. Fitch was at first kept under surveillance in a private house and later sent also to San Gabriel. It was alleged that the marriage was a nullity, and technical flaws were picked in the certificate. The couple were repeatedly interrogated before the ecclesiastical court, Fitch acting as his own attorney, and offering to marry his wife over again. The vicar finally decided, in December, that the charges were not substantiated; that the marriage, though irregular, was valid; and ordered that the wife be given up to the husband. "Yet considering the great scandal which Don Enrique has caused in this province, I condemn him to give as a penance and reparation a bell of at least fifty pounds in weight for the church at Los Angeles, which barely has a borrowed one." Certain other easy penances were provided and poor Menendez's conduct was the subject of an investigation. The troubles of the couple were not quite over, for on Jan. 31, 1831, Captain Fitch, writing to his friend, Captain Cooper, complained of the conduct of his wife's parents, who, he says, abused his wife and would not leave her with him. However, although the historian cannot record that they did literally "live happy ever after," it is pleasant to know that they had many years of life together and brought up a large family.



FINE EXAMPLE OF OLD SPANISH HOME

Residence of Col Cave J. Couts, Rancho Guajome, nine miles from Oceanside and forty-five miles from San Diego. This view shows court yard, while the view on next page shows court yard from roof. This is the architecture which enables a household to take full advantage of the San Diego climate, as, in a sense, they get the outside of their house on the inside



ANOTHER VIEW OF THE HOME OF CAVE J. COUTS

Showing court yard from the roof

CHAPTER VI

PROMINENT SPANISH FAMILIES

THE names and annals of Spanish families, conspicuous in the social, commercial, religious, and political life of Old San Diego, will always be treasured as an interesting and vital part of local history. It would be quite invidious to attempt to present them in the order of their importance. Hence, the alphabetical plan is adopted in this arrangement of facts obtained from a great variety of sources:

AGUILAR, Blas, son of Corporal Rosario, born at San Diego, 1811, outside the Presidio walls. Was majordomo at Temecula in 1834. Settled at San Juan Capistrano and was a petitioner for land in 1841. Was alcalde there in 1848. Married Antonia Guiterrez.

AGUILAR, Rosario. Corporal of the mission guard at San Diego soon after the year 1800. Had a house on site of the present town, in 1821. Majordomo of San Diego Mission, 1838. *Juez de paz* in 1841. Removed to San Juan Capistrano soon after and obtained land there. Died there in 1847 leaving several children, of whom Blas Aguilar, mentioned above, was one. His daughter Rafaela was married to José Antonio Serrano.

AGUIRRE, José Antonio. A native of Basque, Spain, born about 1793. At the time of the Mexican revolution he was a merchant at Guaymas. Remaining loyal to Spain, he was driven out of Mexico and settled in Upper California. Owned brigs *Leonidas* and *Joven Guipuzoana,* and engaged in coast, Island, and China trade. On arrival of the Híjar colony at San Diego in 1834, gave a ball in Híjar's honor. It was at this ball that certain modern dances are said to have been first introduced into California. He divided his residence between San Diego and Santa Barbara, at which latter place he owned the finest residence in 1842. In 1843, he was grantee of the Tejon rancho. In 1848 and 1849, engaged in trade with William Heath Davis, and in 1850 he and Davis, with four others, founded new San Diego. He was at San Diego April 1, 1850, and appears in a list of the voters at Old Town. In September of the latter year he served on the first grand jury in San Diego county under American rule. He married Francisca, daughter of Prefect José Antonio Estudillo, of San Diego, and after her death married her sister, María del Rosario Estudillo. He was a large man and on that account was sometimes called "Aguirron" (big Aguirre). He was a fine type of the old Spanish merchant and left a large estate to his widow and four children. A son, Miguel Aguirre, lives in the neighborhood of the San Jacinto rancho. A daughter was married to Francisco Pico and lives in the same vicinity. His widow married Colonel Manuel A. Ferrer, of San Diego.

ALIPAS, Damasio and Gervasio; mentioned by Juan Bandini as members of the revolutionary junta of fourteen which began the revolt against Governor Victoria in November, 1831. A third brother, Santos Alipás, was one of the men killed in the Pauma massacre, in December, 1846.

Damasio Alipás married Juana Machado, daughter of José Manuel Machado, and had three daughters: Ramona, whose first husband was William Curley and her second William Williams ("Cockney Bill"), and who is still living, in Los Angeles; Josefa, who married John Peters, and left San Diego in 1854 or 1855; and María Arcadia, who became the wife of Captain Robert D. Israel and lives in Coronado. Damasio Alipás went to Sonora before the Civil War, and was killed there. His widow then married Thomas Wrightington.

ALTAMIRANO, José Antonio, was the son of Tomás Altamirano and Dolores Carrillo, and was born at La Paz, Lower California, May 31, 1835. His mother was a sister of Joaquin Carrillo, the father of Mrs. Henry D. Fitch; another of her brothers was Pedro C. Carrillo, who once owned the San Diego (Coronado) peninsula and sold it for $3000. José Ant. Altamirano came to California in 1849 and was first engaged in mining. In 1859 he went into stock raising on a large scale near San Jacinto. He owned the Valle de las Palmas rancho, near Tia Juana, in Lower California, which is still in the family, and was at one time the owner of the Algodones grant, on the Colorado river, near Yuma. In the Mexican War, he served on the American side. He lived at Old Town, where he married Ysabel de Pedrorena, daughter of Miguel de Pedrorena, and had a large family.

Miguel is unmarried, and lives on Las Flores rancho; Antonio is married, and lives at Paris, France, was formerly a San Diego councilman; José is unmarried, and lives in San Francisco; Robert, died at the age of twenty; Dolores, married, first Harry Neale, of San Diego, and had three children, second, Robert Burns, of Sacramento; Ysabel, married E. W. Ackerman and lives in Old Town; Tula, Victoria, and Mary, unmarried; and Maria Antoinette, who died.

ALVARADO, Francisco María. First *regidor* of San Diego, 1837. Treasurer, 1840-1. *Juez de paz,* 1845. Grantee of Peñasquitas rancho in 1823, 1834, and 1836, on which he lived; and grantee of Soledad rancho in 1838. Was an elector at San Diego, April 1, 1850.

ALVARADO, Juan Bautista. First *regidor* of San Diego, 1835; *comisario de policia,* 1836. Daughter María Antonia was married to Captain Joseph F. Snook.

ARGUELLO, José Ramon, son of Santiago Argüello. Second alcalde (*juez de paz*) in 1845. Davis related that on a trip into Lower California with Don Ramon as guide, he found that gentleman addicted to eating rattlesnakes.

ARGUELLO, Santiago. Son of José D. Argüello, born at Monterey 1791. Paymaster at San Diego in 1818, and in 1821 had a garden in Mission Valley. His part in the Bouchard invasion has been related. In 1827-31 he was lieutenant of the San Diego Company, and commandant from 1830 to 1835. From 1831-5 was captain of the company and took part in the revolt against Victoria. In 1833-4 he was revenue officer at San Diego. In 1836 he was alcalde, and held several other offices. During the Mexican war he was friendly to the Americans and gave them considerable aid. Soldiers were quartered at his house and he held a commission as captain in the California battalion. Was a member of the Legislative council in 1847 and made collector of the port.

In 1829 he was granted the Tia-Juana rancho, in 1841 the Trabujo, and in 1846 the San Diego Mission lands. He married Pilar Ortega, daughter of Francisco Ortega, of Santa Barbara, by whom he had 22 children. Among the children who lived and had issue were: Francisco, Ignacio, José Antonio, José Ramon, Santiago E, Refugio who was married to Juan Bandini, Teresa who was married to José M. Bandini, María Louisa, who was married to A. V. Zamorano, and Concepcion, wife of Agustin Olvera.

He died on his Tia Juana ranch in 1862, and his widow in 1878. The ranch is still owned by the family. Davis takes pains to state that his sons were finely-formed, well proportioned men. He was a man of ability and left an honorable record. His disposition was somewhat reserved and he was not universally personally popular.

ARGUELLO, Santiago E. Son of Santiago, was born August 18, 1813. Collector of revenue at San Diego, 1833-4. Took part against Alvarado in 1836-7. Deputy in assembly and *juez de paz* in 1845-6. Aided the Americans in Mexican War and had a claim for $11,548 for damages to his property. Was in charge of the Otay and San Antonio Abad ranchos in 1836-7, and majordomo and landowner at San Juan Capistrano in 1841.

He was an elector at Old San Diego, April 1, 1850. He married Guadalupe Estudillo, daughter of José Antonio Estudillo. He died at the Rancho de la Punta, October 20, 1857, and left two sons and a number of daughters. One daughter, María Antonia, was married to A. H. Wilcox and another, Refugia, to William B. Couts. One son, Francisco, lives at Tia Juana and has a family.

BANDINI, Juan. Any sketch of this interesting figure in the early life of San Diego must necessarily fail to do him entire justice. For nearly forty years he was an honored citizen of California, saw it pass from Spanish into Mexican hands, and lived to take a prominent part in wresting it from the control of the Californians and making it an American State. Through all the intervening days of struggle, he took an important part, and narrowly missed the highest political honors of his time. Estimates of his character and services vary somewhat and have been influenced by the financial misfortunes which pursued him. But it seems clear that his long residence and eminent public services in San Diego entitled him to be considered the first Spanish citizen of his day.

The name of Bandini is not originally Spanish, but Italian, the family originating in Italy and there being a family of Bandinis of princely rank now in existence in Italy.

He was the son of José Bandini, who was a native of Andalusia. He was born at Lima in 1800, and received his education there. His father came to California as master of a Spanish trading vessel in 1819 and 1821, and it is possible Juan was with him. The father took an active part in the Mexican revolution and was made a captain. Soon after peace came, the father and son came to San Diego and built a house. His public services began in 1827-8 as a member of the assembly, and from 1828 to '31 he was *sub-comisario* of revenues. His house at San Diego, which is still standing in a good state of preservation, was erected in 1829. In 1830 he was chosen substitute congressman. In 1831 he took a leading part in the revolt against Governor Victoria, as related elsewhere. In 1832, he was appointed comisario principal *ad interim*, but Victoria refused to recognize his authority outside San Diego, and he soon resigned. In 1833 he went to Mexico as congressman and returned the following year as Vice-President of the Híjar colonization company and inspector of customs for California. His elaborate entertainment of Híjar has been alluded to. The colonization scheme was a failure, however. The California officials also refused to recognize his authority over the customs and brought a counter charge of smuggling which they succeeded in substantiating, technically, at least. These failures of his hopes were a severe blow to Bandini, from which he never fully recovered. In

1836-7-8 he was the leading spirit in the opposition to Governor Alvarado, and on one occasion, at least, had the satisfaction of a great public reception when the whole population of San Diego turned out to meet him on his return from the capture of Los Angeles, in 1837. His return at this time was due to Indian troubles. He was the owner of the Tecate rancho on the Mexican border, which was pillaged by the hostiles and the family reduced to want. But peace having been made, Alvarado made him administrator of the San Gabriel Mission, and he was also granted the Jurupa, Rincon, and Cajon de Muscapiabe ranchos, besides land at San Juan Capistrano. He held other offices, but continued to oppose Alvarado and was present with troops at the battle of Las Flores, in 1838. On Christmas night, 1838, while the *Pastorela* was being performed at his house, all the prominent citizens of San Diego being present, the house was surrounded by General Castro, acting under Alvarado's orders, and the two Picos and Juan Ortega taken prisoners. Bandini was absent at this time, and thus escaped arrest.

In 1845-6 he was Governor Pico's secretary and supported his administration. After the Mexican War began, however, he adhered to the American cause and rendered valuable services. He furnished supplies for the troops, and did everything in his power to aid them.

In 1847 he was a member of the legislative council, and in 1848, alcalde. On April 1, 1850, he appears as an elector at San Diego, and was elected treasurer, but declined to serve. In this year he was keeping a store at San Diego, and also erected a large building for a hotel, the Gila House, which is said to have cost $25,000. Soon after this he removed to a rancho which had been granted him in Mexico and resumed his Mexican citizenship. Here he took some part in politics, and was a supporter of Melendres, and had to quit the country with his belongings, in 1855. He died at Los Angeles, whither he had gone for treatment, in November, 1859.

His first wife was Dolores, daughter of Captain José M. Estudillo, and their children were: Arcadia, who married Abel Stearns and afterward Colonel Robert S. Baker. She lives at Santa Monica and Los Angeles. Ysidora, who was born September 23, 1829, was married to Cave J. Couts, died May 24, 1897, and is buried at San Diego. Josefa, who was married to Pedro C. Carrillo, who was *alcalde* and a member of California's first legislature in 1847. José María, who married Teresa, daughter of Santiago Argüello; and Juanito. His second wife was Refugia, daughter of Santiago Argüello (a sister of his son José María's wife). They had: Juan de la Cruz, Alfredo, Arturo, and two daughters, one of whom, Dolores, was married to Charles R. Johnson, and the other, Victoria (Chata), to Dr. James B. Winston and lives in Los Angeles. Bandini's daughters were famous for their beauty. All his family are in comfortable circumstances, and several are wealthy. They live principally in Southern California, have married well, and are much respected citizens.

Perhaps the story of Bandini's personal appearance and characteristics can best be told by a few extracts from writers who knew him. Dana, whose opinion of Californians was intelligent, if not always sympathetic, saw him on a voyage from Monterey to Santa Barbara in January, 1836, and writes thus:

> Among our passengers was a young man who was the best representation of a decayed gentleman I had ever seen. He was of the aristocracy of the country, his family being of pure Spanish blood, and once of great importance in Mexico. His father had been governor of the province [this is an error] and having amassed a large property settled at San Diego. His son was sent to Mexico where he received the best education, and went into the first society of the capital. Misfortune, extravagance, and the want of funds soon ate the estate up, and Don Juan Bandini returned from Mexico accomplished, poor, and proud, and without any office or occupation, to lead the life of most young men of the better families—dissolute and extravagant when the means were at hand. He had a slight and elegant figure, moved gracefully, danced and waltzed beautifully, spoke the best of Castilian, with a pleasant and refined voice and accent, and had throughout the bearing of a man of high birth and figure.

Upon the arrival at Santa Barbara, Bandini danced at the wedding of Alfred Robinson and Señorita de la Guerra y Noriega, concerning which Dana says: "A great deal has been said about our friend Don Juan Bandini; and when he did appear, which was toward the close of the evening, he certainly gave us the most graceful dancing that I had ever seen. He was dressed in white pantaloons, neatly made, a short jacket of dark silk gaily figured, white stockings and thin morocco slippers upon his very small feet."

Lieutenant Derby was well acquainted with the name and fame of Don Juan, and in his first letter from San Diego, in 1853, he pauses in his fooling long enough to write: "San Diego is the residence of Don Juan Bandini, whose mansion fronts on one side of the plaza. He is well known to the early settlers of California as a gentleman of distinguished politeness and hospitality. His wife and daughters are among the most beautiful and accomplished ladies of our State."

Davis bears testimony to Bandini's worth. "He was," he says, "a man of decided ability and fine character."

Bancroft admits that he was one of the most prominent men of his time in California, of fair abilities and education, a charming public speaker, a fluent writer, and personally much beloved.

He thinks, however, that in the larger fields of statesmanship he fell somewhat short—an estimate which is one of the penalties paid by those who, whatever their ability or deserts, fail of the largest success.

There is also contemporary testimony to the fact that Don Juan possessed a gift of sardonic humor and was somewhat given to sarcasm.

CARRILLO, Domingo Antonio Ignacio, son of José Raimundo Carrillo. Born at San Diego, 1791. Gentleman soldier in the San Diego company from 1807, cadet from 1809, etc. Left service in 1818, but afterward restored and at San Diego in 1821. Was revenue collector, 1825-8, promoted to lieutenant, 1827. Transferred to Santa Barbara in 1830, and later in political troubles. Married Concepcion Pico, sister of Pio and Andrés Pico, in 1810. Their sons were Joaquin, José Antonio, Francisco, Alejandro, and Felipe. Daughters: María, wife of José M. Covarrubias; Angela, wife of Ignacio del Valle; and Antonia.

CARRILLO, José Antonio Ezequiel. Son of José Raimundo, and brother of Domingo Antonio Ignacio, above. Born at San Francisco in 1796. Was a teacher at San Diego in 1813 and afterward. At Los Angeles, 1827-31. Having been exiled by Victoria, became a leader in movement against the governor at San Diego in 1831. Was deeply implicated in trouble of the time at Santa Barbara, where he lived, and where he died in 1862. His first wife was Estefana Pico, and his second Jacinta Pico, both sisters of Pio and Andrés Pico, of San Diego. A daughter was married to Lewis T. Burton. Don José Antonio was a man of natural ability, but was dissipated.

CARRILLO, José Raimundo. Founder of the Carrillo family in California. A native of Loreto, born in 1749. Son of Hilario Carrillo. Came to California as a soldier, probably with the first expedition in 1769, and rose to rank of captain. Was commandant at San Diego, 1807-9. He married Tomása Ignacia, daughter of the soldier Francisco Lugo, the ceremony being performed by Junípero Serra at San Carlos, on April 23, 1781. His early services in California were at Santa Barbara and Monterey, coming to San Diego in 1806. He was buried in the chapel on Presidio Hill, on November 10, 1809. His only daughter, María Antonia, became the wife of José de la Guerra y Noriega. His sons, Carlos Antonio de Jesus, José Antonio Ezequiel, Anastasio, and Domingo Antonio Ignacio, were all prominent in the early history of California.

CARRILLO, Joaquin. Native of Lower California and a relative (probably a cousin) of José Raimundo. Was living as a retired soldier at San Diego in 1827. He is said to have been a good performer on the violin, and was once put in the stocks by Capt. Ruiz because the latter thought him too slow in tuning up to play his favorite tune. He died before 1840. His widow was María Ignacia Lopez, and their sons were Joaquin, Julio, and José Ramon. The daughters, Josefa, whose elopement with Henry D. Fitch has been narrated; Francisca Benicia, wife of M. G. Vallejo; María de la Luz, wife of Salvador Vallejo; Ramona, wife of Romualdo Pacheco and later of John Wilson, who lived in San Francisco; Mabel Pacheco, who was married to Will. Tevis; Juana; and Felecidad, wife of Victor Castro.

DOMINGUEZ, Cristobal. Soldier at San Diego before 1800. Died in 1825. Rose to rank of sergeant, and was grantee of San Pedro ranch in 1822. His wife was María de los Reyes Ibañes, at whose house Alfred Robinson resided while in San Diego, in 1829, and to whom he refers as "old lady Dominguez." Part of the American troops were quartered at her house in the Mexican War. Their children were María Victoria, who was married to José Antonio Estudillo; Luis Gonzaga; Manuel, who is mentioned by Robinson as Gale's brother-in-law at San Diego in 1829; María Francisca Marcelina, who was married to William A. Gale and went to Boston to live; María Elena Ramona; José Nasario; and Pedro Juan Agapito.

ECHEANDIA, José María. Quite a little has been said about this, the only governor of California who made his residence in San Diego. A few more personal details will be given at this place.

Before coming to California, he was a Lieutenant-Colonel connected with a college of engineers in Mexico. Besides Robinson's statement that he was "a tall, gaunt personage," who received him "with true Spanish dignity and politeness," we learn from Bancroft that he was "tall, slight and well formed, with fair complexion, hair not quite black, scanty beard . . . and a pleasing face and expression. His health was very delicate. In his speech he affected the Castilian pronunciation, noticeably in giving the 'll,' 'c' and 'z' their proper sounds." He was somewhat absent-minded at times. Some of his contemporaries regarded him as a capricious despot, who would carry out a whim without regard to results; others thought he lacked energy; and still others say he was popular, but overindulgent and careless. Pio Pico found him affable, but apathetic. Alfred Robinson, the son-in-law of Captain de la Guerra y Noriega, who strongly opposed Echeandía in the matter of the secularization of the missions, calls him "the scourge of California, and instigator of vice, who sowed seeds of dishonor not to be extirpated while a mission remains to be robbed." Wm. A. Gale found him a man of undecided character, trying to please everybody.

After leaving California he was very poor until 1835, when, an earthquake having damaged a number of buildings, his services as engineer were in demand and he became prosperous. In 1855 he was arrested by Santa Ana for some political cause, but released. Two step-daughters took care of him in his old age, and he died before 1871.

ESTUDILLO, José Antonio. Son of José María, born at Monterey, 1805. Grantee of house-lot at San Diego, 1827. In 1828-30 was revenue collector and treasurer. Grantee of Otay rancho, in 1829. Member of the assembly in 1833-5. Received a grant of the Temécula rancho in 1835. In 1836-8 *alcalde* and *juez*. *Administrador* and *majordomo* at San Luis Rey in 1840-3 and owner of land at San Juan Capistrano in 1841. Treasurer in 1840. *Juez de paz* in 1845-6. Collector in 1845. Neutral in Mexican War. First county assessor, 1850. He died in 1852. He was a man of excellent character and large influence. His wife was María Victoria, daughter of Sergeant Cristobal and María de los Reyes Dominguez, whom he married in 1825. Their children were: José María, who married a daughter, Luz, of Juan María Marron; Salvador, married Piedad Altamirano, sister of José Ant.; José Guadalupe; José Antonio, who is a rancher at San Jacinto; and Francisco, who lives at San Jacinto. He married first, Carmen Roubidoux, daughter of the celebrated trapper; second, a daughter of Don Jesus Machado. They had two daughters, both of whom were married to José Antonio Aguirre; Francisca being his first wife, and María del Rosaria his second, and afterward marrying Col. Manuel A. Ferrer. Another daughter, María Antonia, was married to Miguel de Pedrorena, and another, Concepcion, was the first wife of George A. Pendleton.

ESTUDILLO, José Guadalupe. Son of José Antonio, one of the most prominent citizens of San Diego in earlier American days. County Treasurer from 1864 to 1875. City Councilman of San Diego. Treasurer of the State one term. Cashier of the Consolidated Bank, etc. He now lives in Los Angeles. He married Adelaide Mulholland.

ESTUDILLO, José María, Lieutenant of the Monterey Company in 1806-27, and captain of the San Diego Company from 1827 till his death in 1830. He may be said to have been the founder of the Estudillo family in California. His wife was Gertrudis Horcasitas. José Antonio, mentioned above, was the best known of his children. He also had José Joaquin, who lived on the San Leandro rancho, near San Francisco bay, whose three daughters all married Americans—María de Jesus becoming the wife of Wm. Heath Davis. He also had a daughter, Magdalena, who was grantee of part of the Otay ranch 1829, and a daughter who married Lieutenant Manuel Gomez.

GUERRA y NORIEGA, José Antonio de la. Native of Spain, born March 6, 1779. Became lieutenant of the Monterey Company and came to California 1801. Here he married, in 1804, María Antonia, daughter of Captain José Raimundo Carrillo. In 1806 came to San Diego, and was acting commandant for a short time in 1806-7. Had difficulty with Capt. Ruiz. Acted as agent for sale of his uncle's goods, shipped from Mexico, in 1808, and profited largely. After 1817, resided at Santa Barbara, where he was commandant and took a prominent part in public affairs. He was congressman from California in 1827, and the following year named by Echeandía in a list of those who had taken the oath of allegiance. Candidate for position of political chief, in 1837. In Mexican War was unfriendly to U. S. but remained quiet. Died in 1858.

Of his daughters, María de las Angustias, born 1815, was married to Manuel Jimeno Casarin, and later to Dr. J. D. Ord. Her first marriage is described by Robinson in his *Life in California*, page 142. Ana María, born 1820, was married to Alfred Robinson, and died in 1855. María Antonia, born 1827, married Cesario Lataillade, and later Caspar Oreña. He had at least seven sons; Antonio María, born 1825, never married; Francisco, born 1818, died in 1878; Joaquin, born 1822, died before 1870; José Antonio, born 1805; Juan J., born 1810, died unmarried; Miguel, born 1823; Pablo, born 1819.

Captain de la Guerra y Noriega left a large estate, which Bancroft says his sons dissipated. He was a man of very great influence to the day of his death. His opinions on California political affairs strongly color the views expressed in the book of his son-in-law, Alfred Robinson.

LOPEZ, Bonifacio. Son of Ignacio. *Juez de campo* at San Diego, 1835. In charge of the Mission, 1848. Grand juror, September, 1850. His daughter, Josefa, married Philip Crosthwaite.

LOPEZ, Ignacio. Soldier, living in Mission Valley, 1821. Father of Bonifacio and probably others. First district elector of San Diego, 1822, and elected to legislature. Took part in revolution of 1831. José and Juan Lopez, involved in same, probably his sons. *Juez de campo*, 1836.

LORENZANA, Apolinaria. Was one of the foundling children sent to California from Mexico in 1800, and lived in San Diego. The name, Lorenzana, was that of the archbishop of Mexico, given to all foundlings. She never married, but was very charitable and known as *La Beata* [the sister of charity]. She claimed the Jamachá rancho, but lost it. She was in San Luis Rey in 1821-30, and later assisted Father Vicente at the San Diego Mission. In later life she lived at Santa Barbara, was poor and blind and supported by charity. She dictated for Bancroft her memoirs.

MACHADO, José Manuel. Corporal of the San Diego Company. Had quite a family of children, among them daughters—Guadalupe, whose first husband was Peter Wilder, and her second Albert B. Smith; and Juana, who was first married to Damasio Alipás and second to Thomas Wrightington; Rosa, who was the wife of John C. Stewart; and Antonia, who was married to Enos A. Wall.

MARRON, Juan María. Had a house at San Diego, 1821. Took part in revolution of 1831. Second *regidor* 1835; first *regidor* 1836, and owner of the Cueros de Venado rancho, which was attacked by Indians. *Juez,* 1839-40-44. Owner of land at San Juan Capistrano, 1841. Grantee of the Agua Hediona Rancho, 1842. Died, September 19, 1853. Married Felipa, daughter of Juan María Osuna and Juliana Lopez. Daughter, María Luz, married José María Estudillo. Had a son, Sylvester.

MARRON, Sylvester. Son of Juan María and Felipa Osuna Marron, married Leonora Osuna. They had children: Felipa, who was married to J. Chauncey Hayes, now of Oceanside; and another daughter became the wife of John S. Barker. He married a second time, and lives at Buena Vista, Cal.

MENENDEZ, Father Antonio. Was a Dominican friar who came from Mexico with Echeandía in 1825 and was chaplain and cure at the Presidio until 1829 at an irregular salary of $15 a month. His part in the Fitch-Carrillo elopement has been related. In December, 1828, his name appears in a list of Spaniards who had taken the oath of allegiance. From August to December of this year he taught a school in San Diego, had 18 pupils enrolled, and was paid the same munificent salary. He was chaplain of the assembly which met at Santa Barbara from July to October, 1830.

His character seems to put him in the class with the coarser Mexican priests who followed the Spanish missionaries. In fact he illustrated the old saying of "the world, the flesh, and the devil," in an unusual degree. "Men's souls for heaven," says Bancroft, "but women for himself he loved, and wine and cards." Pio Pico, who was then a young man engaged in trading with Lower California, played cards with him, with varying fortune. On one occasion in San Diego, after Menendez had, in a game of cards, despoiled Pico of all his stock of sugar, he added insult to injury by hurling at him a couplet which may be translated:

> "Christ came to ransom man of woman born;
> He sought his sheep, himself departed shorn."

OSUNA, Juan María. Born in California before 1800. A soldier and corporal of the San Diego Company, and later a settler. District elector in 1830, and took part in revolution of

1831. Was the first *alcalde* of San Diego, 1835, *juez de paz* in 1839-40 and 1846. Grantee of San Dieguito in 1836-45. Died about 1847. Daughter Felipe married to Juan María Marron. Had sons Leandro and Ramon.

OSUNA, Leandro. Son of Juan María; took part in fight at San Pasqual, December, 1846. He committed suicide by shooting himself through heart, April 3, 1859. His son Julio married Chipita Crosthwaite.

OSUNA, Ramon. *Comisario de policia,* 1839. Collector of tithes, 1839. Grantee of Valle de los Viejas, 1846. Member of first grand jury at San Diego, September, 1850.

PEDRORENA, Miguel de. The best biographical sketch of this much respected citizen is that contained in Wm. Heath Davis's *Sixty Years in California.* He says:

> In 1838 Don Miguel de Pedrorena, a resident of Peru, arrived here, being at the time part owner and supercargo of the *Delmira.* . . . Don Miguel was a native of Spain, and belonged to one of the best families of Madrid. After receiving an education in his own country he was sent to London, where he was educated in English, becoming a complete scholar. Most of the Castilian race of the upper class are proud and aristocratic; but Don Miguel, though of high birth, was exceedingly affable, polite, gracious in manner and bearing, and, in every respect, a true gentleman. He married a daughter of prefect Estudillo, and resided in San Diego until the time of his death in 1850, leaving one son, Miguel, and two daughters, Elena and Ysabel. He was a member of the convention at Monterey in 1849, for the formation of the state constitution. He owned the Cajon Rancho and the San Jacinto Nuevo Rancho, each containing eleven leagues, with some cattle and horses. Notwithstanding these large holdings of lands he was in rather straitened circumstances in his later years, and so much in need of money that when I visited San Diego in the early part of 1850 he offered to sell me thirty-two quarter-blocks (102 lots) in San Diego at a low figure. He had acquired the property in the winter of 1849-50, at the alcalde's sale. I did not care for the land but being flush, and having a large income from my business, I took the land, paying him thirteen or fourteen hundred dollars for it.
>
> In Madrid he had several brothers and other relatives, one of his brothers being at that time a Minister in the cabinet of the reigning monarch. During the last two or three years of his life those relatives became aware of his unfortunate circumstances and wrote to him repeatedly, urging him to come home to Spain and bring his family with him. They sent him means and assured him that he would be welcomed. Though poor, his proud disposition led him to decline all these offers. Popular with everybody in the department, the recollections of him by those who knew him were exceedingly pleasant.

He settled at San Diego in 1845, having married María Antonia Estudillo, daughter of José Antonio Estudillo. He strongly favored the American side in the war of 1846, and had a cavalry command with the rank of captain. He built one of the first frame houses in Old Town, which is still standing near the parsonage. In the late 60's it was used as the office of the *Union*. He was collector of customs in 1847-8. In 1850, with Wm. Heath Davis and others he was one of the founders of new San Diego. He died March 21, 1850. His only son was Miguel de Pedrorena, born at Old Town in 1844, and died at his ranch in Jamul Valley, December 25, 1882. He married Nellie Burton, daughter of General H. S. Burton of the U. S. Army, at the Horton House in New San Diego, Dec. 25, 1875. His sister Ysabel was married to José Antonio Altamirano. She was born at the very moment when the American flag was raised at Old Town (July 29, 1846), a circumstance of which the family is very proud. Victoria was married to Henry Magee, an army officer from the state of New York, of excellent family. Elena married José Wolfskill and lives at Los Angeles.

PICO, Andrés. Son of José María, born at San Diego, 1810. In 1836-8, was elector and receptor of customs, and in charge of Jamul rancho. Took an active part in the uprisings against the Monterey government and was several times a prisoner. In 1839-42 was lieutenant of the San Diego Company, served as elector, was in charge of San Luis Rey, and obtained lands at Santa Margarita, San Juan Capistrano, and Temécula. Was in command at the battle of San Pasqual and in subsequent operations. Made treaty with Frémont at Cahuenga which ended the war. Did not return to San Diego, but engaged in mining and land litigation. Represented the counties of Los Angeles, San Bernardino, and San Diego in the State Senate, in 1860-1. Was a Democratic presidential elector from California, 1852. He never married. He was a brave and popular man, but coarse and unscrupulous. Died in 1876.

PICO, José Antonio Bernardo. Son of José María. Born at San Diego about 1794. Member of the San Diego Company, and clerk in 1817. Sergeant, 1828, lieutenant, 1834, and commissioner to secularize San Juan Capistrano, 1834-6. Went to Monterey, 1838. Grantee of Agua Caliente Rancho in 1840 and left the military service. Grantee of San Luis Rey, 1846. Married Soledad Ybarra, 1828; died at San Diego, 1871. He was a lively old man, full of jokes, and nicknamed Picito [Little Pico] by reason of his small stature. Wilkes ridicules him in his account, 1841. He was a soldier in the Mexican War and second in command under his brother Andrés, during the operations around San Diego.

PICO, José María. Founder of the Pico family of Southern California. Son of Santiago Pico of Sinaloa. Soldier of the San Diego Company from 1782, also at San Luis Rey. Died at

San Gabriel in 1819. His wife was María Estaquia Lopez, a native of Sonora, whom he married in 1789. Their three sons were Andrés, José Antonio Bernardo, and Pio. They had seven daughters: Concepcion, who was married to Domingo A. I. Carrillo; Estéfana and Jacinta, who were married to José A. E. Carrillo, the brother of Domingo; Ysadora, who became the wife of John Forster; Tomasa, who married an Alvarado; and Feliciana.

PICO, Pio. As a resident of San Diego who became governor, Pio Pico is a figure of much interest. He was born at San Gabriel in 1801, and removed to San Diego after his father's death, in 1819. He kept a small shop there. Gambled with Father Menendez with varying fortune; lost all he had at San Vicente, Lower California, and later won twelve mules and stripped the padre, at San Diego. Built a house at old San Diego in 1824. Once on going to Los Angeles for a visit, he was ordered by Alcalde Avila, described as an ignorant fellow who ruled by the sword, to go to work on an aqueduct; but being on horseback and armed with a musket, he escaped and returned to San Diego. In 1821 he put up a hide hut at Los Angeles and opened a dram shop, the price of a drink being "two-bits." Introduced the use of an ox-horn to drink from, with a false wooden bottom to reduce the quantity of liquor.

Mrs. Carson once met him going to the races; he had his mule panniers loaded down with silver which he was taking to bet on the horse.

Was clerk in a trial at San Diego, 1826. *Senior vocal* of assembly, 1832, and chosen political chief after expulsion of Victoria same year, but only acted twenty days. *Majordomo* San Luis Rey Mission, 1834. Candidate for *alcalde*, December, 1834, but defeated. Elector, 1836. 1837-9, active against Alvarado's government and more than once a prisoner. Played an active and not always creditable part in troubles of this time. Became governor in 1845, and was the last Mexican governor.

In 1841, grantee of Santa Margarita and Las Flores Ranchos. Conveyed the former to his brother-in-law, John Forster, and there was a noted contest for it in later years in the courts, but Forster won and retained the valuable propery. He married María Ignacia Alvarado in 1834. He spent his later years in Los Angeles and wrote quite a little concerning California history. His character has been variously estimated and he has been much abused for various causes. It is not possible to discuss these matters here. He seems to have been a man of little education and only moderate intelligence; fairly honest but without any gifts of statesmanship which would have qualified him for important achievements in the difficult times in which he lived. Nearly all the magazines have contained, at various times, "write-ups" of the Pico family, and attacks or defenses of his administration.

ROCHA, Juan José. Mexican lieutenant who came with Echeandía in 1825, under sentence of banishment from Mexico for two years. Held different commands, at Monterey and elsewhere. Gave a ball in honor of the Híjar colony, 1834. Married Elena Dominguez. Spent his last years in San Diego. Father of Manuel Rocha, who was a member of the first grand jury at San Diego, in September, 1850.

RUIZ, Francisco María. Native of Lower California. At Santa Barbara from 1795, and from 1806 commandant at San Diego. Made captain in 1820 and retired in 1827. Grantee of the Peñasquitas Rancho, and died in 1839, at age of about 85. Never married.

He was the son of Juan María Ruiz and Isabel Carrillo, both of distinguished families. His father was killed by a lion. His brother, José Manuel, was governor of Lower California. He was a man of violent temper and quarrelsome disposition, and had serious difficulty with his relative, Captain de la Guerra y Noriega, whom he knocked down. He was also somewhat dissipated. He seems to have been well liked locally, notwithstanding his many faults.

SERRANO, José Antonio, son of Leandro Serrano. Married Rafaela, daughter of Rosario Aguilar. Their children were: Jesus, who is about seventy-five years of age and lives at Ventura; Luis, born March 12, 1846, married Serafina Stewart, daughter of John C. Stewart, and lives in San Diego; Rosa, who was married to Andrew Cassidy; and Adelaide, who was the first wife of Sam Ames, of Old Town.

José Antonio Serrano was a horse and cattle man. He served under Pico in the Mexican War, and was engaged at the battle of San Pasqual.

UBACH, Father Antonio D. Native of Catalonia. Educated for a missionary priest at Cape Girardeau, Missouri, and had traveled thousands of miles as a missionary among the Indians. He came to San Diego in 1866, and had been in charge of the Catholic parish here ever since. Had a dispensation which allowed him to wear a beard. He had Moorish blood in his veins. He brought the first organ to San Diego. In early days after the morning services were over, he would bring out a football which he brought with him here, and play with the boys on the plaza. He had the dagger of the celebrated bandit, Joaquin Murietta. He had also had charge of a large number of valuable relics of early Spanish days, including vestments, books of record, etc., from the old mission.

He was the "Father Gaspara" of Mrs. Jackson's *Ramona,* a circumstance which gave him wide fame and made him an object of extraordinary interest to all strangers. For many years he refused to discuss the truth of the incidents of the story, but in the *San Diego Union* of June 25, 1905, he spoke of the marriage of Ramona as follows:

"Although it took place forty years ago, I remember it very well—how the couple came to me and asked me to marry them and how I was impressed with them. But it was not in the long adobe building which everybody points out as the place—that is the Estudillo place—but it took place in the little church which stands not far away, near the old cemetery where the old mission bells are. Why, I would not marry them outside of the church; Catholics know that. Mrs. Jackson herself says that the wedding took place in the chapel, and I can't imagine why the other building is the one that is usually pointed out.

"Do I know who Alessandro and Ramona were? Yes, but those were not their real names. I know what their right names were, but I do not care to tell. Mrs. Jackson suppressed them because she did not care to subject the families to the notoriety that they would be sure to get from the publication of the book. They were native families who lived in the country, and I was well acquainted with them. I have never mentioned their names to anyone and of course I don't want to do so now."

In 1874 he laid out the present Catholic cemetery on the hill back of old San Diego. In 1878-80, he went home and visited his people in Catalonia. A large part of his work here has been among the Indians, with whom he has had great influence. The corner stone of the unfinished church at Old Town was laid in July, 1869, but he was destined to be unable to finish it. Three years later, a movement for a new building in new San Diego was commenced, and in 1875 he had the satisfaction of occupying a comfortable building on what was then mesa lands west of the new town. The present brick church was completed and occupied in 1894.

Father Ubach died at St. Joseph's Hospital on the afternoon of Saturday, March 27, 1907. He had been in failing health for several months, but insisted upon pursuing his accustomed tasks until he could no longer appear in public. His death, though not unexpected, impressed the community profoundly. It was the sundering of the last link which connected the new day with the olden time, for Father Ubach was in truth "the last of the padres." His funeral, which occurred in his church on the forenoon of Wednesday, April 2d, was exceedingly impressive. Bishop Conaty conducted the elaborate ceremonies and pronounced the eulogy. The church was filled to overflowing, while thousands of mourners remained outside the building. Among the mass of floral emblems nothing was more touching than the wild flowers sent by the Indians from the mountains. The historic priest sleeps in the Catholic cemetery on the mesa, which overlooks the scene of his labors.

ZAMORANO, Augustin Vicente. Was a native of Florida, his parents being Spaniards. He received a good education and entered the army May 1, 1821, as a cadet. After service in Mexico he came to California in 1825 with Echeandía, and served as the governor's secretary for five years. In February, 1827, he married María Luisa, daughter of Santiago Argüello. In 1831, he was made captain of the Monterey company. He left California in 1838, but returned in 1842 and died the same year in San Diego. His children were: Dolores, born 1827, married to J. M. Flores; Luis, born in 1829 and now lives in San Diego; Gonzalo, born in 1832; Guadalupe, born in 1833, married to Henry Dalton; Josefa, born in 1834; Augustin, 1836; Eulalia, married to Vicente Estudillo.

His political career was an active and stormy one. In 1827-8 he was a district elector for San Diego; candidate for congress 1830; secretary to Figueroa in 1833-5. Proclaimed commander general and governor *ad interim* in 1837, and divided the jurisdiction of the territory with Echeandía for a time. He left California at the fall of Guiterez, but returned to take part in the campaign against Alvarado, without achieving anything of consequence.

CHAPTER VII

THE INDIANS' RELATIONS WITH THE SETTLERS

THE relations of the Indian population with the Mission Fathers have been sketched in earlier chapters, but we have still to study the natives as they appeared to the people of Old San Diego. The general observations made upon the Indian character hold good in both cases, and we must never forget that the course of local history might have been very different if the natives of this region had possessed the warlike traits and organizing genius of their brothers in most other parts of North America. In that case, San Diego could not have been settled at the time and in the manner it was. It would have taken more than a handful of indifferent soldiers to hold it against such pressure from without.

The Indians of this locality belonged to a number of tribes, varying somewhat in language and customs. Those living around the bay furnished most of the mission converts, and proved far more tractable than the hill tribes. The latter were "rounded up" and brought in by force occasionally, but had a habit of escaping at the first opportunity. The destruction of the Mission in 1775 was due to these half-wild Indians, and they also provided the Spanish and Mexican soldiers with their excuse for being, in the brief intervals between their own petty revolutions. But the Indians were slow to give up their own language, much as it has been derided. It is of record that the friars failed utterly for several years to teach them Spanish, and had to resort to the expedient of learning the Indian dialect, themselves. Some of them became somewhat expert and able to preach to the Indians in their own language. An interesting relic of this circumstance exists in the shape of the Lord's Prayer done into Dieguino, as follows:

> Nagua anall amai tacaguach naguanetuuxp mamamulpo cuyuaca amaibo mamatam meyayam, cannaao amat amaibo quexuic echasau naguagui nanacachon naquin nipil meneque pao echeyuchapo nagua quexuic naguaich nacaguaihpo, namachamelan upchuch-guelich-cuiapo. Nacuiuchpampcuchlich cuitponamat. Nepeuja.

In Bartlett's *Personal Narrative,* is a brief account of his struggle with this language, while here in 1852:

> No event that is worthy of mention occurred, except a visit from a band of Diegueno Indians. The chief and several of his tribe were sent to me at my request by a Californian gentleman. They were a miserable, ill-looking set, with dark-brown complexions and emaciated bodies; and, though the weather was cold, they were but slightly clad. Articles of old and cast-off clothing, such as a tattered shirt and pantaloons, were all that the best could boast of. One, I think the chief, had a piece of horse-blanket around his cadaverous-looking body. I managed to get from them a vocabulary of their language; though I must confess that, with the exception of the Apache, I never found one so difficult to express, in consequence of the gutturals and nasals with which it abounded. I finally got the words so correct, that the Indians could recognize them, and give me the Spanish equivalents. I tried to write down some short sentences, but was obliged to give up the attempt as unsuccessful. I could not combine the words so as to be understood, in a single instance. These Indians occupy the coast for some fifty miles above, and about the same distance below San Diego, and extend about a hundred miles into the interior. They are the same who were known to the first settlers as the Comeya tribe.

Dana has also left his opinion on record, which is worth reproducing: "The language of these people . . . is the most brutish, without any exception, that I ever heard, or that could be conceived of. It is a complete slabber. The words fall off at the ends of their tongues, and a continual slabbering sound is made in the cheeks outside the teeth."

Not only had they no written language of their own, but they were provided with no facilities for acquiring one from their new masters. The friars were not merely indifferent to the education of the Indians—they were inflexibly opposed to it. Not even their favorite neophytes were permitted to learn to read, and their servants learned only such things as would aid them in providing for their masters' comfort. At a time when the territorial governors were utterly unable to provide for the education of the *gente de razon,* it was scarcely to be expected that they could do anything for the Indians, who were under the especial care and jurisdiction of the missionaries. To the soldiers, the Indians were despised foes; to the citizens, they were inefficient and troublesome servants.

The employment of Indians as house servants was general, for they were very cheap. They were held under a strict discipline and not infrequently thrashed, as it was claimed that in many cases they would not work without their regular castigation. While Wm. H. Davis and Captain Paty were dining with Captain Thomas W. Robbins at Santa Barbara in 1842, he told them about an Indian cook whom he had had in his employ for years, but who had to be soundly thrashed about twice a year to keep him in order the rest of the time. To prove this to his incredulous guests, he called the cook, a man weighing 200 pounds or more, who laughingly confessed the truth of the statement. It is related that Philip Crosthwaite had a number of Indians working for him, and sometimes they grew lazy and refused to work. Then he tied them up one at a time, and gave them a good whipping, whereupon they went to work again. They did not appear to resent such treatment, but acquiesced in its necessity. It seems to have been the custom to beat them for other causes, without "due process of law," in earlier days. In 1843, a San Diego man was fined fifty dollars because his wife had severely beaten an Indian servant. The missionaries did not hesitate to punish them for a variety of trivial offenses. Solitary confinement was a favorite form of discipline, but sometimes the good fathers would take them across their knees and administer the sort of castigation that is supposed to be the exclusive perquisite of small boys. In a few instances, the mission discipline was so severe as to lead to bloody rebellions, but nothing of this kind occurred at San Diego.

The story of the Indian, since known to white men, is largely a story of insurrections, crimes, and executions. There were men of good character among them, but they were "as two grains of wheat hid in a bushel of chaff." The story of these early troubles can only be briefly sketched.

Their first raid on the Mission seems to have been inspired by a desire to plunder, coupled with profound ignorance of the white man's methods of warfare.

The destruction of the first mission, in 1775, was followed by an aftermath of troubles of various kinds. An Indian called Cárlos, who had been a leader in the revolt, professed repentance and took refuge in the Presidio church. General Rivera ordered Father Fuster to deny the fugitive the right of asylum, and upon his refusal, forcibly entered the church and carried the Indian off. Fuster thereupon excommunicated Rivera and was sustained by Serra when the matter came to his attention at Monterey. An excommunication was a very serious thing, in those days, even with the military, and Rivera was finally obliged to submit and return the Indian to Fuster.

Four Pamo chiefs concerned in this uprising, named Aaaran, Aalcuirin, Aachil, and Taguagui, were convicted but pardoned upon promise of good behavior. Two years later, at the time of an Indian scare, when it was reported that the hill tribes were making arrows with the intention of again attacking the whites, Commandant Ortega sent a message of warning, and Aaaran defiantly invited him to send his soldiers into the hills to be slain. Eight soldiers went forth, surprised the savages at Pamo, killed two of them, burned a few more, and flogged the rest. The four chiefs were taken to San Diego for trial, along with 80 bows, 1500 arrows, and a large number of clubs. The men were condemned to death and executed by shooting on the 11th day of April, 1778—the first public execution in California. It turned out that this first execution was illegal, Ortega having no right to inflict the death penalty without the approval of the governor.

After this, matters seem to have been quiet for several years. On October 30, 1824, an Indian was executed by shooting, his offense not being disclosed by the records. Two years later, Lieutenant Ybarra, with a small force of Mazatlan men, had a battle with the Indians and lost three men, while killing twenty-eight of the foe. After the barbarous custom of the time, he sent in twenty pairs of ears. On April 23rd of this year, an Indian who was an accomplice to the killing of three soldiers and a neophyte was publicly executed. There was also a battle between the Indians of San Felipe Valley and gentiles from the surrounding rancherías, in which eighteen of the hill Indians were killed and their ears cut off.

VIEW OF OLD SAN DIEGO

Panorama of Old Town from Presidio Hill, taken soon after the fire of 1872, showing the river running into San Diego Bay

The troubles and petty wars with the Indians during these years were chiefly due to their raids on the missions and ranchos for the purpose of stealing horses and cattle. Occasionally some of their number who had been at the missions returned to their old haunts and led these raids. The rancheros got together after such a raid, and went into the hills in parties of ten or twelve, well armed, to punish the thieves and recover the live stock. They were usually successful in recovering the stolen property, but often had fierce fights in which as many as eight or ten of the Indians were killed, as well as an occasional ranchero. After the secularization of the missions, the condition of the Indians became very miserable, and while large numbers of them continued to live in rancherías and to practice the rude arts which they had learned of the missionaries, others were forced by want, and doubtless also led by inclination, to get their living by joining in these raids. When Alfred Robinson was here in January, 1832, they were in a miserable condition and daily reports were received of robberies and murders. From February to June of the following year there was much excitement due to rumors of a plot on the part of the Indians to unite and seize the mission property. A corporal was sent with a small force to El Cajon, where he seized Chief Jajochi and other malcontents, who were sentenced to terms of imprisonment.

Between the years 1836 and 1840, nearly all the ranchos in the country were plundered, at one time or another, and agriculture fell to a very low ebb. In the spring of 1836, there were loud complaints and the soldiers could furnish no protection, being without arms and ammunition. Juan María Marron was attacked in January, on the Cueros de Venado rancho, but the hostiles were driven off with the help of friendly Indians, and several of them killed. The savages became so bold that they even made raids into the town. An unsuccessful effort was made to have a garrison established at Santa Ysabel. In March, Don Sylvestre Portilla proposed to conquer the Indians at his own expense, on condition that he be allowed to keep those made prisoner, for servants.

The year 1837 was one of great anxiety for the San Diego people—a year of blood and terror. One of the best accounts of some of these disturbances is that in Davis's book, his wife having resided here as a girl at the time of their occurrence. It gives us such a vivid picture of the life of the times that it is worth quoting:

> About the year 1837 there was an Indian outbreak in what is now San Diego county. A family by the name of Ybarra, consisting of the father, the mother, two young daughters, and a son about twelve years of age, lived at the rancho San Ysidro. They had in their employ an old Indian woman, who had been christianized at the Mission, a very faithful and good woman, a *comadre* to her mistress, the godmother of one of the Indian woman's children. This relation was frequently assumed by the California ladies, it being a mandate of the Catholic church

everywhere, that any child that is christened shall be attended by a godfather and a godmother, and the Californians performed this religious duty toward the children of the poorer classes, including the Indians. The serving woman got information of an attack on the rancho which had been planned by Indians in the mountains, and a week before the occurrences here mentioned she warned the family of their approach. She urged and begged that they at once remove to the Presidio of San Diego for protection. Her mistress was anxious to follow the advice, but Ybarra himself disregarded it. He did not believe that the Indians contemplated a movement. The Californians were a brave people, especially in opposition to the Indians, whether they went out in pursuit of them to recover stolen horses, or otherwise. They were always prepared to resist an attack by them in their own homes, and did not fear them, but considered that three or four, or eight or ten of their number were sufficient to vanquish ten times that many Indians. Ybarra had with him two vaqueros on the ranch, and did not think it necessary to pay heed to the statement of the woman, who, the night before the attack, repeated, with emphasis, her advice for the family to leave, saying the next day the Indians would surely be there and carry out their plans.

The next morning at nine o'clock, while Ybarra and his vaqueros were at the corral, about 150 yards from the house, engaged in lassoing horses, with the intention of starting for San Diego, the Indians stealthily approached, to the number of 75 or 100. The three men in the corral, seeing them very near, immediately ran toward the house to secure arms. This design, however, was thwarted by a little Indian boy employed in the family, who, seeing them coming as they neared the house, shut and barred the door and prevented them from entering. He must have had knowledge of the designs of the Indians, and been in complicity with them, as by this act of the little villain, the three unarmed men were left outside at the mercy of the miscreant savages, and were speedily killed. The Indians then broke into the house, and made a movement immediately to kill Doña Juana, the mistress, but the old Indian woman defended her at the peril of her own life; interceded with the Indians and supplicated them to spare her mistress. This they did. The two daughters were also captured by the Indians and made prisoners. All the houses of the rancho were also burned. The mother was ordered by the savages to leave the house, and go on foot to San Diego. She set forth entirely disrobed. On approaching San Diego Mission she was clothed by a friendly woman, who came out and met her. In proceeding through a wheat field on the rancho she met her little son, who had gone out in the morning and had not encountered the savages. He now learned from his mother of the murder of his father and the two vaqueros, and the capture of his sisters. He was sent ahead to give information of the attack to the first Californian he might meet.

News of what had happened was immediately communicated to the Rancho Tia Juana, owned and occupied by Don Santiago Argüello, a beautiful piece of land having a fine stream of living water running through it. At that time several California families were encamped there, spending a portion of the summer; the Bandinis, Alvarados and others. There were also several young ladies and girls, one of them Miss Estudillo.

At the Rancho Tia Juana the intelligence created much consternation, and the camps of the several families were immediately broken up. They proceeded to San Diego, accompanied by the Argüello family, who took with them as many of their horses as they conveniently could. The Indians shortly after reached the place, burned the houses, and secured the stock which the owner had left behind in the fields.

The third night the Indians intended to fall upon the Rancho Jesus María, occupied by Don José Lopez with his wife and two daughters. News of the Indian outbreak reaching San Diego, it was resolved to send out a force for his protection and to rescue, if possible, the two girls captured at San Ysidro.

Don José Lopez had a large vineyard and manufactured wine, of which he occasionally imbibed more than was consistent with a well-regulated head. On the evening when the Indians were to attack him he was filled with wine, which led him to some extraordinary demonstrations. He went out and built a number of large bonfires in the vicinity of his house, and then commenced shouting vociferously, making a great noise for his own entertainment only. As the Indians approached the place they sent out a spy in advance to reconnoitre and ascertain if everything was favorable for attack. The spy seeing the fires burning, and hearing this loud and continued shouting, concluded that the Californians were there in force, and so reported to the main body of Indians, who deemed it prudent to retire. . . . The next day the force arrived, and Lopez and family were escorted to San Diego, the main body of the troops going in pursuit of the Indians.

Ybarra, at the time he was murdered, had in San Diego two sons, who joined the company in pursuit, as they were anxious to learn everything possible regarding the fate of their sisters. They were soon informed by a captured spy that two of the chiefs had made them their wives. The company followed into the mountains, until they reached a rugged and broken country wholly inaccessible to horses, and were obliged to stop, the narrow defiles affording innumerable hiding places for Indians and giving them an advantage over the approaching enemy. Had the Californians attempted to advance on foot they would have met with certain death, for the Indians swarmed in force, knew the region intimately, and would have picked the troops off one by one. The two brothers Ybarra, however, urged on by desire to rescue their sisters, advanced further into the mountains than the rest of the company, actually saw the girls in the midst of the savages, and got within a short distance of them, but were so badly wounded by the arrows showered upon them that they were compelled to return. After that, up to the time Miss Estudillo left San Diego in 1842, nothing further was heard of the two girls.

Opposite the house where she was living with her aunt was the residence of Ybarra's two sons and their families. Doña Juana, the mother, lived with them in San Diego up to the time of her death, which occurred about a year after her husband was murdered; this terrible occurrence and the loss of her daughters also, proving too great a blow for her. During this time she never ceased to lament their sad fate. It was heart-

> rending to listen to her expressions of grief, weeping and wailing for the loss of her husband and children, like Rachel refusing to be comforted. Her distress often made the people weep who heard her lamentations.

Prior to this occurrence, the hostile Indians had made several attacks upon San Diego for plunder and the capture of women, but without success. They now began to grow still bolder, and to plan their enterprises upon a large scale, and soon after formed a plan for the reduction of the settlement. Again the clearest account is contained in Davis's book:

> One of the daughters of the Alvarado family married Captain Snook. After her marriage two of her younger sisters resided with her a part of the time. One of them had acquired considerable knowledge of the Indian language. Several of these families had Indian men for cooks. One evening after supper, the young lady just mentioned, Doña Guadalupe Alvarado, overheard the cooks in earnest conversation in the Indian language. As soon as the words were caught by her ear she was startled and surprised, and drawing nearer heard all that was said. She discovered that the Indian cooks from the different families had gathered in the kitchen of the house and were discussing a plan of attack upon the town by members of their tribe. It appeared that arrangements had been completed for the capture of the town the following night, and that the cooks in the several families were to lend their aid.
>
> In the council of the cooks, it came out that each on the following night was to communicate with a spy from the main body of the Indians, and take stations for this purpose on top of the hill overlooking the town, where the old Presidio and first garrison quarters of the Spaniards in California formerly stood. They were to inform the spies of the condition of each family, whether or not it was sufficiently off guard at the time to warrant an attack. There happened to be present in the house Don Pio Pico and Don Andrés Pico, who were making a friendly call on the family. They were a good deal startled at the statement made by the young lady, and represented that they would give the conspiracy immediate attention. The people of San Diego at that period had their houses well supplied with arms and were always on the watch for Indian movements. Accordingly, during the night they organized a company of citizens and arranged that at daylight each house should be visited and the cook secured. This was successfully accomplished. As each of the conspirators came out of the house in the early morning he was lassoed, and all were taken a little distance from town, where it was proposed to shoot them. They expressed a desire to be allowed to die as Christians, to confess to the priest, and receive the sacrament. This request was granted; the priest heard the confessions of each, and administered the rites of the church. A trench of suitable depth was then dug, and the Indians made to kneel close beside it. Then on being shot, each fell into the ditch, where he was buried. Eight or ten Indians were executed at this time.
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> While these proceedings were taking place a messenger was sent to one of the Boston hide-ships lying in port, requesting

> that a cannon might be loaned to the town, to assist in its defense. The cannon was sent over, with a suitable supply of ammunition. At night a party of citizens visited the spot where the Indian spy was to appear, and succeeded in capturing him. He steadily refused to confess, though assured that he would soon die, as his friends had done before him. One of his ears was cut off, and he was given to understand that the other one would follow, and that he would be mutilated little by little until he made the statement required of him; whereupon, his resolution gave way, and he made a confession indicating where the Indians were encamped, and telling all that he knew. . . .
>
> After the spy had divulged all he knew, he was shot without further ceremony, he being an unconverted Indian and not desiring the services of a priest.
>
> The next day the citizens went out in force, found and surprised the Indians, and engaged them in battle; numbers of them were killed, but none of the Californians.

In December, 1846, soon after the battle of San Pasqual, eleven men were killed in an Indian uprising at Pauma. Their names were: Sergeant Francisco Basualdo, José M. Alvarado, Manuel Serrano, Ramon Aguilar, an old man known as "Dominguito" but whose name was Dominguez, Santiago Osuna, José Lopez, Santos Alipás, Estaquio Ruiz, Juan de la Cruz, and a New Mexican whose name is not known.

These men were Mexican rangers and they were taken prisoners by the Pauma Indians, whose chief, at the time, was Manuelito. It is not known why the Indians captured them, but it is possible they had some grievance on account of past ill treatment. The Indians were at first in doubt what to do with their prisoners; then came Bill Marshall, a white man living with a neighboring tribe, who will be mentioned again later, and told the Indians that, since the Mexicans and Americans were at war, it would please the latter if they would execute these prisoners. This bad advice was taken and the men put to death. Manuelito later became general over nearly all the Indians living in San Diego county. He was a man of fine character and had many friends, among the warmest of whom were some of the relatives of the murdered Spaniards.

Antonio Garra, a San Luis Rey Indian, received a fair education at the San Luis Rey Mission. He was a man of energy, determination, and influence. He was chief of the tribe residing in the neighborhood of Warner's Ranch, i. e., the Cupeños, and had large herds of cattle and horses.

The first sheriff of San Diego County, Agostin Haraszthy, conceived it to be his duty to collect taxes on the live stock of the Indians, and in his effort to do so came into conflict with Garra. The Indians also claimed the whites were settling on their lands and trying to take the hot springs away from them. Living with Garra's tribe at this time was one William Marshall, a renegade sailor from Providence, R. I., who had deserted from a whale ship at San Diego in 1844, taken up his habitation with the Indians, and married the daughter of a chief. This man took an active part in the subsequent proceedings, and was hanged for his pains, as we shall see. It was also believed that he was in a large measure responsible for filling the head of Garra with the dreams of destiny which proved his undoing.

Within the circumference of a circle having a radius of 150 miles, with Warner's Ranch as its center, there were supposed to be then living about ten thousand Indians. The numbers were formidable enough, but the thing was, to unite them. Garra quickly grasped this point and set about making his preparations accordingly. But the Americans were on the alert, and when he left for a tour among the neighboring tribes, his movements were watched. Besides rumors of trouble on the Colorado river, word came from Bandini's ranch (the *Tecate*, in Lower California), that the Indians there had been invited to join in a movement for the annihilation of the whites. In consequence of these rumors and of warnings from friendly Indians, Colonel Warner employed Judge Sackett, who was then stopping at his ranch, to make a tour among the tribes with two Indians, in the disguise of a trader, and to report upon conditions. This party was out ten days and on their return reported themselves unable to discover any evidences of an intended uprising. Warnings continued to come in, however, and about ten days after Sackett's return three messengers reached Warner's in one day, all sent by Chief Lazaro, of Santa Ysabel, by different routes, that the Indians would surely make an attack on the following morning.

Warner was still incredulous, but concluded to send his family away to San Diego. They departed on November 21st, a little after midnight, together with all the white servants and some visitors, leaving only Colonel Warner, an Indian boy about sixteen years old, and a mulatto boy who had been sent there to be treated for rheumatism—the servant of an army officer of San Diego. Nothing happened the following day, but in the evening four Americans, invalids and others who were stopping at the hot springs on the rancho, were murdered. These were Levi Slack (E. W. Morse's partner), Joseph Manning, Ridgley and Fiddler. They were surprised, mutilated, and butchered in cold blood—a work in which Bill Marshall is said to have been a leader.

That night Colonel Warner slept, not knowing what had occurred; but the next morning at sunrise he was awakened by the yells of an attacking party, which had already killed the Indian boy when he went out to milk the cows. Upon rising, he found the house surrounded by a large party of Indians, part in the rear of the house and others at the corral. A flight of arrows was shot at him, and he narrowly escaped injury. He was an excellent marksman and quickly killed three Indians with as many shots. In the panic caused by this fusillade, he got the invalid boy out of the house, mounted a horse, placed the boy on another, rode off unharmed and heavily armed, and safely reached the ranchería of San José, where his vaqueros had taken refuge. Here he left the boy, and, after instructing his vaqueros about gathering up the cattle, rode back to his house which the Indians were busy plundering. Here he met an Indian who tried to shoot him, and only Warner's superior quickness saved him. Convinced that he could not save his property, he rode away for San Diego, and left his rancho to its fate.

COL. WARNER OF WARNER'S RANCH

The arrival of the Warner refugees at San Diego, coming as they did about the same time as rumors from the Colorado river and Bandini's ranch, caused intense excitement. A letter from Antonio Garra to José Antonio Estudillo, clearly showing that the Indian chieftain expected the help of the Californians in the uprising, was also made public and added to the excitement. A translation of this letter follows:

> Mr. José Antonio Estudillo—
>
> I salute you. Some time past, I told you what I thought, and now the blow has been struck. If I live I will come and help you because all the Indians are invited in all parts. Perhaps the San Bernardinos are now rising and have a man named Juan Berus. He tells that the white people waited for me. For that reason I gave them my word, and be all ready by Tuesday to leave this for the Pueblo. You will arrange with the white people and the Indians, and send me your word. Nothing more.
>
> ANTONIO GARRA.

The people of San Diego at once held a mass meeting, proclaimed martial law, with the aid of Major Samuel P. Heintzelman, who was in command of the district, and began the organization of a volunteer company to go on a punitive expedition. Sentinels were posted to guard every approach to the town and a strict watch kept. Deputy Sheriff Joseph Reiner was sent out as a scout and found the hostiles in force at Agua Caliente, three miles beyond Warner's. In the meantime, the town filled with refugees from the country. The Indians at Temécula, after refusing to join Garra, came in for protection. The white residents of the various ranchos did likewise, many of them abandoning their household goods. Many citizens rendered important services at this time. Don Joaquin Ortega, owner of the Santa María rancho, offered to donate horses for the use of the volunteers, and Philip Crosthwaite undertook to go after them. With him went Albert B. Smith, Enos A. Wall, John C. Stewart, and Dr. Ogden. They made the trip in safety and returned with the horses, although it was considered a hazardous service. Don José Antonio Estudillo also furnished horses and mules from his El Cajon rancho.

The volunteer company was known as the "Fitzgerald Volunteers," in honor of Major G. B. Fitzgerald, an army officer, who was given the command. Two or three other army officers, who were in San Diego for their health, also volunteered and served as privates. Cave J. Couts was made captain, Agostin Haraszthy first lieutenant, Lewis A. Franklin second lieutenant, Robert D. Israel first sergeant, Jack Hinton second sergeant, Philip Crosthwaite third sergeant, Henry Clayton fourth sergeant, and George P. Tebbetts ensign. The single men only were allowed to go, leaving the married men, under the command of Sergeant Hinton, to guard the town. Those who went were forty in number, all mounted.

The line of march was by way of the Soledad, Peñasquitas, San Pasqual, Santa María, and Santa Ysabel. They arrived at Warner's Ranch without meeting any Indians, and found the place entirely ruined. Advancing to Agua Caliente, they found the ranchería deserted. The bones of the murdered white men at this place were gathered up and buried and the village burned. No Indians were seen, and the next day the return march began. A scouting party captured Bill Marshall and two Indians, who were taken along as prisoners. The company was detained two or three days at Santa Ysabel by rain and snow, and arrived at San Diego and was disbanded, early in December, after an absence of two weeks. The campaign was a failure, from a number of causes. Garra was away in the San Bernardino mountains, trying to rally the Indians in that region to his aid. It was the policy of the Indians to avoid an open engagement, and when the troops approached they scattered in the mountains. The men were also chiefly armed with condemned army muskets loaned by Colonel Magruder, and an inspection of arms was not held, by some strange oversight, until they arrived at Agua Caliente, when it was discovered that only about one-fourth of the guns could be fired.

Colonel J. Bankhead Magruder, in command of the troops at the Mission, did everything in his power to help, but was much hampered by the lack of men and arms. A company of infantry was sent to Yuma, for the relief of the garrison there, which was thought to be in danger. On December 11th two companies of troops arrived and immediately went out under Lieutenant Patterson. Knowing the Indians would avoid an engagement with his troops, he took them out some distance and then brought them back on the Yuma road, disguised as a wagon-train of emigrants. The Indians took the bait, charged upon the wagons which, to their dismay, proved to be full of soldiers, and a bloody skirmish ensued in which they lost many killed. Patterson then led his men on to Agua Caliente, where they went into camp; in the night, however, leaving their camp fires burning, they went over the mountains to Los Coyotes, whither the Indians had fled, and surrounded their camp. A large number of Indians were killed and captured, and those who escaped were subdued. A drum-head court-martial was held at once and the following prisoners, known to have been active in the murders, were shot: Francisco Mocate, chief of the San Ysidro; Luis, Indian alcalde of Agua Caliente; Jacobo, or Ono-Sil; and Juan Bautista, or Coton. The regulars returned to

San Diego early in January and, everything being quiet once more, the refugees returned to their homes.

Bill Marshall and the two Indians confined in the San Diego jail were promptly tried by court-martial. One of these Indians was José Lacano, Marshall's father-in-law, an old man. As it appeared that, while he knew of the uprising, he had taken no part in it, he was discharged. Marshall's mother-in-law gave testimony against him. An Indian boy who had been a servant of Warner's was convicted of giving false testimony during the trial and punished with twenty-five lashes on his bare back.

Marshall was found guilty and condemned to death, as was also the second Indian prisoner. His name was Juan Bero or Berus. He appears to have been the man named as a leader in Garra's letter to Estudillo. The trial was concluded on December 10th and the men were hanged at two o'clock, December 13th. The Indian acknowledged his guilt, but Marshall insisted he was innocent. A scaffold was erected near the old Catholic cemetery, the men placed in a wagon, the ropes adjusted about their necks, and the wagon moved on, leaving them to strangle to death.

What the course of events would have been had Garra been personally present with his warriors, can only be conjectured. His misfortunes were not yet at an end. The Cahuilla chief whom he hoped to win over proved loyal to the whites, and while they sat discussing the matter, he caused his men to slip up behind Garra and seize and bind him, and delivered him to the authorities at Los Angeles. He was brought to San Diego under guard on January 8th, and a court-martial was assembled for his trial on the charges of treason, murder, and theft. The board consisted of General Joshua H. Bean, of Los Angeles, Major Myra Weston, Lieutenant George F. Hooper, Major M. Norton, Captain T. Tilghman, and Major Santiago E. Argüello. Cave J. Couts was judge advocate, Major McKinstry counsel for the prisoner, and J. J. Warner interpreter.

In the course of the trial it was brought out that Garra had expected aid from a number of Californians, but this was doubtless a mere fancy of his own. The court-martial took occasion to publish a signed statement that nothing whatever had been brought out at the trial reflecting upon the men accused. Captain Israel says:

> I never understood Garra very well. With his education, he ought to have known he would have no chance in fighting the Americans. He had told the Indians he would turn the bullets into water, and it looked as though he himself believed he could do this, as he certainly was not afraid of them. While he was in jail here he told me about an Indian chief, somewhere

off in the San Bernardino mountains, who, he said, had promised to send him three hundred warriors. He also accused Argüello and Ortega of promising to help him. If Argüello ever made any promises of that kind, it must have been when old Antonio had him scared—Argüello's explanation was that he was trying to find out what the Indians were up to and that he never promised them any help.

At three o'clock on January 10, 1852, it was announced to Garra that he must die. Father Juan Holbein remained with him from that hour until the end. At half past four, the firing squad of ten men paraded before the cell, the provost marshal, Robert D. Israel, informed Garra that his hour had come, and the march to the grave was begun. Garra's bearing was cool and he showed a determination to die like a man. The priest thought his conduct unbecoming, and tried to insist upon his praying all the way. Garra refused to do this, saying: "What is the use? That is of no account!" The priest stopped the procession and stood quarrelling with Garra about it, until he gave in and began to pray. "Then," says Israel, "we found that Garra knew more Latin than the priest did." This byplay continued all the way, the priest continually insisting upon Garra's praying and Garra refusing and declaring there was no use in it, but muttering a prayer now and then to rid himself of his importunities.

Arriving at the open grave, Garra took his station at its head, and then a new difficulty rose. Father Juan commanded him to ask the pardon of the people assembled; Garra at first refused, and only after repeated commands and entreaties did he lift his eyes and say, calmly and with a contemptuous smile: "Gentlemen, I ask your pardon for all my offenses, and expect yours in return." When a soldier advanced to tie a handkerchief over his eyes, he laughingly refused to permit it, but at Father Juan's request he again yielded and allowed his eyes to be bandaged. The provost quickly gave the command: "Ready! Aim! Fire!" and Antonio Garra fell into his grave. He actually died laughing. His firmness was real, lacking all bravado, and excited the admiration of all who witnessed it. Editor Ames said: "In an instant the soul of a truly 'brave' winged its flight to the regions of eternity, accompanied by the melancholy howling of dogs, who seemed to be aware of the solemnity of the occasion,—casting a gloom over the assembled hundreds, who while acknowledging the justness of Antonio's fate, felt the need to drop a tear o'er the grave of a brave man and once powerful chieftain." But notwithstanding Ames's real admiration for Garra's courage, he could not refrain from indulging his propensity to joke, and, in the next issue of his paper, under the head of "Departures," inserted the following: *"Antonio*

Garra, Tierra Caliente" (literally, for a hot country, i. e., hell).

A large number of Indians witnessed the execution and were doubtless duly impressed; at any rate, there was never another Indian uprising, of like proportions, in the South.

But although there were no more Indian "wars," occasional murders, robberies, and pillaging still occurred. A large number of Indians lived in and near San Diego all through the 50's, 60's, 70's, and even far into the 80's, and there was an encampment in Switzer's Canyon for many years. In 1876, an effort which had been going on for some time to have the Indians settled upon reservations, took definite form in an executive order by President Grant, setting apart a large area of lands in San Diego County "for the permanent use and occupancy of the Mission Indians of Lower California." A copy of this order, giving a description of the lands set apart, is given at the end of this chapter. This was the foundation of the present Indian reservations.

COL. J. BANKHEAD MAGRUDER

In command of the troops at the Mission at the time of the Garra uprising

One of the customs of the Mission Indians in early days was to camp on the seashore near Ocean Beach, about the time of Lent, and remain till Easter, drying mussels, clams, and fish. They formed the principal resource of the white population for laborers, and were tolerably satisfactory so long as they did not get drunk. While Lieutenant Derby was turning the San Diego river, in 1853, he employed a large number of Indian laborers. He found it necessary, however, to offer a reward for the apprehension of any person selling liquor to the Indians.

During the 50's, there was something like a reign of terror in Old San Diego, due to the lawless acts of drunken Indians. Severe measures were taken, but without very much effect. There was an Indian *alcalde* who had a sort of authority over these Indians, and occasionally punished offenders by tying them up to the old cannon which then stood muzzle downward in the ground in front of a store at Old San Diego and was used for a hitching post, and whipping them with a blacksnake whip.

During the years from 1853 to 1860, stabbing affrays were of nightly occurrence, and very little effort was made to apprehend or punish the offenders. Editor Ames waxed by turns indignant and grimly humorous over the matter. On one occasion, "our able district attorney, instead of subjecting the county to about a thousand dollars expense by having the stabber sentenced to the state prison, had a ball and chain put to him and 'farmed him out' to the highest bidder for cash." A short time afterward:

> Since the opening of the new meat market, the Indians about town have gone into the butchering business on quite an extensive scale—killing about one a week. An Indian boy, belonging to Mrs. Evans, walked up to another Indian boy on Saturday night last, and with a long knife ripped him open as quietly as if he were cutting a watermelon. Who comes next?

Sometimes the whites suffered. In August, 1857, John Minturn was severely cut in the arm by an Indian, whom, however, he succeeded in "knocking out" with a stick of stovewood. On April 10, 1858, the *Herald* declares:

> There must be something done to "clean out" the cattle thieves in this county. Whipping has got to be of small account in deterring the Indians from thieving, and we have come to the conclusion that the delectable and efficacious remedy of hanging is about the best, after all. One fellow whom they whipped out at Santa Ysabel, got so mad about it that he just walked off a hundred yards and laid down and died! . . .
> It has been ascertained that there have been 311 head of cattle stolen in this vicinity, Ramon Carrillo alone, having lost 108 of that number.

That the citizens endured this state of affairs as long and patiently as they did, may well excite wonder. Only one incident of vigilante work in San Diego proper has come to light. There was a poor old tailor in the town who used to get drunk quite often. One day, having borrowed a dollar from a friend, on the plea that he was suffering from want of food, he was soon seen in an intoxicated condition. The next morning, his body was found lying on the side of the hill just above the town. He had been beaten to death with stones and the jawbone of a bullock, stripped naked, and left lying there. The manner of his death and the fact that he was known to be poor and had evidently been killed for his clothes, gave rise to the belief that it was the work of Indians. A search of the ground near the body resulted in the finding of a knife which was known to belong to an Indian called Manteca [fat, or tallow], and with this clew the names of a number of Indians who had been seen with the tailor on the evening of his death, were soon discovered. The murderers had decamped, but about six months afterward some of them ventured back to town, and with the aid of other Indians, three of them were arrested and lodged in jail.

The citizens now thought it time to act, and also that it was just as well to save the county the expense and trouble of legal proceedings. The vigilante party consisted of Robert D. Israel, E. W. Morse, John Van Alst, and one other man whose name has not been learned. These four men went to the jail and took the three Indians out with the intention of hanging them. Israel, who was a veteran of the Mexican war and knew something of military affairs, protested that the party was too small to handle the Indians all at once, and suggested that they be dealt with one at a time. He was overruled, however, and the result was that as soon as the Indians learned the intention of the party, they began to fight hard and two of them succeeded in getting away. One of these two escaped and was never recaptured, and the other would have done so had not Mr. Morse shot him and broke his leg. They then hanged one of them in a vacant building which had belonged to Agostin Haraszthy, and the other in an old adobe building built by Crosthwaite near the American cemetery. Mrs. Carson says that on looking out the next morning, she saw the body hanging in the Haraszthy house, mistook it for an effigy and called to her husband that the Spanish had been "hanging Judas" again.

Mrs. Carson tells many interesting stories about the Indians of San Diego in early days. They kept an Indian servant who one day was missing, and after two days was found in the bottom of a dry well. He was taken out, very much bruised, his wounds dressed, and an Indian employed to nurse him. He improved and was thought to be out of danger; but one day the nurse went away and left a blind Indian in charge of the patient, who thereupon crawled out of bed and proceeded to treat himself by the Indian method. This consisted of taking a brand from the fireplace and scorching himself on the side with it, to set up a counter irritation by burning. He burned himself so severely that he only lived a few hours afterward.

Thomas Whaley bought an Indian girl from her parents, giving them something like $100 worth of goods from his store in exchange for their consent for the girl to live in his family. The girl stayed about a month and then disappeared and returned to her parents. When Mr. Whaley went after her they were willing to let her go, but wanted to be paid over again, and this continued as long as the kind-hearted merchant would allow himself to be "worked," the girl running away as often as her parents felt the need of supplies from the store.

ROBERT D. ISRAEL

One of the oldest living pioneers and participants in Indian troubles

There was an Indian ranchería near the palm trees in Old Town where they were accustomed to hold dances. "It was like an old-fashioned spelling bee," says Mrs. Whaley; "the Indians would stand up in two long rows and dance, and the one of each opposite pair that could dance best won the other's clothes. I dressed this girl well, but she would go to those dances and always came home in rags, having lost the clothes I gave her, at the dance."

On May 26, 1869, the *Union* contained this item: "We noticed a half dozen or more of the Lo family parading the streets last week, dressed after the fashion of Adam and Eve before they left the garden of Eden. If there is an old clothes society in this part of the moral vineyard, we would suggest to its members that these children of the forest receive a little of their attention."

This was a common occurrence for many years before and after. Mrs. Morse speaks of "wild Indians, nude, with the exception of a cloth about the loins," who, "stalked majestically across the plaza, their long hair streaming in the wind, or, if in mourning, plastered up with paste made of grease and ashes. The rings in their noses were equally as useful and ornamental as the rings in the ears of white ladies."

In 1873, the Indians about new San Diego made themselves so objectionable by petty thieving and nightly brawls, that City Marshal Gassen and José Guadalupe Estudillo were sent to notify them to move their camp out of town. Their old chief, El Capitan, was found in the midst of a harangue, which he broke off to hear the message of the *alcaldes*, and promised obedience. In the following month he entered an indignant protest against putting out poisoned meat for the purpose of killing dogs, a practice which, it appeared, had led to the death of two of his warriors.

This venerable chief was one of the best of his race, and long an interesting figure about San Diego. The words *El Capitan* mean simply the captain, or chief, and give no clew to his name. He was once a chief of the Cahuillas. He always wore a "plug" hat and carried a cane, and in his younger days was a manly figure. He exerted considerable influence over his turbulent people, and aided the authorities in keeping them in order. He died in San Diego on December 10, 1875, at an advanced age.

In March, 1880, there was complaint of "too much pistol-shooting around town after dark" by Indians. And on May 18, 1886, Constable Rice shot and killed an Indian on lower Fifth street in new San Diego. The Indian was drunk and attacked Officer Kerren with a knife. Rice interfered, whereupon the Indian turned upon him and was shot.

In October, 1883, the only surviving daughter of Chief O'Tay, of the Diegueno Indians, died at Old Town. She was among the first of the Indians converted by the missionaries. Father Ubach thought her to be at least 120 years old. About two years before her death, she cut a third set of teeth. Another of these first converts, a man named "Nevos," lived to the age of 125, dying at Old Town on January 23, 1887. He was a native of Lower California and was brought to San Diego with the first expedition, in 1769. He bore his age well, was never crippled, and although blind for years could hoe corn and beans, cut wood, and wash dishes, to the last. The characteristic old age of San Diego Indians has been alluded to by Dana:

> Here among the huts, we saw the oldest man that I have ever met with; and, indeed I never supposed a person could retain life and exhibit such marks of age. He was sitting out in the sun, leaning against the side of the hut, and his legs and arms, which were bare, were of a dark red color, the skin withered and shrunken up like burnt leather, and the limbs not larger around than those of a boy of five years. He had a few gray hairs, which were tied together at the back of his head, and he was so feeble that, when we came up to him, he raised his hands slowly to his face and, taking hold of his lids with his fingers, lifted them up to look at us; and, being satisfied, let them drop again. All command over the lids seemed to have gone. I asked his age, but could get no answer but "*Quien sabe?*" and they probably did not know.

There is an aged Indian yet living who is one of the landmarks of Old Town—Rafael Mamudes. He is a native of Hermosillo and has led an adventurous life. He was once a baker and followed his trade at Monterey. He also mined in Calaveras County, and made a sea voyage to Guaymas. He claims to be over a hundred years old, but it is not possible to verify this, and his real age is probably less. He came here about fifty years ago, and has supported himself by day labor. He has been married but is now alone, save for an aged sister. He owns the little plot on which the old jail stands.

MISSION INDIAN LANDS

Extracts from Executive Order, dated Washington, D. C., January 7, 1876, making reservation of tracts for the permanent use and occupation of the Mission Indians in Southern California:

"Potrero"—Including Bincon, Gapich, and La Joyo: Township 10, south range 1 east; sections 16, 23, 25, 26, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, and fractional sections 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 27, 28 and 29.

"Cahuilla"—township 7, south range 2 east; sections 25, 26, 27, 28, 33, 34, 35, and 36; township 7, south range 3 east; sections 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, and 35; township 8, south range 2 east; sections 1, 2, 3, and 4; township 8, south range 3 east, sections 31 and 32; township 15, south range 2 east, sections 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6.

"Capitan Grande"—township 14, south range 2 east, sections 25, 26, 27, 34, 35, and 36; township 14, south range 3 east, sections 31 and 32; township 15, south range 2 east, sections 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10; township 15, south range 3 east, sections 5 and 6.

"Santa Ysabel" (including Mesa Grande)—township 11, south range 2 east, south half of section 21, northwest quarter and east half of section 28, and sections 25, 26, and 27; township 11, south range 3 east, sections 25, 26, 27, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, and fractional sections 29, 30, and 32; township 12, south range 2 east, sections 3, 10, 14, 15, and fractional section 13; township 12, south range 2 east, sections 1, 2, 12, and fractional sections 3, 4, 10, 11, 13, and 14.

"Pala"—township 8, south range 2 west, northeast quarter of section 33, and north half of north half of section 34.

"Agua Caliente"—township 10, south range 3 east, southeast quarter of section 23, southwest quarter of section 24, west half of section 25, and east half of section 26.

"Lycuan"—township 16, south range 1 east, northeast quarter of section 13.

"Maja"—township 13, south range 3 east, northeast quarter of section 35.

"Cosmet"—township 13, south range 3 east, north half of northeast quarter of section 25.

CHAPTER VIII

SAN DIEGO IN THE MEXICAN WAR

THE people of San Diego lived through an anxious and exciting experience during the war with Mexico. As the only important port in Southern California, the town was of obvious strategic importance, and both sides tried to hold it as a base of operations. The most conspicuous Americans identified with the war in the West, Stockton, Frémont, Kearny, participated in movements in this neighborhood, and the hardest battle which marked the progress of the struggle in California was fought at San Pasqual. The town itself was taken, lost, and taken again by the American forces before the new flag went up to stay. In the midst of it all, the stream of social gaiety flowed on with only slight interruptions and the joy of it was actually increased, at times, by the presence of gallant soldiers from abroad.

The pleasantest memory of the period which comes down to us is the attitude of native Americans who had married Californian women and become Mexican citizens. Beset on one hand by the claims of their native land, and on the other by their obligations to their adopted country and the natural sympathies of their wives with the race to which they belonged, these Americans were certainly in a very embarrassing situation. Without exception, and with little or no hesitation, they declared for the United States. What is yet more beautiful and touching, from the American point of view, their Spanish wives stood by them, even when their own fathers and brothers were in arms on the Mexican side. If blood is thicker than water, love is thicker than blood—the love which these men felt for their country and these women for their husbands. The native population divided between the two sides, while some remained neutral. The most prominent Spanish families, the Argüellos, Bandinis, and Pedrorenas, promptly espoused the American cause when they found that war was inevitable. They clearly recognized that Mexico could not hold the country in the face of the growing power of the United States, and wisely decided to throw their influence on the side which could offer personal security, material prosperity, and liberal self-government.

On July 29, 1846, Captain Samuel F. Dupont arrived from Monterey in the sloop-of-war, *Cyane*. With him were John C. Frémont and his company of 80 men, and a like number of marines; also, Kit Carson, Alexis Godey, and four Delaware Indians. The whole composed the "California Battalion" of volunteers, with Frémont as major and Archibald H. Gillespie as captain. This formidable party received a friendly greeting from leading citizens, and lost no time in hoisting the American flag on the Plaza at Old Town. The log of the *Cyane* shows the following entries:

CAPT. SAMUEL F. DUPONT

Who came to San Diego, in command of the sloop-of-war Cyane, bringing Fremont and his men

July 29.—8 to meridian. At 10:30 hauled up courses, standing in for harbor of San Diego. At 11:30 came to in 9½ fathoms; hoisted out boats. Found the Mexican brig *Juanita* at anchor in the harbor. At 11:45 sent Lieutenant Higgins alongside with instructions to overhaul her papers. At 3:40 the launch and *Alligator*, under command of Lieutenant Rowan, and the Marine Guard under Lieutenant Maddox, left the ship to take possession of the town of San Diego and hoist the American flag. From 4 to 8, Major Frémont left the ship with a de-

> tachment of his men. At 9 p.m. launch returned and at 10:50 the *Alligator* with Lieutenant Rowan, after taking possession of San Diego and hoisting the American flag, leaving all our marine guard, under Lieutenant Maddox, on shore to defend the flag and town.
>
> July 30.—Crew employed in landing Major Frémont's Battalion with their equipments. 8 to meridian. Finished landing Major Frémont's troops and baggage.
>
> August 9.—Lieutenant Maddox and the marine guard came on board; also, Lieutenant George L. Selden. Meridian to 4 p. m. Beating out to seaward.

The flag used on this occasion was a naval flag. One of the first American flags used in San Diego was made by the three daughters of Juan Bandini,—Josefa, Ysabel, and Arcadia, of red and blue flannel and white muslin sheets. The only one of these ladies now surviving is Mrs. Arcadia Bandini de Baker of Santa Monica. Their flag is preserved in the archives of the government at Washington, together with the history of its making and use.

Frémont's orders were to use San Diego as a base for the capture of Los Angeles. After collecting cattle, horses and other supplies, he marched north Aug. 8th, riding "an uncommonly beautiful sorrel horse," which had been presented to him by Bandini. A small garrison was left behind, but it did not remain long, or was regarded by the citizens as inadequate, for about the middle of September twelve men under Captain Ezekiel Merritt came down from Los Angeles to assist in the protection of the town, in response to a demand which had been voiced by Henry D. Fitch. Prominent citizens aided in preserving order and accepted offices under the election which was ordered by Stockton, and took place on Sept. 15th. Miguel de Pedrorena became justice of the peace, and Pedro C. Carrillo was appointed collector of customs.

Los Angeles promptly surrendered to Stockton and Frémont, who joined forces when the former arrived from San Pedro and the latter from San Diego. The victory was not lasting, however, for in a short time the Californians rose and recaptured Los Angeles. Thus encouraged, they determined to regain San Diego also. For this purpose Francisco Rico was sent south early in October with fifty men. Rico did not reach San Diego, being recalled in haste after reaching the Santa Margarita, but Sérbulo Varela was soon after sent in his stead. A number of Merritt's men had been sent from San Diego to Los Angeles from time to time with dispatches, so that there were at that time but six or seven left. On the approach of Rico's forces, John Bidwell, who had been left in charge at San Luis Rey, left that place and joined Merritt's party at San Diego. The little garrison were alarmed by the approach of the Mexicans, as well as by apparently well-founded rumors of a plot of the Californians to kill the Americans. They therefore embarked on board the *Stonington,* a whale-ship then lying in the harbor, which had been chartered by the government. The refugees included the garrison, the American residents and their families, and a number of Californians who had reason to fear for their safety. The town was immediately occupied by the enemy, and, looking out the next morning, the refugees saw the Mexican flag floating from the flagstaff above the plaza.

In this emergency, Bidwell was sent to San Pedro with four men in a small boat to ask for reinforcements. He returned after a dangerous voyage and steps were immediately taken to recapture the town. It often happens that we worry most about things that never occur, and the refugees in the whale-ship worried about the fact that two of the old cannon lay at the Presidio, and that the Mexicans might mount them on ox-carts, bring them down to the shore, and bombard the ships. To render such a disaster impossible, Albert B. Smith was put ashore at La Playa, and succeeded in reaching Presidio Hill by a circuitous route. He found the guns, spiked them, and returned in safety. Relieved of anxiety on this score, and emboldened by Smith's exploit, Captain Merritt the next morning landed all his available force, together with the whalers and two cannon from the ships, and marched upon the town. The Mexican

MRS. ARCADIA DE BAKER

One of the daughters of Juan Bandini, who made the flag in Old Town in 1846. She now resides at Santa Monica and is known as "the wealthiest woman in Southern California" troopers were formed in battle array but soon gave way and ran off over the hills. The Mexican flag was hauled down by María Antonia Machado, who carried it off to save it from the Americans. Albert B. Smith then climbed the flagpole, attached the new halyards and hauled up the American flag. Since that day, it has never been hauled down. The Mexicans shot at Smith during his daring feat, and he replied by waving his hat at them in defiance. He was not hit and none of the Americans were wounded.

Though driven out of town, the Mexican rangers retired but a short distance and continued the siege. They were reinforced late in October by 100 men from Los Angeles under command of Captains Cota and Carrillo. Their tactics were to avoid engagements and cut off supplies. Every day they appeared on the hills and shot at anyone in sight, and on one occasion drove some cattle away from the flat in town. As a consequence, provisions grew short and suffering increased.

Commodore Stockton, awakened to the fact that California had not yet been conquered, came to San Diego early in November in the 60-gun ship *Congress*.

> The situation of the place was found to be miserable and deplorable. The male inhabitants had abandoned the town, leaving their women and children dependent upon us for food. He at once sent Captain Samuel Gibson, of the Battalion, in the *Stonington* to Ensenada, and this expedition returned in a few days overland, driving about 90 horses and 200 head of cattle into the town. Stockton had in the meantime made a trip to San Pedro in the *Congress*, and on his return the ship grounded and was in danger of tumbling over. While the crew were engaged in staying the ship with spars, the enemy, irritated, I suppose, by the loss of his animals, came down in considerable force and made an attack; they were, however, soon driven back with the loss of two men and horses killed, and four wounded.

The date of this report, November 23rd, marks the time when vigorous measures were begun for clearing the country of the enemy. Up to this time the American losses were one man killed and one wounded. Varela had brought a cannon, with which he attacked the post from the hill. Earthworks had been thrown up at this place in 1838, at a time when an attack was expected from General José Castro, and from this protection the rangers menaced the town. They were so near that Juan Rocha could be heard shouting to his aunt for *ropa* [clothing] and chocolate. From this coign of vantage J. M. Orozco amused himself by shooting at Miguel de Pedrorena while he was escorting a young lady. But this all came to an end in consequence of a gallant exploit, led by Captain Santiago E. Argüello.

This officer assailed the hill, his company dragging a cannon with them, drove the Californians from the trenches, captured their gun, and turned it against them. The enemy made a new stand behind the old Presidio walls, but soon retreated up the valley toward the mission. Argüello having been wounded in the leg, Captain Pedrorena led the men in pursuit, and about a mile up the valley exchanged shots with a party under Leandro Osuna. A little farther on an American, going to water his horse in a cañada, was killed. A skirmish occurred at the old mission, where a few rangers were taken prisoner. The enemy then scattered, a part deserted, and the rest retired to the Soledad.

One of Stockton's first cares was now to place the town in a state of defense. The captured earthworks were speedily improved by the sailors and named Fort Stockton. It consisted of a ditch or moat, behind which casks filled with earth were placed at intervals of two feet. Twelve guns were mounted in the spaces between these casks in a manner to command the approaches from Los Angeles and Mission Valley. One hundred men, under Lieut. Minor, were placed in the fort as a garrison. The work was well done and constituted a formidable

MIGUEL DE PEDRORENA

A leader of the Spanish families who supported the American cause in the war with Mexico defense for the town. The remains of the earthworks stand today, in a fair state of preservation.

Stockton now began preparations for an advance upon Los Angeles. The first thing to be considered was a supply of cattle and horses. The enemy had swept the country clean of livestock and the horses brought in by Captain Gibson were in such poor condition that they required weeks of rest to become fit for service. The *Stonington* was therefore sent once more down the coast, about the end of November, with a force under Captain Samuel J. Hensley, of the Battalion, to secure supplies. In this work, Bandini, Pedrorena, and Argüello, were active. Stockton had landed his force and, while awaiting the return of this expedition, he improved the time by organizing and drilling at the old Presidio. His men consisted of sailors and marines from the fleet, members of Frémont's "Battalion of California Volunteers," and volunteers who enlisted here. Frémont was operating elsewhere, but Major Gillespie, Captains Hensley, Gibson, and Bell, Alexis Godey, and some Delaware Indians of his command, were here. John Bidwell was quartermaster of the entire force, a man named Fisher was commissary, and Merritt and his twelve men were already here. Among the local volunteers, Santiago E. Argüello and Miguel de Pedrorena were made captains of cavalry. Philip Crosthwaite, who was on an otter-hunting expedition to Lower California in October, reached the Rosario Mission and was surprised there to meet the fugitives, Governor Pico and his secretary, and to learn of the breaking out of the war. He hurried home and enlisted in the volunteers, under Captain Alexander Bell. William Curley, John C. Stewart, Julian Ames, John Brown, A. B. Smith, John Post, and Thomas Wrightington were members of the same company.

It is claimed that no muster rolls of these volunteer companies were ever sent to Washington, and not a man who served in them was ever able to secure a discharge. This afterward worked considerable hardship in the case of San Diego Volunteers, making it impossible to obtain the pensions to which they were entitled. It is difficult to understand how, without turning in any muster rolls, the officers secured the money to pay their men. The late Dr. Winder made some investigation of the matter, as well as the present writer; but without result. It is therefore impossible to give anything like a complete record of the services of San Diegans in this war, the only information available being that disclosed by the participants who were thoughtful enough to set down their recollections. Gillespie wrote that the force in Stockton's camp numbered 450 men. Strict discipline was established, the men were thoroughly drilled, and even the marines soon began to present a soldierly appearance and to enjoy the new work.

Bandini offered his house to the Commodore, and it was made headquarters. There was soon considerable gaiety. Stockton had his band play during the dinner hour, and invited the Bandini family and the ladies of San Diego to dine with him. There were also dancing parties in which the officers participated and many courteous attentions were shown the ladies, who afterwards spoke of this period with great enthusiasm.

SANTIAGO E. ARGUELLO

Who acquired the property of the Mission of San Diego from the Mexican Government and was prominent in political, military and social life

Meanwhile, an Indian scout had been sent out to ascertain where the Californian forces lay. He returned with the report that about fifty of them were encamped at San Bernardo, some thirty miles out. This force in reality numbered about eighty and was under the command of General Andrés Pico. Captain Gillespie was immediately ordered to take as many men as he could mount, with a piece of artillery, and endeavor to to surprise them. On December 3rd, before this expedition departed, however, two deserters from Pico's camp came in and reported that Pico had been reinforced by 100 men. While Stockton was examining these deserters at his headquarters, with his aid-de-camp, Lieut. Andrew F. V. Gray, of the *Congress*, Captain Edward Stokes arrived from the Santa Ysabel rancho, bringing the following letter from General Stephen W. Kearny, giving the information that he was approaching by way of Warner's:

> Headquarters Army of the West, Camp at Warner's.
> December 2, 1846.
>
> Sir: I (this afternoon) reached here, escorted by a party of the First Regiment Dragoons. I came by orders from the President of the United States. We left Santa Fé on the 25th of September, having taken possession of New Mexico, annexed it to the United States, established a civil government in that territory, and secured order, peace, and quietness there.
>
> If you can send a party to open communication with us, on the route to this place, and to inform me of the state of affairs in California, I wish you would do so, and as quickly as possible.
>
> The fear of this letter falling into Mexican hands prevents me from writing more.
>
> Your express by Mr. Carson was met on the Del Norte, and your mail must have reached Washington at least ten days since. You might use the bearer, Mr. Stokes, to conduct your party to this place.
>
> Very respectfully your obedient servant,
> S. W. KEARNY,
> Brigadier-General, U.S.A.

This letter greatly surprised Stockton, who had previously known nothing of Kearny's approach. It did not occur to him that Kearny might be in any danger, but on the contrary he seems to have thought that the junction of these new forces with the expedition he was about to send out might afford an excellent opportunity of carrying out his own plan for the surprise and defeat of the enemy. He therefore hurried the preparations for Gillespie's departure, and in the meantime sent the following reply:

> Headquarters, San Diego, December 3, 1846,
> half-past six o'clock p. m.
>
> Sir:
>
> I have this moment received your note of yesterday, by Mr. Stokes, and have ordered Captain Gillespie, with a detachment of mounted riflemen and a field-piece, to your camp without delay.
>
> Captain Gillespie is well-informed in relation to the present state of things in California, and will give you all needful information. I need not, therefore, detain him by saying anything on the subject. I will merely state that I have this evening received information, by two deserters from the rebel camp, of the arrival of an additional force in this neighborhood of one

> hundred men, which in addition to the force previously here, makes their number about one hundred and fifty.
>
> I send with Captain Gillespie, as a guide, one of the deserters, that you may make inquiries of him, and, if you see fit, endeavor to surprise them.
>
> Faithfully, your obedient servant,
>
> ROBT. F. STOCKTON.
>
> Commander-in-chief and Governor of the Territory of California.

The expedition left the same evening, December 3rd, about 7 o'clock. It consisted of Captain Gillespie in command; Captain Samuel Gibson, with a company of twenty-five volunteers, among whom were Philip Crosthwaite of Captain Bell's company, Alexis Godey, ———— Burgess, and Henry Booker; and ten carbineers from the *Congress* under Acting Lieutenant Edward F. Beale and Midshipman James M. Duncan; thirty-nine men in all. Captain Stokes also returned with the party and one of the deserters, Rafael Machado, was sent as a guide.

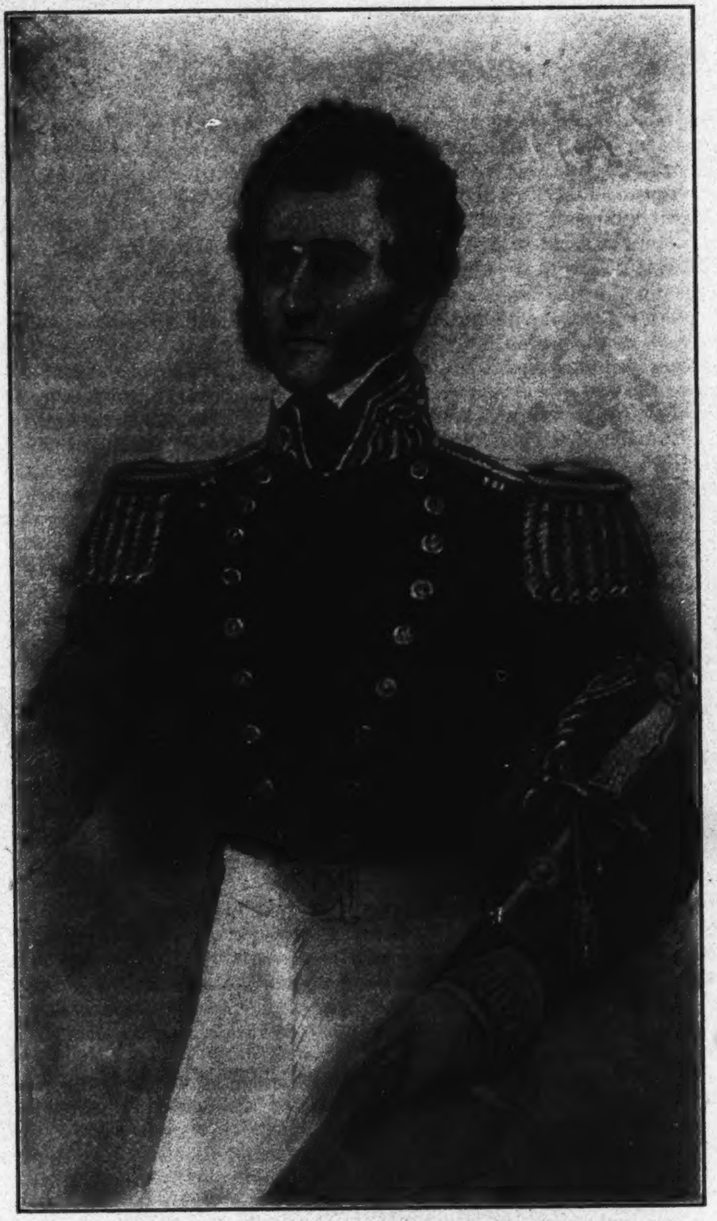
They took all the available horses in San Diego and a brass four-pounder piece. The mountings of this gun were made by the ship's carpenter, but it proved impossible to secure harness for hitching horses to it, and the men were obliged to drag it along by lariats attached to the pommels of their saddles. The route taken was by way of the old mission and El Cajon to the Santa María Rancho. The trip was full of hardships, rations giving out and the expedition moving over rough and unbeaten trails. On the second day out, December 5th, at about one P. M., they joined General Kearny's force at Ballena, between the Santa Ysabel and Santa María ranchos, without having met the enemy. The junction of the forces was effected in the midst of a cold, pouring rain.

A council of war was now held. It was certain that the enemy was between the Americans and San Diego, but in what force was not known; he might have 80 men or he might have double that number. It appears that Lieutenant Beale strongly advised avoiding an engagement, and suggested that an effort be made, instead, to capture the horses of the Mexicans. It is highly probable that in giving this advice Beale was influenced by the reports of the numbers and equipment of the Californians, and also by the wretched condition of Kearny's force. Both the men and their mounts were emaciated and weak, and the cold rain which had been falling all day and which continued to fall all night caused them to suffer extremely and rendered them almost unable to walk.

Kearny, however, determined to attack. Without doubt, he was influenced to this course largely by the advice of Kit Carson, who declared that the Californians were cowards and would not fight. At first he planned to send Captain Moore with sixty men and make a night attack, but for some reason changed his mind and sent Lieutenant Thomas C. Hammond, with ten men, including Sergeant Williams and Private George Pierce, with Machado as guide, to reconnoiter. They succeeded in getting near the Indian huts at San Pasqual occupied by Pico's men, and the guide and Sergeant Williams advanced to the door and saw the men asleep on the floor and a lone Indian keeping guard. They beckoned the Indian without the hut and began to converse with him, when a sentinel hailed the main party, and they all retreated precipitately. In this retreat they lost a blanket and jacket, which betrayed the presence of the force to Pico.

Hammond returned about 2 A. M. and reported that he had found the enemy and had been seen, but not pursued, by them. Notwithstanding the misfortune to the reconnoitering party, the General seems still to have expected, as Dr. John S. Griffin naively says in his journal, to "surprise" the enemy. Camp was broken at once, and soon all were upon the road, in the following order: First rode an advance guard of twelve men, on the best horses, under Captain Abraham R. Johnston. After them came General Kearny with Lieutenants Wm. H. Emory and Wm. H. Warner, of the engineers, and four or five of their men. Then Captain Benjamin D. Moore and Lieutenant Hammond, with about fifty mounted dragoons. Next Captains Gillespie and Gibson, with twenty volunteers. Then Lieutenant John W. Davidson, in charge of the artillery, with a few dragoons. The balance of the force, some fifty or sixty men brought up the rear under Major Swords. The rain ceased with daylight, but it was very cold and the men, having had no shelter during the night, were stiff and jaded. And, strangest of all, *their arms were not recharged!*

As day dawned on the morning of December 6th, the advance came out on the hillside above the village of San Pasqual, and, looking down into the valley through the fog, saw the campfires of the Californians burning brightly and the lancers moving, about three-quarters of a mile away. Without waiting for the main force to come up, Kearny ordered a trot, then a charge, and Captain Johnston and his twelve men dashed down the hill. After them rode the General and his little party. It was not, as a rule, the policy of the Californians to stand still and receive a charge. They were superb horsemen and skilled lancers, but not beef-eaters. But, seeing only twenty men coming, they stood firm, discharged what muskets and pistols they had, and received the Americans upon their lances. Captain Johnston fell at the first fire with a ball through his forehead, and a dragoon was badly wounded. The men kept on, there was a confused struggle for a few moments, and then the Americans



COMMODORE ROBERT F. STOCKTON

In command of the American forces at San Diego during the Mexican War fell back. A ranger now dashed by; it was Juan (or Francisco) Lara, and Lieutenant Beale fired several shots at him and brought him down with a broken leg. Six months later Lara's leg was amputated by a French physician and he lived in Los Angeles many years. By this time the main body of the troops came in sight and, seeing them, the Californians drew off and retreated rapidly down the valley.

Captain Moore, seeing the Californians retreating, now ordered Lieutenant Hammond and his men to follow, which they did, in a wild charge. The statement has been made that a recall was sounded which the men did not hear, but there is no official confirmation of this statement. Kearny ordered the troops to close up in support, and they did so to the best of their ability. But the tired and balky mules could not be hurried and only those having the best mounts, about fifty in all, came up in time to take part in the second conflict; the balance of the men never saw the enemy until after the fight was over. The charge was made without any attempt at order; the men rushed down the road at full speed, pell-mell, hurly-burly, strung out in a line half a mile long.

At a distance of about half a mile from the village the road divided, the main road leading out upon the plain toward the San Bernardo and Rincon ranchos and a branch leading up a ravine on the side of the valley. Upon reaching this point, part of Pico's men kept straight ahead on the main road and the remainder turned up this side road, where they were concealed by a rocky spur, and waited for the Americans to come. Those of the troops who were riding the best horses soon reached and passed this ambuscade, among them General Kearny, Captain Moore, Lieutenant Hammond, Captain Gillespie, and a number of the men; then Pico suddenly wheeled his lancers and charged back on their front, and the detachment in ambush rode out and attacked them on the side and rear. A brief but terrible butchery ensued.

The miserable condition of Kearny's men and mounts was evident enough to the Californians, who are said to have exclaimed. as they saw them coming, *"Aquí bamos hacer matanza!"* ["Here we are going to have a slaughter!"]. The Americans found their arms useless, but defended themselves as best they could with sabres and clubbed muskets. A scene of the greatest confusion followed, the chief feature of which was the ruthless slaughter of the almost helpless troops by the rangers. This lasted about ten minutes; and then, the struggling troops on their lagging mules beginning to come up and the howitzers approaching, the Californians again put spurs to their horses and galloped away, part going down the valley and others over the hills.

The story of this terrible conflict was never known in detail, even by the participants, but a few of the incidents and a record of results have come down to us. Captain Moore was killed early in the fight, in a combat with Pico. The General was armed with a lance and the captain with a sword, which broke at the hilt while parrying the lance. Moore then reached for his pistol, seeing which, two rangers rushed in and killed him with their lances. One of these men was José Antonio Serrano, the other Leandro Osuna, both residents of San Diego. Moore's body was found near a pond of water, his sword hilt still in his hand, and the blade broken in two pieces.

Captain Gillespie, a skillful swordsman, was attacked by Dolores Higuera, commonly called "*El Guero.*" Gillespie received first a slight wound in the chest, and was then struck full in the mouth and had two of his teeth knocked out. He was thrown from his horse where he lay still and feigned death. Higuera seized his horse with the saddle and bridle, also Gillespie's fine *zerape,* and made off with them. Had he not been in such haste to secure this loot, he would probably have discovered that his antagonist was shamming, and have killed him. He afterward offered to restore this property to Gillespie, who refused to receive it, since its loss had saved his life. General Kearny was singled out by a young Californian, who twice wounded him, but spared his life. While in San Diego at a later date the General inquired for this young man, had him call, greeted him warmly, and praised his brave and soldierly conduct. Carson was thrown from his horse and his rifle was broken.

Davis says that in this fight General Pico's conduct was brave and honorable; that he watched the conduct of his men, and whenever he saw a soldier unhorsed and wounded, called upon his men to spare his life. Kearny says in his report, however, that most of the killed and wounded were lanced while unhorsed and incapable of resistance. They all had as many as three lance thrusts and some as many as ten. An instance of unsoldierly conduct is related by Frémont as having been told him in Los Angeles by an eye-witness: "One of the Californians in the *melee* ran his sword through the body of a Christian or Mexican Indian who was fighting on the American side. When he felt the sword going through him the Indian knew that he was killed and called out, '*Basta!*' [enough]. '*Otra vez,*' [another time], said the soldier-murderer, and ran him through the second time. '*Ahí está*' [there it is], said he. '*Sí, senor*' [yes, sir], said the dying man, with the submission of an Indian to his fate."

Conspicuous among the rangers were Captain Juan B. Moreno, Juan Lobo a ranchero of Mission Vieja, and Dolores

Higuera. Casimiro Rubio was wounded, one account says fatally. The horse of Pablo Véjar fell early in the second fight, and he was taken prisoner. Gabriel Garcia killed Henry Booker, one of the men in charge of a howitzer, which was captured by the Californians. This gun came up at full speed near the close of the fight, the mules being frightened and the men unable to control them, and plunged madly after the retreating enemy. Seeing this, the rangers closed in on the gun, captured one of the men in charge of it, wounded the second, killed Booker, and made off with the howitzer.

The Americans rallied around the remaining howitzer in a circle to protect it from attack. As soon as it was ascertained that the Californians had drawn off, Kearny's first thought was of his rear guard, following at some distance under Major Swords, with the baggage. Some of the Californians were still seen in the rear, and Lieutenant Emory was sent back with a few men. He met Major Swords at the foot of the first hill, in the rear of the enemy's first position. Returning, they took up the body of Captain Johnston, which was partially plundered, his watch being gone, and carried it into camp.

It was a sadly demoralized body of men who now stood on their guard waiting to see what would happen next. The first report sent in by Kearny stated that he had 18 killed and 14 or 15 wounded. His official report places the killed at 19 and the wounded at 15. Griffin's diary says 19 men were killed, one missing supposed to be killed, and 17 wounded. The best conclusion appears to be that 19 was the correct number of the killed; that 19 were wounded and 3 of these died later, making the total deaths 22; and one missing; making the total casualties, 39—every man, save two, engaged. The discrepancy is only in the number of wounded, General Kearny having apparently failed to take any account of a number of slight wounds. Only one death and one wound were caused by firearms, all the rest being due to lance and sabre thrusts. Following is a list of those killed and wounded.

Killed: Captains Johnston and Moore; Lieutenant Hammond; Sergeants Moore and Whitness; Corporals West and Ramsdale; privates Ashmead, Campbell, Dunlop, Dalton, Lucky, Repsoll, Gholston, Fiel and Gregory, of the dragoons, and Booker, of the volunteers; farrier Johnson; and Menard, of the engineers.

Missing and supposed to have been killed: McKaffray, of the dragoons.

Wounded: General Kearny; Captains Gillespie and Gibson, of the volunteers; Lieutenants Warner of the engineers and Beale of the navy; Sergeant Cox, dragoons, who died December 9th; Roubidoux, interpreter; Kennedy of the dragoons, who died at San Diego December 21st, David Streeter, who also died; and ten other dragoons.

Of the two prisoners taken by the Americans, Lara and Véjar, the latter was placed under the care of Philip Crosthwaite, who soon had to protect him from attack by one of the Delaware Indians. This Indian apparently did not believe in taking prisoners, and therefore proceeded to try to massacre Véjar, but was prevented from doing so.

Regarding the losses of the Californians, the accounts are very conflicting. General Kearny, in his official report, expressed the opinion that "the number of their dead and wounded must have been considerable," although he adds that they carried off all but a few. Judge Benjamin Hayes, who was personally acquainted with many of the Californians, and their friend for years, was never able to discover that a single one of Pico's men was killed. The prisoner, Véjar, thought that Lara was killed and twelve men wounded. He had probably seen Lara fall from his horse at the time he was shot; but as Véjar was taken prisoner early in the second action, he could have known little about the casualties. Pico himself reported to General Flores that he had eleven men slightly wounded. Two days later, upon Kearny's offering to send Dr. Griffin to Pico's camp to care for his wounded, the latter replied that he had none. Doubtless this was a piece of bravado, but it is clearly the fact that not more than eleven or twelve were wounded, and there is a strong doubt

LIEUT. EDWARD F. BEALE

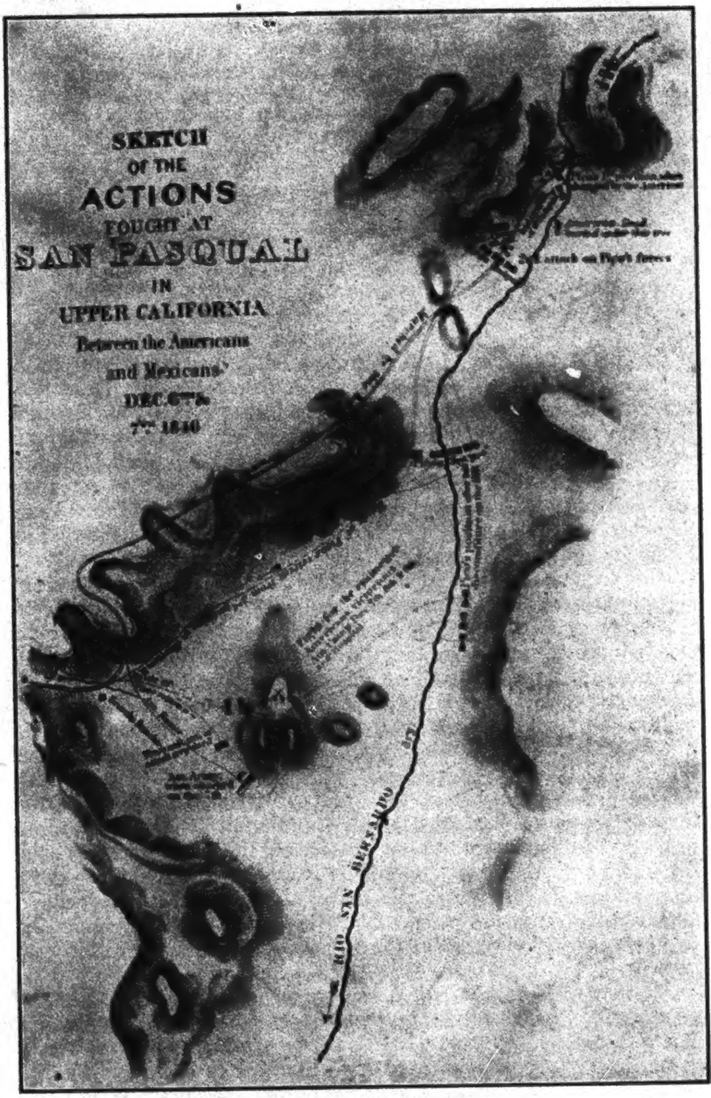
Who accompanied Kearny on his ill-fated march to San Diego whether a single man was killed. A ranger named Andrado was shot in the thigh; he lived at Old Town in after years. Another wounded ranger was named Alvarado; he was shot in the thigh, but recovered.

Camp was made and the dead and wounded collected and cared for. Kearny first gave orders that the eighteen bodies should be packed on mules, to be carried to San Diego; but it was found there were not enough strong mules to carry both the dead and the wounded, and it therefore became necessary to bury the dead. They were interred at night, under a willow tree to the east of the camp. The burial was hurried and secret, as it was believed that if the graves were found the bodies would be disinterred and stripped. The bodies were afterward removed to the American cemetery near Old Town, but now rest in the military burying ground in the government cemetery at La Playa. "Thus," says Emory in his diary, with deep feeling, "were put to rest together, and forever, a band of brave and heroic men. The long march of two thousand miles had brought our little command, both officers and men, to know each other well. Community of hardships, dangers, and privations, had produced relations of mutual regard which caused their loss to sink deeply in our memories."

The General's wounds were so serious that it became necessary for Captain Turner to take command. The day was spent in caring for the wounded and making ambulances. It took Dr. Griffin all day to dress the wounds. The situation of the camp was on a little height, surrounded by cactus, in a defensible position, but without water. The ground was covered with rocks and cacti, so that it was hard to find a place where the wounded could rest comfortably. The provisions were exhausted, the horses dead, the mules on their last legs, the men worn out and suffering from the cold, and the Californians on guard near by. Pico reported to Flores that he only awaited the arrival of Cota to attack, and that the Americans could not escape.

Among the matters to which Captain Turner gave early attention were the questions of reinforcements and transportation for the wounded. Being informed by Beale that there were wheeled vehicles in San Diego, he determined to send there for help. Godey, Burgess, and one other man were selected for this service and started early in the day, bearing the following letter:

> Headquarters, Camp near San Pasqual, December 6, 1846.
> Commodore R. F. Stockton, U. S. Navy, San Diego.
>
> Sir: I have the honor to report to you that at early dawn this morning Gen. Kearny, with a detachment of the United States Dragoons and Captain Gillespie's Company of mounted riflemen, had an engagement with a very considerable Mexican force near this camp.


SKETCH
OF THE
ACTIONS
FOUGHT AT
SAN PASQUAL
IN
UPPER CALIFORNIA
Between the Americans
and Mexicans
DEC. 6th &
7th 1846
attack on Pico's forces
RIO SAN BERNARDO

> We have about eighteen killed and fourteen or fifteen wounded, several so severely that it may be impracticable to move them for several days. I have to suggest to you the propriety of despatching, without delay, a considerable force to meet us on the road to San Diego, via the Soledad and San Bernardo, or to find us at this place; also that you will send up carts or some other means of transporting our wounded to San Diego. We are without provisions, and in our present situation find it impracticable to obtain cattle from the ranches in the vicinity.
>
> Gen. Kearny is among the wounded, but it is hoped not dangerously; Captains Moore and Johnston, First Dragoons, killed; Lieutenant Hammond, First Dragoons, dangerously wounded.
>
> I am, sir, very respectfully,
> Your obedient servant,
> H. S. TURNER.
> Captain, U.S.A., Commanding.

Of the adventures of these men on the way we know little, but they reached San Diego safely the following day, December 7th. Another messenger had preceded them; this was Captain Stokes who, after witnessing the beginning of the battle and without waiting to see the close, hurried away to San Diego and gave a highly-colored account. He saw a great many men engaged and was sure the Americans had suffered defeat. Very little attention seems to have been paid to this vague report, but when Godey and his comrades arrived the next day the gravity of the situation began to be realized. This incident has been much discussed, and one writer goes so far as to say that Stockton only left a *fandango* at Bandini's house long enough to hear Godey's story, gave a contemptuous refusal to do anything, and returned to the merry-making. It may be true that the Commodore was found at a ball, and also that he showed irritation and made use of hasty words, as he might be excused for doing. It appears, however, that he at once set about the sending of a relief expedition with two pieces of artillery, and at first intended to have it leave on the evening of the 7th and to join it himself the next day, but it was found that it could not move so soon. Gillespie's party had taken all the good horses, Hensley had not yet returned from the south with more, there were no carriages for the guns, and supplies of all kinds were scarce. Godey and his men returned with letters to Kearny, but seem to have carried with them the impression that no relief would be sent.

At 10 P. M. on the 9th a messenger arrived who made the urgency of the situation unmistakable. This was Lieutenant Beale, bleeding, exhausted, reduced to a skeleton, and scarcely recognizable. He was so weak that the pickets had to carry him in, and soon after telling his story became delirious. Of his two fellow messengers, Carson and the Indian *alcalde* Panto, the latter arrived a short time before, and the former soon after, he came in. It was now imperative that the relief column should start, at once. The effort to get the artillery ready was therefore abandoned, and 215 of the sailors and marines who had been drilling on Presidio Hill were started off, with one fieldpiece, under Lieutenant Andrew F. V. Gray, of the *Congress.* Lieutenant Jacob Zeilin, also of the *Congress,* was in charge of the marines. They marched until nearly daylight on the 10th, then camped in a secluded spot, and remained concealed during the day. They succeeded in evading Pico's men and joined Kearny's force at 2 P. M. on the 11th.

After burying their dead on the night of the 6th, the Americans spent a sleepless and uncomfortable night. "Day dawned," says Emory, "on the most tattered and ill-fed detachment of men that ever the United States mustered under her colors." Kearny was able to resume command, and at an early hour gave the order to march. The wounded were placed in six litters made by "the mountain men," Peterson, Londeau, and Perrot, formed of poles placed like the shafts of a wagon and each dragged by a mule, one end of the poles resting on the ground and the men reclining on a bed of willow branches woven between. This was but a crude conveyance and the roughness and stoniness of the ground caused the wounded great suffering, despite the utmost care. The wounded and baggage were placed in the center.

The route taken was toward the San Bernardo rancho, along the hills to the right of the stream. The enemy retired as they advanced, keeping near the bed of the stream, on the opposite side. At Snook's San Bernardo rancho the horses and mules were watered and a few chickens killed for the sick. They also found a number of cattle here and proceeded to drive them along, moving toward the bed of the stream in the hope of finding grass. About a mile from the ranch house, near the foot of a detached hill, the Californians suddenly appeared in the rear and a body of thirty or forty of them dashed off to take possession of the hill. Kearny sent Captain Gibson with six or eight volunteers, who drove these horsemen from the hill with a few volleys and without loss. The booty in this skirmish consisted of three spears, abandoned by the foe. The cattle had been lost in this movement, and as it appeared that any attempt at a further advance would bring on a fight and might cause the loss of the wounded and the baggage, it was determined to halt for the night. The men were now dismounted with the intention of performing the rest of the journey on foot. An insufficient supply of water was secured by digging and the fattest of the mules was killed for meat. The enemy took up a position across the creek and threw out pickets and the siege began.

Early the next morning (December 8th) a ranger came in with a flag of truce, bringing some sugar, tea, and a change of clothing for Captain Gillespie, sent by his servant from San Diego. He also brought from Pico a proposal for the exchange of prisoners. Godey, Burgess, and their companion had been captured by the Californians. Pico treated these prisoners well and inquired for the welfare of the wounded, particularly for Captain Gillespie, whom he knew. He had four prisoners, Godey, Burgess, their unnamed companion, and the man captured with the howitzer. Kearny had only Véjar and the wounded Lara.

Emory's simple and straightforward account reads as follows:

> In the morning a flag of truce was sent into our camp, informing us that Andrés Pico, the commander of the Mexican forces, had just captured four Americans, and wished to exchange them for a like number of Californians. We had but one to exchange (this was Pablo Véjar), and with this fellow I was sent to meet Andrés Pico, whom I found to be a gentlemanly looking and rather handsome man. The conversation was short, for I saw the man he wished to exchange was Burgess, one of those sent on the morning of the 6th to San Diego, and we were very anxious to know the result of his mission. Taking rather a contemptuous leave of his late captors, he informed us of the safe arrival of himself and Godey at San Diego. He also stated that when captured, his party, consisting of himself and two others, on their return from San Diego, had previously "*cached*" their letters under a tree, which he pointed out; but on subsequent examination, we found the letters had been abstracted.

The remaining prisoners were sent to Los Angeles by Pico. The letters buried by Godey and his comrades to keep them from falling into the enemy's hands, having been found and seized, Kearny failed to receive them; and Burgess, ignorant of their contents, gave the general to understand that help was refused. The situation now seemed more desperate than ever. The wounded were in no condition to move, and starvation was drawing near. It was therefore determined to send another party to San Diego with despatches, in the hope of having Stockton understand the true situation, and of prevailing upon him to come to their relief. Lieutenant Beale volunteered for this service, and Carson and the Indian *alcalde* Panto were also sent. The command settled down to await the result of this mission, though not hopeful of its outcome, and determined to cut their way through as soon as the wounded were in condition to move. In the meantime, the baggage was burned, as it was thought there was no longer any hope of getting through with it.

The dispatch-bearers began their hazardous journey at night, creeping past the sentinels inch by inch, so close they could

RUINS OF FORT STOCKTON ON THE HILL ABOVE OLD TOWN hear them whisper and smell the smoke of their cigaritos. At one time Beale thought all was over. Pressing Carson's thigh to get his attention, and putting his mouth upon his ear, he whispered: "We are gone; let us jump and fight it out." Carson said: "No; I have been in worse places before and Providence saved me." His religious reliance encouraged the sinking hopes of Beale, and they got through. After passing the sentinels they took different routes, and, as we have seen, all arrived. The Indian, being acquainted with the country, arrived first and in best condition; but Beale and Carson suffered terribly from the rocks, thorns, and fatigue.

This night, December 8-9th, was one of the hardest the little company had spent. Emory tells one of the incidents with touching simplicity:

> Don Antonio Robideaux, a thin man of 55 years, slept next to me. The loss of blood from his wounds, added to the coldness of the night, 28 degrees Fahrenheit, made me think he would never see daylight, but I was mistaken. He woke me to ask if I did not smell coffee, and expressed the belief that a cup of that beverage would save his life, and that nothing else would. Not knowing there had been any coffee in camp for many days, I supposed that a dream had carried him back to the cafés of St. Louis and New Orleans, and it was with some surprise that I found my cook heating a cup of coffee over a small fire made of wild sage. One of the most agreeable little offices performed in my life, and I believe in the cook's, to whom the coffee belonged, was to pour this precious draft into the waning body of our friend Robideaux. His warmth returned and with it hopes of life.
>
> In gratitude he gave me the half of a cake made of brown flour, almost black with dirt, and which had, for greater security been hidden in the clothes of his Mexican servant, a man who scorned ablutions. I ate more than half without inspection, when, on breaking off a piece, the bodies of several of the most loathsome insects were exposed to my view. My hunger, however, overcame my fastidiousness, and the *morceau* did not appear particularly disgusting.

The annals of the following day (December 9th) are pathetically brief. Dr. Griffin's diary says: "In camp; nothing going on; the enemy parading the hills on the other side of the valley. We are reduced to mule meat." Sergeant Cox died in the night, and was buried on the hill in a deep grave and covered with stones. He was a young man and married a pretty wife just before leaving Fort Leavenworth.

On the 10th, while the horses and mules were grazing near by, the Californians tried to stampede them by driving up a band of wild horses and mules, some with dry hides attached to their tails. This movement was seen, and by active work, a stampede prevented. One of the enemy's mules was shot, and, proving fat, was butchered and eaten and proved, in the language of Dr. Griffin, "a godsend." The wounded were now improving, and Dr. Griffin reported that most of them could ride. General Kearny therefore determined to move the next day. About two o'clock the next morning, however, when everything was quiet in camp, one of the sentries reported that he heard voices speaking in English. This was shortly followed by the tramp of feet, and soon Lieutenant Gray and his men were welcomed into camp with joy. They busied themselves until day in distributing food and caring for the wants of their comrades. The jack-tars were delighted with the adventure and only sorry they had no opportunity to fight. When the sun rose the enemy had disappeared, leaving the cattle behind. At ten o'clock, camp was broken and the march commenced, in close order. At night they arrived at Alvarado's Peñasquitos rancho, where they camped and made free with the turkeys, chickens, goats, and wine. A good night's rest followed, and on the morning of the 12th they set out gaily for San Diego, which they reached about 4 P. M. and received a warm welcome from the troops and inhabitants.

The wounded men were distributed among the private families in San Diego, taken in charge by Dr. R. F. Maxwell, surgeon of the *Cyane*, and very tenderly nursed back to health. All but two recovered: Streeter, who was cut in sixteen places, and Kennedy, who died December 21st. Wm. Heath Davis, who visited the invalids, says that they all had the utmost horror of the Californians. He spoke particularly of one young man who lapsed into delirium during his visit and called out in terror, thinking the Californians were upon him.

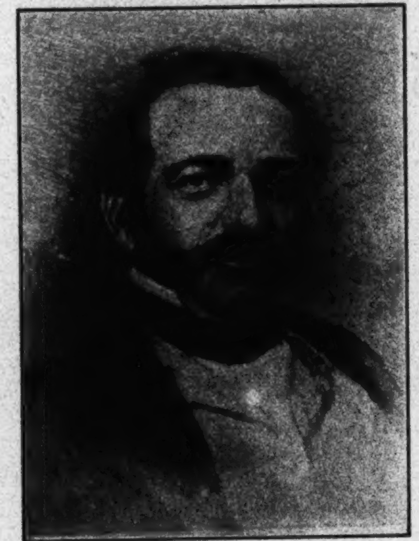
How shall Kearny's encounter with Pico be characterized? Kearny himself called it a "victory," and thought it might "assist in forming the wreath of our national glory." Looking back to it over a period of sixty years, it is impossible to regard it otherwise than as a defeat, even though it is true that the Americans finally reached San Diego, which was their objective, with the major portion of their forces. The performance of a commander must be judged by the use he makes of his opportunities, and it is difficult to imagine how General Kearny could have made worse use of the opportunity which he had, after the union of his forces with the first relief party, under Gillespie, to overwhelm the Mexican commander and end the war in California at San Pasqual.

Had he chosen to avoid a fight he might have found excuse for such a course in the fact that his men and horses were utterly worn out by a long and arduous journey across the deserts, and that the way was open, as shown by Gillespie's march. There are times when the avoidance of battle is good generalship. Beale advised this course and there were surely some arguments in its favor, yet it seems clear that most commanders in General Kearny's situation would have chosen the opportunity to strike a decisive blow at the enemy and thus crown the long adventure of the Army of the West with a victory of lasting importance.

Choosing the latter course, Kearny should have planned and fought his battle in thorough, soldierly fashion, instead of neglecting every precaution and exposing his followers to every danger. On the night before the battle he had a good knowledge of the situation and numbers of the enemy, and knew that his own presence had been discovered through the detection of his scouts. He knew Pico had separated himself from his horses, and he had the benefit of the suggestion that it would be well to capture the animals, then make a night attack on the Mexican camp. Failing to adopt this plan, it was obviously his duty to prepare his forces for battle in the morning by having them recharge their water-soaked guns, form in a compact column, and advance in such a manner that they could be readily disposed to advantage and so meet the situation as it should develop. Think of sending men into battle with guns that could not be fired, mounted upon horses that could scarcely be ridden, and scattered along over a distance of half a mile in helter-skelter fashion! That is what General Kearny did. The result was inevitable—nearly every one of his men actually engaged was horribly slaughtered or grievously wounded, and his own life was saved only by the magnanimity of a gallant young foeman. He was able to inflict almost no damage in return for this fierce assault, and there is a strong probability that he would have been utterly annihilated, or compelled to surrender before reaching San Diego, except for the timely arrival of a second and powerful relief party from Commodore Stockton with ample ammunition and provisions.

The only possible explanation of Kearny's incapacity was that he underestimated the strength and ability of his chivalrous opponent. This fault is very serious in a soldier under any circumstances; in Kearny's case, with the information supplied by Stockton, by a deserter from Pico's camp who came with Gillespie, and by his own scouts, it was utterly inexcusable. All the glory of the battle of San Pasqual belongs to General Andrés Pico and his Mexican rangers. They made a hard and skillful fight with nothing but lances and swords against a more numerous enemy armed with muskets and howitzers, and withdrew in good order prepared to renew the attack at any favorable moment. The issue was finally determined by the arrival of reinforcements, not by the skill of the American commander. If Kearny be judged by the use he made of his opportunity, he met inglorious defeat at San Pasqual. It is hard for a soldier to confess his mistakes, and Kearny made no attempt to do so. In his official report, he suppressed material facts and tried to regain the lost battle on paper. Doubtless he suffered some injustice at the hands of his rivals for supreme authority in California, but the undisputed facts of the case leave no room to doubt his failure.

The war ended, so far as California was concerned, with the battle of San Gabriel, near Los Angeles, January 9, 1847, and the treaty signed four days later by John C. Frémont for the United States, and Andrés Pico, for Mexico. From that day henceforth San Diego was undisputed American soil.

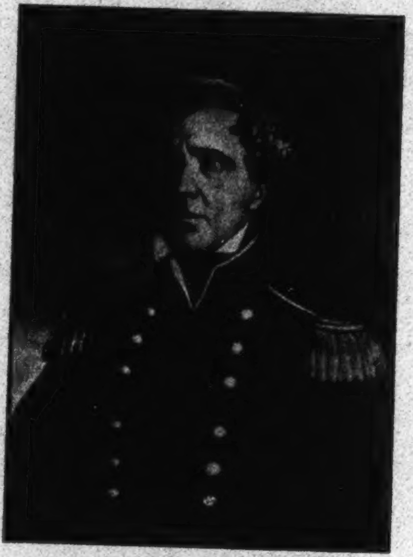


GEN. ANDRES PICO

The gallant Mexican commander at the battle of San Pasqual

The 29th day of July, 1906, the sixtieth anniversary of the first raising of the American flag, was observed by the people of San Diego with fitting ceremonies. Fully four thousand people assembled on the plaza at Old Town and gave earnest attention to the proceedings. In the procession were included the Mexican War Veterans, the Loyal Legion, Confederate Veterans, Sons of the Revolution, the Grand Army of the Republic, Spanish War Veterans, a battalion of the U. S. Coast Artillery, Company B Seventh Infantry National Guard of California, Masonic and other fraternal societies, and public officials.

Mayor John L. Sehon, chairman of the committee on arrangements, acted as master of ceremonies. After the invocation, a large new flag, donated by the sons of George Lyons, was raised on the flagpole already standing on the old plaza, by Major Charles G. Woodward, U. S. A. Following this, a large granite boulder, designed to mark the spot where the first flag was raised sixty years before, and bearing a suitable inscription, was unveiled by Miss Frémont, daughter of John C. Frémont, assisted by Mayor Sehon, U. S. Grant Jr., Major Edwin A. Sherman, president of the Mexican War Veterans, Colonel E. T. Blackmer, Captain Joseph D. Dexter, and others. A salute was fired, and the oration of the day was delivered by William



GEN. STEPHEN W. KEARNY

In command of the American forces at San Pasqual

E. Smythe. Another feature of the day was the planting of a large date palm by Dr. T. C. Stockton and a committee of citizens, to commemorate the work of Commodore Stockton at San Diego. Hon. W. W. Bowers made appropriate remarks at this ceremony.

CHAPTER IX

PUBLIC AFFAIRS AFTER THE WAR

SOON after the formal ending of the war in California the famous Mormon Battalion reached San Diego by way of Warner's. They camped for a few days at the old mission, and the journal of their colonel supplies the following description of the historic spot as it appeared on January 29, 1847:

> The building being dilapidated, and in use by some dirty Indians, I camped the battalion on the flat below. There are around us extensive gardens and vineyards, wells and cisterns, more or less fallen into decay and disorder; but also olive and picturesque date trees, flourishing and ornamental. There is no fuel for miles around, and the dependence for water is some rather distant pools in the sandy San Diego, which runs (sometimes) down to the ocean.

The Mormons remained but a short time at first, but were reorganized at Los Angeles and a company of 78 returned to Fort Stockton, where it served as a garrison for a period of six months. They were under the command of Captain Jesse D. Hunter, whose wife presented him with a son having the distinction of being the first child whose parents were both Americans, to be born in Old San Diego. The boy was named Diego Hunter and lived for several years in San Diego. He died, several years ago, at San Luis Rey, where his father was Indian agent.

The Mormons, then as now objects of unusual interest, appear to have performed their duties successfully while in San Diego. These duties were not arduous—merely those of a garrison in time of peace—and they had time to ply their trades, burning bricks, digging wells, making log-pumps, and doing other things really more useful than soldiering. One of their number, Henry G. Boyle, relates in his diary: "I think I whitewashed all San Diego. We did their blacksmithing, put up a bakery, made and repaired carts, and, in fine, did all we could to benefit ourselves as well as the citizens. We never had any trouble with Californians or Indians, nor they with us."

One thing they did which the present historian regrets, as those of the future are likely to. Quartered in an old building in which public documents were stored, they used some of these documents for fuel and thereby destroyed the records of the past.

Upon the departure of the Mormons, they were succeeded by Company I of the famous Stephenson Regiment. This company was raised at Bath, New York, and its officers were: captain, William E. Shannon; lieutenants, Palmer B. Hewlett, Henry Magee, and William H. Smith; sergeants, Joshua S. Vincent, Joseph B. Logan, and Joseph Evans. The company was mustered out here on September 25, 1848, and this was the end of the military occupation of San Diego.

José Ramon Argüello, who was appointed sub-prefect April 3rd and took office on the 12th, 1846, was the last Mexican prefect. The last Mexican *jueces de paz,* or *alcaldes,* were José Antonio Estudillo and Juan M. Osuna. In August, Miguel de Pedrorena took Estudillo's place, the latter being absent. On September 15th, at the election ordered by Stockton, Henry D. Fitch and Joaquin Ortega were elected *alcaldes*, the first under American rule. At the custom house, Henry D. Fitch was in charge but resigned in April; Pedro C. Carrillo was acting as collector when the Americans came and was reappointed by Stockton upon taking the oath.

Pedrorena was appointed collector on June 24, 1847, but as military orders required the commanding officer in each port to serve in that capacity, Lieutenant Robert Clift, of the Mormon company, filled the place.

The constitutional convention met at Monterey in September, 1849, Miguel de Pedrorena and Henry Hill representing San Diego. The legislature met the following winter and launched the great American State of California. San Diego was the first county created under the act of February 2, 1850, and San Diego and Los Angeles made up the first judicial district. The first legislature also provided for a custom house at San Diego. Two voting precincts were established under a law providing for the first elections in the new state, one at Old Town, the other at La Playa—and the official record of the election held here April 1, 1850, reads as follows:

FIRST PRECINCT—VOTES FOR OFFICERS.

The undersigned judges and clerks of election held in the first precinct of the county of San Diego, State of California, on the first day of April, 1850, do hereby certify, that at said election there were eighty-eight votes polled, and that the following statement presents an abstract of all the votes cast at said election for the officers designated in the third section of an act entitled "An Act to provide for holding the first County Election," and that the accompanying Poll List gives the names of all persons so voting.

San Diego, April 2, 1850.

Enos Wall,
John Conger, } Judges.

P. H. Hooff,
C. H. Fitzgerald, } Clerks.

For Clerk of the Supreme Court—No Candidate.
For District Attorney—William C. Ferrell, 79; Miles K. Crenshaw, 4.
For County Judge—John Hays, 80; William C. Ferrell, 1.
For County Clerk—Richard Rust, 82.
For County Attorney—Thos. W. Sutherland, 71; Wm. C. Ferrell, 4.
For County Surveyor—Henry Clayton, 85.
For Sheriff—Agostin Haraszthy, 45; Philip Crosthwaite, 42.
For Recorder—Henry Matsell, 50; A. Jay Smith, 34.
For Assessor—José Antonio Estudillo, 81.
For Coroner—John Brown, 45.
For Treasurer—Juan Bandini.

First Precinct—Poll List.

Poll list of an election held for county officers at San Diego, California, April 1, 1850 (1st precinct):

1. Thos. W. Sutherland.
2. John Snook.
3. Andrus Ybarra.
4. Don Juan Bandini.
5. Juan Machado.
6. José T. Moreno.
7. Philip Crosthwaite.
8. Henry C. Matsell.
9. L. G. Ingalls.
10. David A. Williams.
11. Charles Morris.
12. William Tongue.
13. Ramon Rodriguez.
14. John Post.
15. Andrew Cotton.
16. James Murphy.
17. Luther Gilbert.
18. Agostin Haraszthy.
19. William Leamy
20. John Semple.
21. Daniel Con.
22. John A. Follmer.
23. Benjamin F. McCready.
24. William Power.
25. Peter Gribbin.
26. James Campbell.
27. Ernest Schaeffer.
28. Edward H. Fitzgerald.
29. W. F. Tilghman.
30. George F. Evans.
31. George Viard.
32. W. A. Slaughter.
33. B. Bangs.
45. Robert Peterson.
46. A. Jay Smith.
47. F. M. Holley.
48. Joseph Whitehead.
49. John Peters.
50. Albert B. Smith.
51. Charles C. Varney.
52. Augustus Ring.
53. Leandro Osuna.
54. Francisco Maria Alvarado.
55. E. G. Brown.
56. William Curly.
57. John C. Stewart.
58. James Tryong.
59. Darius Gardiner.
60. Adolph Savin.
61. Antonio Moreno.
62. Lorento Amador.
63. José Leña Lopez.
64. Francisco Lopez.
65. Tomás Lopez.
66. José Moreno.
67. John B. Reid.
68. José Briones.
69. Juan Diego Osuna.
70. John Hays.
71. P. H. Hooff.
72. Enos Wall.
73. George Gaskill.
74. José Escajadillo.
75. Francisco Rodriguez.
76. Peter Faur.
77. John Woodfir.

34. Philip Garcia.
35. David Ferguson.
36. Thomas W. Sweeney.
37. Henry Hiller.
38. John B. Pearson.
39. David Shepley.
40. John Conger.
41. William White.
42. Henry Adams.
43. Thomas Patrickson.
44. Frederic Hutchins.
78. Raphael Machado.
79. Abel Watkinson.
80. Santiago E. Argüello.
81. José Antonio Aguirre.
82. Santiago Argüello.
83. C. P. Noell.
84. Joseph P. Israel.
85. William H. Moon.
86. Lewis R. Colgate.
87. José María Argüello.
88. Salvador Aguzer.

We the undersigned, Clerks of Election held in the first precinct of the county of San Diego, State of California, on the first day of April, 1850, do hereby certify that the foregoing Poll List gives the names of all persons voting at said election.

C. H. Fitzgerald,
P. H. Hooff,
} Clerks.

San Diego, April 2, 1850.

SECOND PRECINCT—VOTES FOR OFFICERS.

List of votes polled at the Playa, Precinct No. 2, San Diego, April 1, 1850, pursuant to an Act of the Legislature passed March 2, 1850.

(Here follows the tally list, which is omitted, the aggregate vote for each candidate being given in the annexed certificate.)

We the undersigned, Judges of said Election, do hereby certify that Wm. C. Ferrell had 68 votes for District Attorney; that John Hays had 68 votes for County Judge; that Agostin Haraszthy had 62 votes for Sheriff; that Philip Crosthwaite had 5 votes for Sheriff; that Henry C. Matsell had 53 votes for Recorder; that A. Jay Smith had 14 votes for Recorder; that Thos. W. Sutherland had 66 votes for County Attorney; that Richard Rust had 64 votes for County Clerk; that José Antonio Estudillo had 62 votes for Assessor; that Juan Bandini had 63 votes for County Treasurer; that John Brown had 65 votes for Coroner; that Albert B. Gray had 56 votes for County Surveyor; that Henry Clayton had 12 votes for County Surveyor; and that Festus G. Patton had one vote for County Clerk.

John R. Bleecker,
John Hensley,
} Judges of Election.

D. Barbee,
D. L. Gardiner,
} Clerks of Election.

Second Precinct—Poll List.

Pursuant to notice from the Prefect of the District of San Diego, the electors, residents of the Playa San Diego, met at the store of Messrs. Gardiner and Bleecker at ten o'clock a. m. on the 1st of April, and proceeded to elect Edward T. Tremaine Inspector of Election, who forthwith proceeded to appoint John R. Bleecker and John Hensley Judges of Election, and David L. Gardiner and Daniel Barbee Clerks, whereupon the polls were declared open, and the following is a list of the voters:

1. George P. Tibbitts.
2. Albert B. Smith.
3. Samuel P. Heintzelman.
4. John E. Summers.
5. John R. Bleecker.
6. David L. Gardiner.
7. Frederick Emmil.
8. Edward T. Tremaine.
9. William B. Banks.
10. Jonas Cader.
11. Thomas D. Johns.
12. Festus G. Patton.
13. Francis Mason.
14. William H. Hemmenway.
15. Peter S. Reed.
16. John Adams.
17. William Pearl.
18. William Botsford.
19. Jacob Gray.
20. John Kenney.
21. John Latham.
22. James Reed.
23. Patrick McDonnah.
24. Patrick Symcox.
25. Henry Wilber.
26. John Brown.
27. James Johnson.
28. Peter Mealey.
29. John Corbett.
30. Peter McCinchie.
31. James McCormick.
32. Thomas McGinnis.
33. Frederic Toling.
34. John McHue.
35. John Edwards.
36. Antern Giler.
37. Timothy Quin.
38. Tobias Bedell.
39. George B. Tallman.
40. James White.
41. Edward Eustis.
42. Joseph Cooper.
43. Edward Daily.
44. Joseph Kufter.
45. Michael Leahy.
46. Bartholomew Sherman.
47. John Warner.
48. Patrick Newman, (objected to).
49. Henry Hopp (objected to).
50. Thomas Fox.
51. Daniel Barbee.
52. Oliver Dupree.
53. Edward Brennan.
54. Michael Vickers.
55. Michael Cadle.
56. James Blair.
57. Thomas Kneeland.
58. Francis Dushant.
59. Edward Murray.
60. Lawrence Kearney.
61. John Hensley.
62. Michael Fitzgerald.
63. Sylvanus Gangouare.
64. Moses O'Neil.
65. James McGlone.
66. William Nettleton.
67. Allen Inwood.
68. Rudolph Richner.
69. James Sullivan.

We hereby certify that the whole number of votes polled at this election was 68.

JOHN HENSLEY,
JOHN R. BLEECKER, } Judges of Election.

D. L. GARDINER,
D. BARBEE, } Clerks of Election.

The following is a list of the first county officials elected: district attorney, Wm. C. Ferrell; county judge, John Hays; county clerk, Richard Rust; county attorney, Thos. W. Sutherland; county surveyor, Henry Clayton; sheriff, Agostin Haraszthy; recorder, Henry C. Matsell; assessor, José Antonio Estudillo; coroner, John Brown; treasurer, Juan Bandini. The first district judge was Oliver S. Witherby, who was appointed by the legislature and not voted for at the election. For some reason Bandini refused to qualify as treasurer, and Philip Crosthwaite was appointed in his place.

The first term of the district court was held May 6, 1850. The judge and the clerk were present, but no business was transacted, as it was found that the laws had not been received nor the officers properly qualified. On the 2nd of the following September the court was duly organized, grand and trial jurors summoned, and six cases tried. Two other cases were continued.

The seal of the District Court was designed by Wm. H. Leighton, the other seals by Chas. H. Poole.

The names of the first grand jurymen were: Charles Haraszthy, Ramon Osuna, James Wall, Loreto Amador, Manuel Rocha, J. Emers, Bonifacio Lopez, Holden Alara, Seth B. Blake, Louis Rose, Wm. H. Moon, Cave J. Couts, José de Js. Moreno, Cristobal Lopez, and Antonio Aguirre. This body found no indictments, but made one presentment. The practicing attorneys enrolled in this year were: James W. Robinson, Thomas W. Sutherland, John B. Magruder, and Wm. C. Ferrell. At the session of the District Court held in April, 1856, Messrs. D. B. Kurtz and E. W. Morse were examined and admitted to practice.

San Diego was incorporated as a city by the legislature of 1850 and the first election under the charter took place on June 16th of that year. Joshua H. Bean was chosen the first mayor, while the councilmen were Charles Haraszthy, Atkins S. Wright, Chas. P. Noell, Chas. R. Johnson, and William Leamy; treasurer, José Ant. Estudillo; assessor, Juan Bandini; city attorney, Thos. W. Sutherland; marshal, Agostin Haraszthy. The council met and organized on June 17th. On July 20th, Henry Clayton was chosen city surveyor, and on August 12th, George F. Hooper was elected councilman in place of Johnson, resigned. On August 24th, Noell resigned, and on Sept. 8th, Philip Crosthwaite was chosen to fill the vacancy. Bandini refused to serve and Richard Rust became assessor in July.

On June 29th, an ordinance was passed, against the protest of Noell, fixing the amount to be appropriated for salaries of city officers at $6,800 per annum. There were $10,610.54 in the treasury. The mayor vetoed this "salary grab," and a new salary ordinance was passed, fixing the total sum to be appropriated at $2,400 per annum.

The mayor and council appear to have been at loggerheads in September, but the cause of the trouble is not apparent at this day. On October 14th, the council appropriated $500 for a complimentary ball to be given to the officers of the U. S. Coast Survey, and on October 18th, they set aside $300 for a ball in honor of the admission of California into the Union.

In 1852, the city charter was repealed and the government of the town vested in a board of trustees. The *Herald* says of this:

"From and after Monday next our hitherto busy, bustling city dwindles into a quiet village. A little less than two years ago, with some $12,000 or $13,000 in the treasury, and when land speculation was rife throughout the city, our precocity showed itself in a wonderful manner. . . . Now, with an empty treasury and in debt deeply, we return to 'first principles.'"

There were no more charter changes until the new town grew up at Horton's Addition. Elections were held from time to time, but frequently the trustees held over. The business of both town and county was small and several offices were often held by one man. It is said that in 1852, Philip Crosthwaite, who was then county clerk and recorder, was deputized by all the other county officers to act for them while they went to attend a bull-and-bear fight, and thus for a short time held all the county offices, at once. Captain George A. Pendleton, who was county clerk and recorder for many years, also held for a time, in addition to these offices, those of auditor, clerk of the board of supervisors, and county superintendent of schools—all this regularly, not as deputy.

On March 18, 1854, a public meeting was held at the court house to consider the state of the country. Col. Ferrell made an address, referring to the failure to secure a share of the State school funds, the neglect of persons elected to qualify for their offices, etc. It seems that the sheriff had resigned and the assessor declined to serve; the county judge was absent and had been so for several months, while the retiring judge first called an extra session of the court of sessions and then declined to go on with it. April 8, 1854, Editor Ames complains that "we are now without judge, assessors, supervisors, or any proper legally qualified officers, except trustees and attorneys, and the clerk and county treasurer; and to sum up, a term of the district court soon to be held, with prisoners out on bail."

The administration of justice in these early days presents many features of interest. In the first state laws, district and county courts were provided for and two years later a court of sessions was created. Oliver S. Witherby, the first judge of the district court, was a prominent citizen of San Diego for many years. John Hays, the first judge of the county court, was not a lawyer. He served four years. The first justice of the peace in San Diego was Charles Haraszthy, a Hungarian. The story of how Squire Haraszthy gave judgment for costs against the defendant, because the plaintiff was impecunious, has become a classic in the annals of San Diego. The best account is that of Captain Israel, who was an interested party:

> Agostin Haraszthy was the first sheriff. His father was a justice of the peace, and he was the man who told me we must always give the judgment to the man who paid the costs.

> I was city marshal, and a Mexican named Morales came to me and told me that Blount Couts owed him money and he wanted to sue him for it. We agreed that I was to have $15 for my services if he won the suit. I went to Harasthy and got out a summons and sent it out to the Soledad, and Couts came in when the cause was to be tried. He began to cross-question Morales: He would say: “Didn't I pay you so much on such a date?” And Morales would say, “Yes, sir, so you did.” And in a little while I saw my $15 going glimmering. I said to Morales, “Shut up, you fool, he'll have you owing him money, in a minute!” “Well but, Señor,” says he, “it is true.” Couts kept on until he had proved by the plaintiff's own evidence that he was the one to whom money was owing, and not Morales. “Vell,” says Haraszthy, “vat ve goin' to do now?” “Well,” said I, “there is nothing I can see to do except to enter judgment.” “Vell,” says Haraszthy to Couts, “I shall gif shudgment against you for twenty-five cents.” (That was the balance which Morales owed Couts.) “I'll be damned if I'll pay it,” says Blount “the man has acknowledged himself indebted to me!” and he got up and left. “Vell,” says Haraszthy to me, “vat ve goin' to do, now?” “Well enter judgment against this Mexican for twenty-five cents.” “Vell, but dis man, he got no moneys. Ve must gif de shudgment to de man vat gifs us de pizness.” Couts was mad, and he found out that this Mexican had a fine horse, saddle and bridle in my corral. I thought Couts would be after this horse, so I told Morales his horse would be seized. He wanted to know what he should do. I told him perhaps he could find somebody to buy them. “Well, why don't you buy them?” “Well, I don't want them, but to keep them from being seized, I will take them at $65, and pay you $50 cash, if you will allow me the $15 I was to have out of the case.” So he agreed and the barkeeper made out a bill of sale and the Mexican made his mark, and I had just paid him $50 and put the bill of sale in my pocket when in steps Agostin Haraszthy with an attachment. He asked me if Morales had a horse, saddle, and bridle in my yard? I said “No.” “Well, he did have.” “Yes, but he has none now; he has just sold them,” and I showed him the bill of sale. He threw it down and swore that it was “one of our damned Yankee tricks!” He always hated me, after that.

E. W. Morse is authority for the following story:

> Philip Crosthwaite was county treasurer in 1850, and as the law then required each county treasurer to appear in person in Sacramento and pay over the money due the State and settle with the State treasurer, he proceeded to Sacramento at the required time, and paid over the funds due the State—somewhat less than $200. As his traveling fees amounted to $300, he returned with more money than he took up, having made his annual, and, to him, very satisfactory settlement. But it is said the State treasurer suggested to him that under similar conditions it would be more satisfactory to the State if he should play the role of the embezzler and run away with the State funds before settlement day.

The political life of the early days was thoroughly characteristic of pioneer conditions, yet many able and high-minded men were engaged in the public service, though there were doubtless others who were illiterate and incompetent. Social customs have improved since judges adjourned court in order to take a drink or to witness a bull-and-bear fight. It was the customs rather than the courts that were to blame for such things.

In 1851 a strong agitation began in favor of dividing the state and organizing Southern California as a separate territory. Public sentiment in San Diego supported the movement, and a committee was appointed to co-operate with Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, and Monterey in bringing it to fruition. In 1859 the legislature submitted the question to a referendum vote in the six southern counties. It was carried by a two-thirds majority, but the legality of the vote was questioned, much opposition arose, and the effort was abandoned.

Under date of Feb. 13, 1849, James Buchanan, Secretary of State, issued instructions for running the international boundary line between the United States and Mexico. The head of the Commission, who came to San Diego in connection with the work, was Colonel John B. Weller, of Ohio, afterward governor of California and one of its representatives in the United States Senate. He was accompanied by Andrew B. Gray, surveyor, Wm. H. Emory, astronomer, and Oliver S. Witherby, quartermaster and commissary. The instructions of the Commission were to "run and mark that part of the boundary consisting of a straight line from a point on the coast of the Pacific Ocean distant one marine league due south of the southernmost point of the port of San Diego, to the middle of the Rio Gila, where it unites with the Colorado." The initial point of the boundary was fixed 18 miles south of San Diego, on a spot 500 feet from the ocean and 42 feet above its level. The monument was erected in June, 1851.

There was some disappointment in California at the failure of the United States to obtain the Peninsula in the settlement with Mexico, and genuine dissatisfaction with the result on the part of some citizens of Lower California. As a consequence, there was some sympathy with William Walker when he made his filibustering attempt upon the Peninsula in 1853-4. When the effort collapsed, some of Walker's associates, among them his secretary of state, were arrested in San Diego and taken to San Francisco for trial.

The politics of San Diego city and county was strongly Democratic in the early days of American rule. Many, probably a majority, of the first American settlers were from the Southern States, and the following incident shows the social temper of the time.

Miss Mary C. Walker arrived in San Diego on the morning of July 5, 1865, having been sent from San Francisco by the state superintendent of schools to fill a vacancy as teacher. She was a native of New England and entertained no prejudices against negroes. On the voyage from San Francisco, she suffered from *mal de mer* and was attended by the stewardess, a quadroon. Some weeks later, while her school was in progress, she found this negress in Manasse's store, eating a lunch of crackers and cheese, and feeling a friendly interest in the woman, invited her to take dinner with her at the Franklin House. When they entered the dining-room and sat down at the table together, a number of people who were there at once got up and left, and Miss Walker and her guest had the table and the room to themselves.

There was a storm, at once. The teacher's dismissal was demanded and most of the children were taken out of school. The Yankee school-ma'am did not understand things clearly, and made the matter worse by some unguarded remarks comparing the complexion of certain of the protesting Californians with that of her guest. The school trustees at the time were Dr. D. B. Hoffman, E. W. Morse, and Robert D. Israel. Hoffman felt that, whatever the merits of the case, the school money could not be wasted keeping an empty schoolroom open. Israel was an old soldier and a Republican, and his sentiments are best expressed in his own words: "'Morse,' said I, 'I'll be damned if I wouldn't take that school money and throw it in the bay as far as I could send it, before I would dismiss the teacher to please these copperheads! You may do as you please, but I will never consent to her dismissal.'" It is easy to believe that the Captain would have stood his ground, but it proved that the third trustee, Morse, was a diplomatist. He was then a widower and had matrimonial designs upon the teacher. She tendered her resignation and became Mrs. E. W. Morse, and thus the country was saved once more.

CHAPTER X

ACCOUNTS OF EARLY VISITORS AND SETTLERS

THE Panama Steamship Line was established in 1849, and San Diego became a port of call. By 1850 it had nearly 500 population, with as many more at La Playa, and with a new settlement sprouting on the site of the present city. It was a period of fluctuating hopes and fortunes, but without important achievement. In the two decades which separated the war with Mexico from the beginning of the great Horton enterprise, the steamers brought many visitors as well as settlers who became citizens of note. Several of these men and women left interesting accounts which furnish a clear idea of the appearance of town and country and of the features of local life.

Thus, Philip Crosthwaite tells us that in 1845, there was not a house between Old Town and the Punta Rancho, owned by Don Santiago E. Argüello. The San Diego Mission was partly dilapidated, but the main church edifice and some of the wings were in good condition. The priest then in charge of the mission was Father Vicente Oliva, and he came to the presidio on Sundays to celebrate mass. Besides olive orchards and vineyards, the mission owned some horses, cattle, and sheep. Near the mission was a large Indian village or *rancheria*. The principal business was the raising of cattle for their hides and tallow.

Major Wm. H. Emory, who came with General Kearny in December, 1846, made these observations:

> The town consists of a few adobe houses, two or three of which only have plank floors. It is situated at the foot of a high hill on a sand-flat, two miles wide, reaching from the head of San Diego Bay to False Bay. A high promontory, of nearly the same width, runs into the sea for four or five miles, and is connected by the flat with the main-land. The road to the hide-houses leads on the eastward of this promontory. . . . The bay is a narrow arm of the sea indenting the land for some four or five miles, easily defended, and having twenty feet, making the greatest water twenty-five feet. . . . feet of water at the lowest tide. The rise is said to be five
>
> San Diego is, all things considered, perhaps one of the best harbors on the Coast, from Callao to Puget Sound, with a

> single exception, that of San Francisco. In the opinion of some intelligent navy officers, it is preferable even to this. The harbor of San Francisco has more water, but that of San Diego has a more uniform climate, better anchorage, and perfect security from winds in any direction.

One of the most famous visitors of early days was Bayard Taylor, who was here in 1849, and managed to impress his literary genius upon his record. In his book, *El Dorado, or, Adventures in the Path of Empire* (dedicated, by the way, to Lieutenant Edward F. Beale), he says:

JOSE GUADALUPE ESTUDILLO

One of the most prominent citizens of San Diego in early American days. He held numerous offices and was State Treasurer one term

> Two mornings after, I saw the sun rise behind the mountains back of San Diego. Point Loma, at the extremity of the bay, came in sight on the left, and in less than an hour we were at anchor before the hide-houses at the landing place. The southern shore of the bay is low and sandy; from the bluff heights at the opposite side a narrow strip of shingly beach makes out into the sea, like a natural breakwater, leaving an entrance not more than three hundred yards broad. The harbor is the finest on the Pacific, with the exception of Acapulco, and capable of easy and complete defense. The old hide-houses are built at the foot of the hills just inside the bay, and

a fine road along the shore leads to the town of San Diego, which is situated on a plain, three miles distant and hardly visible from the anchorage. Above the houses, on a little eminence, several tents were planted, and a short distance further were several recent graves, surrounded by paling. A number of people were clustered on the beach, and boats laden with passengers and freight, instantly put off to us. In a few moments after our gun was fired, we could see horsemen coming down from San Diego at full gallop, one of whom carried behind him a lady in graceful riding costume. In the first boat were Colonel Weller, U. S. Boundary Commissioner, and Major Hill of the Army. Then followed a number of men, lank and brown as is the ribbed sea-sand—men with long hair and beards, and faces from which the rigid expression of suffering was scarcely relaxed. They were the first of the overland emigrants by the Gila route, who had reached San Diego a few days before. Their clothes were in tatters, their boots, in many cases, replaced by moccasins, and except their rifles and some small packages rolled in deerskin, they had nothing left of the abundant stores with which they left home.

JOSE ANTONIO ALTAMIRANO

One of the prominent early residents of Old San Diego. During the Mexican War he served on the American side

We hove anchor in half an hour, and again rounded Point Loma, our number increased by more than fifty passengers.

> The Point, which comes down to the sea at an angle of 60 degrees, has been lately purchased by an American, for what purpose I cannot imagine, unless it is with the hope of speculating on the Government when it shall be wanted for a lighthouse. . . .
>
> The emigrants we took on board at San Diego were objects of general interest. The stories of their adventures by the way sounded more marvellous than anything I had heard or read since my boyish acquaintance with Robinson Crusoe, Captain Cook, and John Ledyard. Taking them as the average experience of the thirty thousand emigrants who last year crossed the plains, this California crusade will more than equal the great military expeditions of the Middle Ages in magnitude, peril, and adventure. The amount of suffering which must have been endured in the savage mountain passes and herbless deserts of the interior, cannot be told in words. Some had come by way of Santa Fé and along the savage hills of the Gila; some, starting from the Red River, had crossed the Great Stake Desert and taken the road from Paso Del Norte to Tucson in Sonora; some had passed through Mexico and after spending one hundred and four days at sea, run into San Diego and given up their vessels; some had landed, weary with a seven months' voyage around Cape Horn; and some, finally, had reached the place on foot, after walking the whole length of the Californian Peninsula.

The reminiscences of E. W. Morse are among the richest we have and are necessarily drawn upon in many connections. He says:

> When I first saw the presidio (in 1850), the adobe walls of the church and portions of other buildings were still standing. The roofing tiles and most of the adobes and other building materials had been utilized in building up the new town, on the flat. It was not long, however, before even the church walls were carried away, probably by some undevout "*gringo.*"
>
> There was then no doctor at Old Town, either American or Spanish. The army surgeon at the Mission Barracks did some general practice, and he was the only physician in the country. There was literally no agriculture, and most of the live stock business was in the hands of the Spanish. Abel Stearns, in Los Angeles county, and Don Juan Forster, had large ranches. The biggest fenced field in the country was in the San Luis Rey Valley; it contained about ten acres and belonged to some Indians. The only bridge in the county was out near Santa Ysabel, and it was built by the Indians. Some years later we had an assessor who was a cattleraiser, and in his report to the State Comptroller he said that no part of the country was fit for agriculture. That was what people honestly thought, at the time.
>
> The river then ran in close to the high ground at Old Town, making a bluff of ten or fifteen feet near the McCoy house, where it undermined and caved down an old adobe house. There were a good many people who came here by the overland route, on their way to the mines.

J. M. Julian, in later days editor of the *San Diegan,* was in San Diego Bay on May 4, 1850, on board the steamer *Panama, en route* to the Isthmus. The steamer stopped to bury a passenger who had died *en route* and to examine the bay in the interest of the steamship company. Julian records that the site of the present city was "as green and pretty as any place we had ever seen, and covered with a growth of small trees." He carried away the impression that Old Town was a flourishing place.

Mrs. Carson can only recall one American woman who was living at Old San Diego when she came, 1864. That was Mrs. Robinson, the wife of J. W. Robinson. There were several American men, but most of them were married to Californian women.

GEORGE A. PENDLETON'S HOUSE

Where Lieutenant Derby (John Phoenix) lived

The old road to the mission crossed the river at Old Town and went up on the north side, instead of the south side, as it now runs. It crossed the river again near the mission and went out by way of what is now Grantville. The San Diego River emptied into the harbor then, and for some years after. There were some houses on the west side of the river, and one man had a house and garden in its bed. People told him he would be washed away, but he did not believe it. One morning, when he got up his house was floating down to the bay.

Lieutenant Derby, famous as "John Phoenix," made the following delightful record of his first impressions of the place:

> The Bay of San Diego is shaped like a boot, the leg forming the entrance from the sea, and the toe extending some twelve miles inland at right angles to it, as a matter of course, points

southward to the latter end of Mexico, from which it is distant at present precisely three miles.

The three villages then, which go to make up the great city of San Diego, are the Playa, Old Town, and New Town, or "Davis's Folly." At the Playa there are but few buildings at present, and these are not remarkable for size or architectural beauty of design. A long, low, one-storied tenement, near the base of the hills, once occupied by rollicking Captain Magruder and the officers under his command, is now the place where Judge Witherby, like Matthew, patiently "sits at the receipt of customs." But few *customers* appear, for with the exception of the mail steamer once a fortnight, and the *Goliah* and *Ohio*, two little coasting steamers that wheeze in and out once or twice a month, the calm waters of San Diego Bay remain unruffled by keel or cut-water from one year's end to another. Such a thing as a foreign bottom has never made its appearance to gladden the Collector's heart; in this respect, the harbor has indeed proved bottomless. Two crazy old hulks riding at anchor, and the barque *Clarissa Andrews* (filled with coal for the P. M. S. S. Co.) wherein dwells Captain Bogart, like a second Robinson Crusoe, with a man Friday who is mate, cook, steward and all hands, make up the amount of shipping at the Playa.

Then there is the Ocean House (that's Donohoe's), and a store marked Gardiner and Bleecker, than the inside of which nothing could be bleaker, for there's "nothing in it," and an odd-looking little building on stilts out in the water, where a savant named Sabot, in the employ of the U. S. Engineers, makes mysterious observations on the tide; and these, with three other small buildings, unoccupied, a fence and a graveyard, constitute all the "improvements" that have been made at the Playa. The ruins of two old hide-houses, immortalized by Dana in his *Two Years Before the Mast*, are still standing, one bearing the weather-beaten name of Tasso. We examined these and got well bitten by fleas for our trouble. We also examined the other great curiosity of the Playa, a natural one—being a cleft in the adjacent hills some hundred feet in depth, with a smooth, hard floor of white sand and its walls of indurated clay, perforated with cavities wherein dwell countless numbers of great white owls. . . . Through this cleft we marched into the bowels of the land without impediment for nearly half a mile. . . .

From present appearances one would be little disposed to imagine that the Playa in five or six years might become a city of the size of Louisville, with brick buildings, paved streets, gas lights, theaters, gambling houses, and so forth. It is not at all improbable, however, should the great Pacific Railroad terminate at San Diego . . . the Playa must be the depot, and as such will become a point of great importance. The land-holders about here are well aware of this fact, and consequently affix already incredible prices to very unprepossessing pieces of land. Lots of 150 feet front, not situated in particularly eligible places either, have been sold within the last few weeks for $500 apiece. . . . While at the Playa I had the pleasure of forming an acquaintance with the pilot, Captain Wm. G. Oliver, as noble a specimen of a sailor as you would wish to see. He was a lieutenant in the Texas Navy, under the celebrated Moore, and told me many yarns concerning that gallant commander. . . . Leaving the Playa in a wagon drawn by two wild mules, driven at the top of their speed by the intrepid Donohoe, Mac and I were whirled over a hard road, smooth and even as a ballroom floor, on our way to Old Town. Five miles from La Playa we passed the estate of the Hon. John Hays, County Judge of San Diego, an old Texan and a most amiable gentleman. The Judge has a fine farm of 80 or 100 acres under high cultivation, and . . . a private fish pond. He has enclosed some twenty acres of the flats near his residence, having a small outlet with a net attached, from which he daily makes a haul almost equalling the miraculous draught on Lake Gennesaret.

The old town of San Diego is pleasantly situated on the left bank of the little river that bears its name. It contains perhaps a hundred houses, some of wood, but mostly of the adoban or *Gresan* order of architecture. A small Plaza forms the center of the town, one side of which is occupied by a little adobe building used as a court room, the Colorado House, a wooden structure whereof the second story is occupied by the San Diego *Herald*, . . . and the *Exchange*, a hostelry at which we stopped. This establishment is kept by Hoof (familiarly known as Johnny, but whom I at once christened "Cloven") and Tibbetts, who is also called Two-bitts, in honorable distinction from an unworthy partner he once had, who obtained unenviable notoriety as "Picayune Smith." On entering, we found ourselves in a large bar and billiard room, fitted up with the customary pictures and mirrors. . . . Here also I made the acquaintance of Squire Moon, a jovial middle-aged gentleman from the State of Georgia, who replied to my inquiries concerning his health that he was "as fine as silk but not half so well beliked by the ladies." After partaking of supper, which meal was served up in the rear of the billiard room, *al fresco*, from a clothless table upon an earthen floor, I fell in conversation with Judge Ames, the talented, good-hearted but eccentric editor of the San Diego *Herald*, of whom the poet Andrews, in his immortal work, *The Cocopa Maid*, once profanely sang as follows:

"There was a man whose name was Ames,
His aims were aims of mystery;
His story odd, I think, by God,
Would make a famous history."

I found the Judge exceedingly agreeable, urbane and well informed, and obtained from him much valuable information regarding San Diego and its statistics. San Diego contains at present about 700 inhabitants, two-thirds of whom are "native and to the manor born," the remainder a mixture of American, English, German, Hebrew and Pike County. There are seven stores or shops in the village, where anything may be obtained, from a fine-toothed comb to a horse-rake, two public houses, a Catholic Church which meets in a private residence, and a Protestant ditto, to which the Rev. Reynolds, Chaplain of the military post six miles distant, communicates religious intelligence every Sunday afternoon.

San Diego is the residence of Don Juan Bandini, whose mansion fronts on one side of the plaza. He is well-known to the early settlers of California as a gentleman of distinguished politeness and hospitality. His wife and daughters are among the most beautiful and accomplished ladies in our State.

In 1859, Richard Henry Dana revisited the place he had known and written about so charmingly, twenty-three years before. He was deeply touched by renewing his associations with old scenes.

As we made the high point off San Diego, "Point Loma," he writes, we were greeted by the cheering presence of a lighthouse. As we swept around it in the early morning, there, before us lay the little harbor of San Diego, its low spit of sand,

PRESENT APPEARANCE OF HOUSE IN OLD SAN DIEGO

Where Richard Henry Dana took dinner with R. E. Doyle, in 1859

where the waters run so deep; the opposite flats where the *Alert* grounded in starting for home; the low hills without trees, and almost without brush; the quiet little beach; but the chief objects, the hide-houses, my eye looked for in vain. They were gone, all, and left no mark behind.

I wished to be alone, so I let the other passengers go up to the town, and was quietly pulled ashore in a boat, and left to myself. The recollections and emotions all were sad, and only sad.

"*Fugit, interia fugit irreparable tempus.*"

The past was real. The present, all about me, was unreal, unnatural, repellant. I saw the big ships lying in the stream, the *Alert*, the *California*, the *Rosa* with her Italians; then the handsome *Ayacucho*, my favorite; the poor dear old *Pilgrim*, the home of hardship and helplessness; the boats passing to and fro; the cries of the sailors at the capstan or falls; the peopled beach; the large hide-houses with their gangs of men; and the Kanakas interspersed everywhere. All, all were gone! not a vestige left to mark where our hide-house stood. The oven, too, was gone. I searched for its site, and found, where I thought it should be, a few broken bricks and bits of mortar. I alone was left of all, and how strangely was I here! What changes to me! Where were they all? Why should I care for them—poor Kanakas and sailors, the refuse of civilization, the out-laws and beach-combers of the Pacific! Time and death seemed to transfigure them. Doubtless nearly all were dead; but how had they died, and where? In hospitals, in fever-climes, in dens of vice, or falling from the mast, or dropping exhausted from the wreck—

ALFRED C. ROBINSON

Author of a notable book on early California life, who married into a prominent Spanish family

"When for a moment, like a drop of rain
He sinks into thy depths with bubbling groan,
Without a grave, unknelled, uncoffined, and unknown."

The light-hearted boys are now middle-aged men, if the seas, rocks, fevers, and the deadlier enemies that beset a sailor's life on shore had spared them; and the then strong men have bowed themselves, and the earth or sea has covered them.

Even the animals are gone—the colony of dogs, the broods of poultry, the useful horses; but the coyotes still bark in the woods, for they belong not to man and are not touched by his changes.

I walked slowly up the hill, finding my way among the few bushes, for the path was long grown over, and sat down where we used to rest in carrying our burdens of wood and to look out for vessels that might, though so seldom, be coming down from the windward.

To rally myself by calling to mind my own better fortune and nobler lot, and cherished surroundings at home, was impossible. Borne down by depression, the day being yet noon and the sun over the old point—it is four miles to the town, the presidio; I have walked it often and can do it once more—I passed the familiar objects, and it seemed to me that I remembered them better than those of any other place I had ever been in—the opening of the little cave; the low hills where we cut wood and killed rattlesnakes, and where our dogs chased the coyotes; and the black ground where so many of the ship's crew and beach-combers used to bring up on their return at the end of a liberty day and spend the night sub Jove.

RICHARD J. CLEVELAND

Involved in the exciting adventure of the LELIA BYRD in 1803 (see page 89)

The little town of San Diego has undergone no change whatever that I can see. It certainly has not grown. It is still, like Santa Barbara, a Mexican town. The four principal houses of the *gente de razon*—of the Bandinis, Estudillos, Argüellos and Picos—are the chief houses now, but all the gentlemen—

> and their families, too, I believe, are gone. . . . Fitch is long since dead; and I can scarce find a person whom I remember. I went into a familiar one-story adobe house, with its piazza and earthen floor, inhabited by a respectable family . . . by the name of Machado, and inquired if any of the family remained, when a bright-eyed, middle-aged woman recognized me, for she had heard I was on board the steamer, and told me she had married a shipmate of mine, Jack Stewart, who went out as second mate the next voyage, but left the ship and married and settled here. She said he wished very much to see me. In a few minutes he came in, and his sincere pleasure in meeting me was extremely grateful. We talked over old times as long as I could afford to. I was glad to hear that he was sober and doing well. Doña Tomaso Pico I found and talked with. She was the only person of the old upper-class that remained on the spot, if I rightly recollect. I found an American family here—Doyle and his wife, nice young people, Doyle agent for the great line of coaches to run to the frontier of the old States.
>
> I must complete my acts of pious remembrance, so I took a horse and made a run out to the old mission, where Ben Stimson and I went the first liberty day we had after we left Boston. The buildings are unused and ruinous, and the large gardens show now only wild cactus, willows and a few olive trees. A fast run brings me back in time to take leave of the few I know and who knew me, and to reach the steamer before she sails. A last look—yes, last for life—to the beach, the hills, the low point, the distant town, as we round Point Loma and the first beams of the light-house strike out towards the setting sun.

It is an interesting fact that in March, 1880, Richard Henry Dana, Jr., son of the author of *Two Years Before the Mast*, visited San Diego.

The impressions of Mrs. Morse, in 1865, are also interesting:

> Oh, the strange foreign look as I stepped from my stateroom and stood upon the deck as the steamer came to anchor! . . . The hills were brown and barren; not a tree or a green thing was to be seen. The only objects to greet the sight were the government barracks and two or three houses. I said to the Captain in dismay, "Is this San Diego?" He replied, "No, the town is four miles away." I saw a merry twinkle in his eye, which I afterwards interpreted as meaning, "Won't the Yankee schoolma'am be surprised when she sees the town."
>
> Wild looking horsemen, flourishing their riatas, were coming from different directions toward the landing, and the very gait of the horses seemed different from anything I had ever seen before. There were no wharves at the time. Passengers were carried in the ship's boats to shallow water and then carried on the backs of sailors to the shore. Fortunately for me, a little skiff was over from the lighthouse, which saved me the humiliating experience meted out to others.
>
> Once on shore, I was placed with my trunk on a wagon awaiting me, and we started for Old Town. The prospect as we

neared the town was not encouraging, but the climax was reached when we arrived safely at the plaza. Of all the dilapidated, miserable looking places I had ever seen, this was the worst. The buildings were nearly all adobe, one story in height, with no chimneys. Some of the roofs were covered with tiles and some with earth. One of these adobes, an old ruin, stood in the middle of the plaza. It has since been removed. The Old Town of today is quite a modern town, compared with the Old Town of 1865.

I was driven to the hotel, which was to be my future boarding place. It was a frame structure of two stories, since burned. The first night of my stay at the hotel a donkey came under my window and saluted me with an unearthly bray. I wondered if some wild animal had escaped from a menagerie and was prowling around Old Town. The fleas were plentiful and hungry. Mosquitos were also in attendance. The cooking at the hotel was quite unlike the cooking at the Hotel del Coronado at the present time. I sat at the table alone, being the only woman in the house. An Indian boy waited on me at the table and also gave me the news of the town

CHAPTER XI

ANNALS OF THE CLOSE OF OLD SAN DIEGO

IN 1850, the first steamship line between San Francisco and San Diego was established, touching at San Pedro, Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo, and Monterey. The first line was owned by a San Franciscan named Wright. In 1856, he transferred it to the California Steam Navigation Company, and they soon sold to the Pacific Coast Steamship Company. The first steamers were the *Ohio, Goliah,* and *Fremont,* while the *Southerner, Senator,* and *Thomas Hunt* also ran at times. In later years the *Ancon* and *Orizaba* were the regular coastwise steamers. They were all side-wheelers of small tonnage. As they approached the wharf at San Diego, it was the custom to fire a cannon-shot from the bow, to give notice of their arrival.

The Pacific Mail Steamship Company's steamers from Panama also called twice a month. Among those calling in 1851 were the *Northerner, Tennessee, Antelope,* and others. The fare from New York to San Francisco was, first class, $330; second class, $290; and steerage, $165.

The coastwise trade opened briskly under American rule. In the first number of the *Herald,* May 29, 1851, the marine list for ten days shows eleven vessels of all classes arrived and ten cleared, and the following week four arrived and three cleared. In December, traffic was so brisk that the steamer *Sea Bird* was chartered from the Pacific Mail Company, and put on the route between San Diego and San Francisco by Captain Haley.

In 1857 two packets ran regularly to the Sandwich Islands. The fare for passengers was $80, and the trip was made in about twelve days.

The first boat of American build regularly used on San Diego Bay is believed to have been the one brought here in 1850 by Lieutenant Cave J. Couts. It was built for the use of the boundary survey expedition under Lieutenant A. W. Whipple, and first launched in Lake Michigan. This boat was 16 feet long and 5 feet 6 inches wide. It was equipped with wheels on which it traveled overland, and was used for crossing rivers on the way. At Camp Calhoun, on the California side of the Colorado River, late in the year of 1849, Couts purchased this boat and used it for a ferry. On his return to San Diego, he brought it with him and used it to navigate the waters of San Diego Bay.

On August 13, 1857, occurred one of those historically important "first events." The schooner *Loma,* the first vessel ever built on the San Diego Bay, was launched. She was built at the shipyard of Captain James Keating, and was christened, as the *Herald* informs us, "in due and ancient form."

As traffic increased, and as there were neither lighthouse nor buoys, it was inevitable that wrecks should occur, although a storm seldom ruffled the surface of the bay. The first wreck at San Diego was that of the pilot boat *Fanny,* on the night of December 24, 1851. She had been out cruising for the *Northerner,* was anchored just outside Ballast Point, and, a gale rising, was driven ashore and lost.

MRS. CARSON, (FORMERLY MRS. GEORGE A. PENDLETON)

The only other wreck during this period of which there is any record was that of the *Golden Gate,* Captain Isham, in January, 1854. This steamer came up from Panama with a large number of passengers. She broke a shaft, below San Diego, and came in with only one wheel working, arriving on Wednesday the 18th. Her provisions were nearly exhausted and the passengers very hungry. After securing supplies, she put to sea again on the evening of the same day, in a storm. Her engine gave out, and, in spite of attempts to anchor, she was driven ashore on Zuñinga shoal. The *Goliah* was in the harbor and went to her assistance, but could do nothing. The next morning the passengers, after a night of terror, were taken off in safety with the exception of one man, I. M. Gibson, who was killed by falling down the steamer's hold in the night. The passengers were distributed among the houses of the town, and considerable difficulty was experienced in providing accommodations for them all. One of their number was the Very Reverend Wm. I. Kip, then on his way to take charge of the new Episcopal bishopric of California. The use of the court-house was secured for him and he preached one sermon while here. The *Southerner* arrived the next day, and with the *Goliah* carried the passengers away soon after.

HOUSE OF JOHN C. STEWART, OLD TOWN

The steamer *Columbia* arrived on the 20th and, the storm abating, succeeded after hard work in pulling the *Golden Gate* safely off the sand-bar, just a week from the day of her arrival. She had three feet of water in her hold, but was not badly damaged, and soon left for San Francisco and arrived there safely.

In the days of Mexican rule, the mails were carried twice a week between San Diego and San Francisco, on horseback, by way of the old "Camino Real," from mission to mission. The service was fairly well performed, in a leisurely way; or, if it was not, little complaint was made. In March, 1847, General

Kearny established, for military purposes, a semi-weekly horse-mail between the same points. The *alcaldes* acted as postmasters, and as there were no other postal facilities, it was ordered that the citizens "be accommodated by having their letters and papers sent free of expense."

The beginnings of regular mail service were slow and unsatisfactory. The semi-monthly Panama steamer carried the mails from 1849. The local service was such as to cause the *Herald* to complain bitterly. On September 11, 1851, it declared that "during a period of more than two years there has been no regularly appointed postmaster at San Diego, nor to those who have acted has there been more than a pittance allowed for the performance of their duty. Sometimes the mails go, and when this happens, they are taken to the landing by some transient conveyance, which admits of no certainty or security in their delivery to the proper agent for receiving them. We advise the citizens of San Diego to place no dependence upon the mails, but to send their letters through by any other channel." This last sentence doubtless referred to the express companies, between whom and the postoffice department there was considerable rivalry at the time. The same complaints as to insufficient pay and poor service came from all parts of the Pacific coast.

HOUSE AND STORE OF THOMAS WHALEY, OLD TOWN

In June, 1851, the rate of postage on letters was reduced from forty cents to six cents. Complaints about poor service continued and Editor Ames made a practice of getting his exchanges from the pursers of the steamers, instead of depending upon the mails.

Soon after the United States took possession of the Gadsden Purchase, a semi-weekly mail service was put on between San Antonio and San Diego, by G. H. Giddings and J. C. Woods. The first mail by this line left San Diego on August 9, 1857, carried on pack animals under the care of R. W. Laine, a young man of San Diego County. The first overland mail to arrive was on the 31st of the same month, under the care of James E. Mason, and was the occasion of great rejoicing. It had made the unprecedented time of 34 days from San Antonio.

In September, 1857, the government entered into a contract with John Butterfield and his associates for carrying the mails between St. Louis and the Pacific Coast, at a cost of $600,000 a year. The preparations were very elaborate, and the regulations read curiously at this day. Each passenger on the mail-coach was required to provide himself with a Sharp's rifle, 100 cartridges, a Colt's revolver, belt and holster, knife and sheath, a pair of thick boots and woolen pants, underclothing, a soldier's overcoat, one pair of woolen blankets, an India rubber blanket, and a bag with needles, thread, sponge, brush, comb, soap, and towels. The coaches were drawn most of the way by six horses. The sub-contractors were Jennings and Doyle, and in 1859 Dana speaks of Doyle as living in San Diego. When the Civil War came on, the military posts in Arizona and New Mexico were withdrawn and the Southern mail route abandoned. There had been much trouble with Indians, especially in Arizona with the Apaches, and the protection was never adequate.

In 1865, the overland mail by the Southern route was resumed, but it went to Los Angeles by way of Warner's Pass, and thence to San Francisco, missing San Diego. In 1867, Major Ben. C. Truman was appointed postal agent for California and used his influence to have the route changed to run by way of San Diego. The contractors, Thompson & Griffith, had been losing money, and took advantage of this change to abandon their contract. Mr. John G. Capron, who was then living in Tucson and had been engaged in the mail route business for some years, driving for Jennings & Doyle and others, thereupon went to Washington and secured the contract between Los Angeles and El Paso, 913 miles. He then moved to San Diego, and continued to operate this line for seven years, from 1867 to 1874. The portions of the route between El Paso and Tucson, and from San Diego to Los Angeles, were sublet. Mr. Capron tells many interesting stories of his troubles with the Apache Indians in Arizona, but the California Indians never gave him much trouble.

In 1847, a census of San Diego County was taken by Captain Davis of the Mormon Company, by order of Colonel Stevenson. It showed the following:

Population of whites	248
Tame Indians or neophytes	483
Wild Indians or gentiles	1550
Sandwich Islanders	3
Negroes	3
Total population of county	2287

JOHN G. CAPRON

Who owned the stage line and mail contract from Los Angeles to El Paso, 913 miles between 1867 and 1884. Closely identified with the movement which brought the Santa Fe railroad

The seventh national census, taken in 1850, gave San Diego County a population of 798 and the town (including La Playa) 650,—this, of course, not including Indians. In 1860 the county had 4,324 and in 1870, 4,951.

The first county assessment roll, in 1850, shows the value of taxable property to have been:

Ranch lands	$255,281
10 stores with capital of	65,395
6 vineyards, value not stated	
87 houses	104,302
6789 head of cattle	92,280
Total	$517,258

The assessment roll for the city of San Diego gave the following valuations:

San Diego (Old Town)	$264,210
New Town (Graytown, or Davis's Folly)	80,050
Middletown	30,000
Total	$375,260

In January, 1852, the *Herald* said there was not a vacant house in the town, and that over 200 people had recently arrived. In 1853, flour sold at $22 per barrel, pork from 32 to 35 cents, barley at 4 cents, rice at 10 cents, sugar from 14 to 20 cents, and potatoes from 5 to 5½ cents, per pound.

OLD TOWN SCHOOL

By the next year (1854) the town was not so prosperous, and a public meeting was held to consider the state of the country, at which a proposal to construct a good road to Temécula, for the purpose of securing the Mormon trade, was considered. In May, 1855, eggs sold for 50 cents per dozen and butter at 50 cents per pound. The best flour came from San Bernardino and was preferred to that from Chile. The *Herald* complains of a want of enterprise and says the town is going down hill.

In 1856, flour was worth $6 per cwt. at the mill, wheat 22½ cents per pound, barley 4 cents per pound, and hay $35 per ton.

In 1859, times were hard and the town dull. The *Herald* says a tailor, shoemaker, watchmaker, and gunsmith are needed, but is gratified to learn that "several of our merchants and mechanics, who intended to leave this place on account of dull times, have come to the conclusion to remain a little while longer."

On May 29, 1851, the following Old Town advertisements appeared in the first number of the *Herald*:

THE FAMOUS BELLS AT THE OLD TOWN CHURCH

Marks and Fletcher, general merchandise, west side of the plaza;
Exchange Hotel and Billiard Saloon, G. P. Tebbetts & Co., plaza;
Pantoja House, Chas. J. Laning, east side of plaza;
C. / Colorado House, H. J. Couts, plaza;
Frederick J. Painter, M.D., plaza.

Nearly all the flour and grain used in the country at this period was imported, although most ranches had small patches of corn, beans, and wheat for home consumption. In 1853, more grain, principally barley, was raised in the little valley of Viejas than in all the rest of the country. It was hauled in to Old Town, in Mexican carts, over a wild, broken country, without roads a great part of the way. Captain Bogart was not discouraged by the destruction of his crop of barley by antelope and rabbits on North Island in 1852, but persevered and raised good crops at that place, in 1855 and 1856.

Among the first to practice agriculture successfully were Colonel Eddy and Robert Kelly, owners of the Jamacha Rancho, who planted 300 acres to rye, wheat, oats, barley, and potatoes in 1852, and made a success of it.

LOUIS ROSE

A very notable business man of the early days, whose name is perpetuated by Rose Canyon and Roseville

One of the most interesting ventures of the time was the tannery of Louis Rose, established in 1853. It was situated in Rose's Canyon, about six miles from town and was quite completely fitted up. There were 20 bark vats, 2 cisterns with a capacity of 500 gallons each, 6 lime and water vats, a bark mill, an adobe house for currying leather, and several force pumps.

The vats had a capacity of from 80 to 100 hides. The head tanner was Mr. Rose's nephew, N. J. Alexander. Bark was hauled a distance of ten miles and cost $12 to $15 per ton. Hides, of course, were plentiful, and were obtained in exchange for leather products. He employed a Mexican workman who made up the leather into shoes, *botas*, and saddles. He used in one year 3,500 hides and 1,500 skins of deer, goat, sheep, and sea-lion, and sold $8,000 worth of products. It is not easy to determine whether the business paid, but Alexander died in 1854, and it was abandoned soon after.

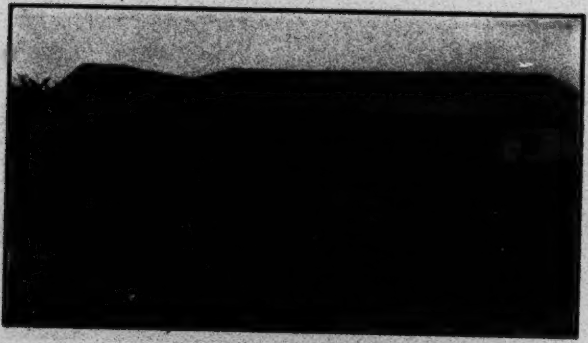
Mr. Rose was an unusually enterprising man and engaged in many undertakings. At one time, he undertook the manufacture of mattresses from sea-weed; he prospected for coal at the mouth of Rose's Canyon, and thought he had a deposit of valuable clay. He gave considerable attention to copper and silver mines in San Diego County, and in January, 1858, it was stated that he had sold a half interest in these mines for $30,000. At that time, there were about 1,000 tons of ore ready to ship. Mr. Rose is also remembered as the founder of Roseville.

HOUSE OF ALBERT B. SMITH, OLD TOWN

One of the most interesting episodes of the early days was the work of some Mormons, bent upon the enterprise of mining coal on the north shore of Point Loma, late in 1855, in response to a "revelation." Obtaining a lease of land from the city trustees, they proceeded to make borings which penetrated several strata of coal, ranging from three inches to a foot in thickness. In April, 1856, they announced that they had discovered a vein of good coal four and a half feet thick near the old light-house on

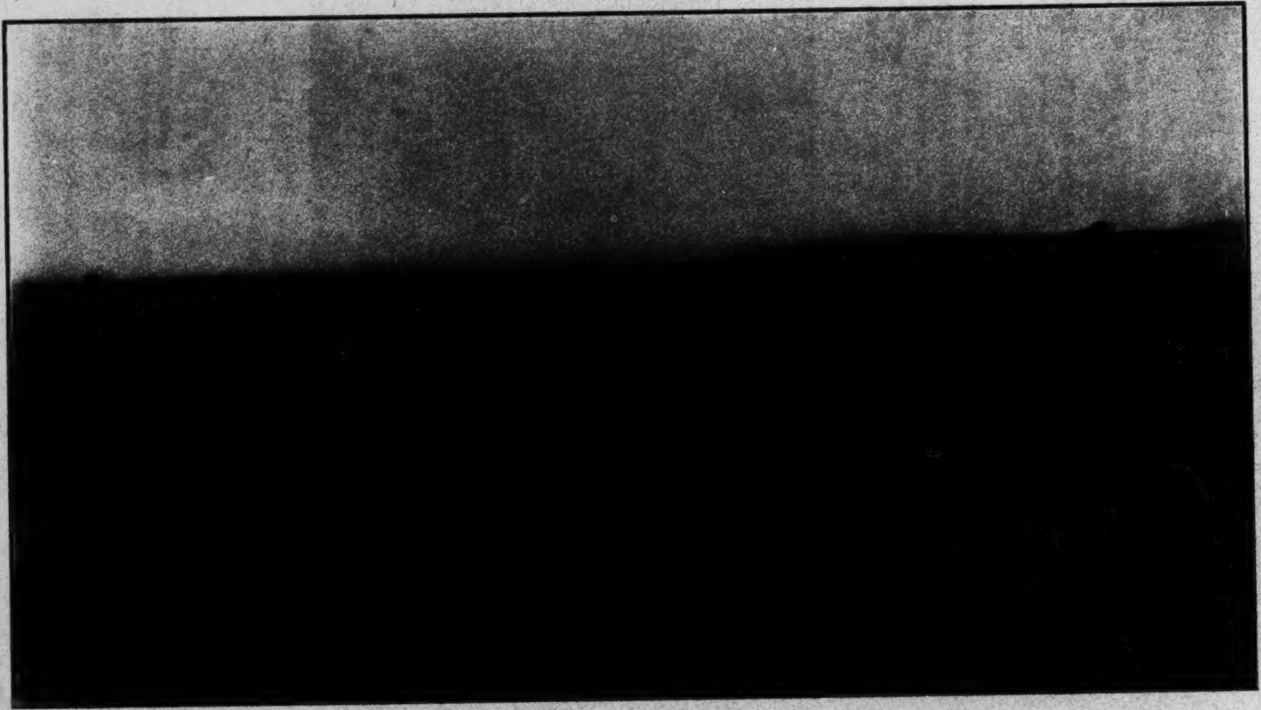
Point Loma, and began to sink a shaft. Considerable machinery was installed and a few experienced miners, as well as engineers, employed, but nothing came of the enterprise. Naturally, it excited high hopes while it lasted.

A curious aftermath of the Garra uprising in 1851 was the belated arrival of a party of rough characters from San Francisco in the role of volunteers for the protection of the country against the Indians. At the beginning of the outbreak, the governor had been asked for assistance and had enlisted a large company to go to San Diego in response to this appeal. Just as they were about to sail, the governor was notified that the trouble was over, but about fifty of the volunteers refused to be deprived of their adventure. They arrived in San Diego in December and went into camp in Mission Valley. A variety of trouble ensued, until the San Diegans began to fear that their deliverers from San Francisco constituted a worse menace to the public peace than the Indians themselves. Horses were forcibly taken from the settlers and rows occurred in the plaza. Philip Crosthwaite received an ugly wound, but responded by shooting one of the volunteers named Watkins, who lost a leg in the encounter. At last, the roughs chartered a vessel and returned to San Francisco, to the great relief of the community.



LOPEZ HOUSE, OLD TOWN

Thieving became so common and so annoying in the early days of American rule that in 1851 a law was enacted fixing a penalty of imprisonment from one to ten years, "or by death, in the discretion of the jury," for taking property to the value of fifty dollars or more. A hard character named James Robinson,



A VIEW OF OLD TOWN IN 1906—HUT OF RAFAEL MAMUDES AND OLD JAIL IN FOREGROUND familiarly known as "Yankee Jim," suffered the extreme penalty for stealing the only row-boat in the bay. The verdict of the jury was as follows:

"Your jurors in the within case of James Robinson have the honor to return a verdict of 'guilty' and do therefore sentence him, James Robinson, to be hanged by the neck until dead. Cave J. Couts, foreman of the jury."

The poor fellow could not believe that he was to be hanged until the very last moment. He appeared to think it all a grim joke or, at the worst, a serious effort to impress him with the enormity of his evil ways. He was still talking when Deputy Sheriff Crosthwaite gave the signal. Then the cart was driven from beneath him and he was left dangling in the air. Surely, the punishment was far more wicked than the crime, yet the example must have proved very effective in discouraging theft. There are other instances of frontier justice which, when compared with the methods of today, show that society has grown much kinder with the passing of time. Such testimony as the following item from the *Herald* indicates that there was much excuse for rough justice:

REMAINS OF JAIL AT OLD TOWN
Possibly the first instance of graft in California

> A lot of greasers had a *baile* the other evening, and as that was not enough for one night, they turned to and stoned a poor Indian, belonging to Mrs. Marron, until he quietly laid down and died. This is considered fine sport, and as our magistrates don't trouble about such little matters, it will probably be repeated on the next occasion, with perhaps slight variation.

And here is a gruesome memory of the fierce old times related by Mrs. Carson:

> One day I stood at the corner of the old Franklin House and saw one man shoot another, and I was the only witness. Just as I was going to tell about it, Mr. Pendleton, who came up and saw that I had seen what had occurred, gave me a wink and I stopped myself in time. I did not know, then, why he wanted me to keep quiet, but I did so. He explained afterwards that he thought it would be unpleasant for me to have to be a witness. This was in January or February, 1865, and before we were married.

JOSE ANTONIO SERRANO

Member of prominent Spanish family. He served under Pico in the Mexican War, participating in the Battle of San Pasqual

The story of the building of the cobblestone jail at Old Town is one of the most interesting in the annals of San Diego. It was one of the first things undertaken when the Americans came into possession of the city government. The contract was let for $5,000 to Agostin Haraszthy, who was city marshal and sheriff at the time and whose father was president of the city council. The bid of Israel Brothers, $2,000 lower, was rejected. The cobbles were laid in ordinary mortar, without cement, and the building was seriously damaged by a heavy rain while in the course of construction. The contractor demanded a further allowance or relief from his contract, and they allowed him $2,000 more, making $7,000 in all. It soon appeared that there was not enough money in the treasury to complete the payment, whereupon city scrip was issued for the balance, in denominations of $100. It read as follows:

> No. 45, $100.
>
> San Diego, March 28, 1851.
>
> To the treasurer of the City of San Diego: Please pay to Agostin Haraszthy or bearer, the sum of one hundred dollars out of the General Fund, with interest at 8 per cent. per month, until advertised for payment—on account of contract for building jail.
>
> By authority of an Ordinance of the Common Council approved March 28, 1851.
>
> G. P. Tebbetts,
> Treasurer of the Common Council.
>
> A. J. Matsell,
> Clerk of the Common Council.

But little of this scrip was ever paid, though some of it was exchanged for city lands. In 1853, the town trustees resigned in a body in order to defeat a suit which had been begun to enforce payment of this and other scrip. This unusual course seems to have been justified by the wretched job which had been foisted upon the town. The jail was practically worthless, and the very first prisoner sent there promptly dug his way out. It still stands as a picturesque reminder of old times. It is within the enclosure of an old Indian, Rafael Mamudes, and is often visited by a class of people who do not ordinarily hunger to see the inside of a jail, and would not in this case save for historic interest and the easy exit afforded. The only prisoner ever successfully confined within the walls is a fine pepper tree, cheerfully growing in one of the cells.

The cobblestone jail was succeeded by an iron cage, 5′7″x8′6″, with a height of 7′. It had a wood roof and floor and was lined with sheet iron. It is now in use as a city jail, at Coronado Tent City. While not imposing in appearance, it has the merit of holding the bad men consigned to it.

The end of Old Town as a community of any importance was the great fire of April 20, 1872. It began in Mrs. Schiller's kitchen, spread to the Gila, Franklin and Colorado houses and consumed all the business places on the plaza. This disastrous event turned the scale in favor of the vigorous young community which was growing up on Horton's addition.

The most eloquent reminders of the time that is gone are the two old cannon, one lying on the plaza at Old Town, the other treasured by the San Diego Chamber of Commerce. Both belonged to the Spanish fort on Ballast Point and were removed to Old Town in 1838. The one which lies in the plaza long stood upright in the earth and was irreverently used as a hitching post for horses and a whipping-post for naughty Indians. The bronze gun, "El Jupiter," now in the Chamber of Commerce, was cast at Manila in 1783. These ancient cannon did duty under three flags and typify the history of San Diego. If their iron lips could speak the language of human tongues, they could tell the whole story of the Plymouth of the West, with its varying fortunes under the dominion of Spaniard, Mexican and American.

CHAPTER XII

AMERICAN FAMILIES OF THE EARLY TIME

IT WILL now be in order to give some account of the early American settlers of San Diego, before proceeding to tell the story of the new city. A few who came before the Mexican War have already been sketched and the Spanish families are grouped in Chapter VI, Part II. Some of the names appearing in this chapter may be strange to the present generation, though familiar to older settlers. The necessity of compressing this history into one volume of moderate size renders it impossible to do full justice to all these pioneers. The most essential facts have been condensed and arranged with a view to giving as much information as possible concerning them, in a brief and impartial manner.

AMES, Julian. Was a sailor from Amesbury, Mass., and said to have been an uncle of the well known Oakes Ames. He married, in Lower California, a lady named Espiñosa. He was an otter hunter in 1846, and served as a volunteer in the Mexican War. He held some offices at an early day, including that of city trustee in 1853 and 1855. About 1859 or 1860, he settled on El Cajon ranch, where he died in February, 1866. His children were: Francisco, who lives in Lower California; Sam, who married Adelaide, a daughter of José Antonio Serrano, and lives in Lower California; José, who married María, daughter of José Machado, and lived and died at Lakeside; Mary, who married James Flynn; and Nievas, who married Charles Greenleaf, of Lakeside.

BEAN, Joshua H. Settled in San Diego during the military occupation and was a prominent citizen. He served as *alcalde* in 1850 and as mayor in the same year, being the last *alcalde* and the first mayor of San Diego. While mayor, he signed the deed for the "Middletown Addition," May 27, 1850. He removed to Los Angeles in 1851, and at the time of the Garra Insurrection was major-general of State Militia and came to San Diego to preside over the courtmartial. He kept a store at San Gabriel and was a prominent citizen of Southern California. He was killed, in November, 1852, by Mexican ruffians, near Los Angeles.

BOGART, Captain J. C. Captain Bogart was one of the earliest visitors, touching here in 1834, in the ship *Black Warrior.* In 1852 he became the agent of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company at La Playa, with headquarters on the hulk *Clarissa Andrews,* and held the position many years. He represented the county in the State Senate in 1862-3, and was actively connected with the San Diego & Gila Railroad project. He was unmarried. In 1873 he revisited San Diego and gave some interesting reminiscences.

BUSH, Thomas Henry. Judge Bush was born in Pennsylvania, June 8, 1831, and came to California in 1853. He learned the bookbinder's trade, which he followed in San Francisco, and also engaged in mining and kept a store in Lower California. He came to San Diego in 1865, where at first he kept a store, and in 1868 became postmaster. In the same year he was appointed county judge to fill the unexpired term of Julio Osuña, and held the office eight years. He was also school trustee and city trustee; in the latter capacity, he was instrumental in selling the city lands to Horton, and signed the deed. From 1878 to 1887, he was absent from San Diego, prospecting and visiting in his native state. In his later days, he engaged in the real estate business, was a notary, and secretary of the San Diego Society of Pioneers. He died December 17, 1898.

He married Ellen Augusta Porter. They had one daughter, Bertha, born in San Francisco in 1863. Miss Porter was an early teacher at Old Town.

Judge Bush was not a lawyer, and might, perhaps, have made a more satisfactory record as a judge had he been one. At the time of the agitation for the removal of the county seat from Old Town to Horton's Addition, he showed decided bias in favor of the Old Town faction, and the people of New San Diego always remembered it.

CASSIDY, Andrew. A native of County Cavan, Ireland. He came to America when 17 and was employed three years at West Point, in the Engineering Corps, under General George B. McClellan. He then went to Washington and entered the employ of the Coast Survey Office, under Professor Bache. About a year later, he was one of a party sent to the Pacific Coast under Lieutenant W. T. Trowbridge. They reached San Francisco in July, 1853, and a month later came to San Diego, established a tidal gauge at La Playa, and left Cassidy in charge. He remained in charge of this tidal gauge, and of meteorological observations, for seventeen years, and also gave considerable attention to collecting specimens for the Smithsonian Institution.

In 1864, Mr. Cassidy became owner of the Soledad Rancho, containing 1,000 acres, where the town of Sorrento is situated, and engaged in the live stock business until in 1887, when he sold the property. He is also a property owner in San Diego.

His first wife was Rosa Serrano, daughter of José Antonio Serrano, who died September 10, 1869. He married, second, Mary Smith, daughter of Albert B. Smith, who is now deceased. They had one daughter, Mary Winifred. Mr. Cassidy is still living, a respected citizen of San Diego. He held several public offices at an early day. He was a member of the Board of Public Works as late as his 88th year.

CLAYTON, Henry. Came to San Diego with the boundary commission as a surveyor. He married the widow of Captain Joseph F. Snook (María Antonia Alvarado de Snook). They are both deceased and left no children. Clayton held the office of city surveyor for a short time in 1850, and was the first county surveyor, serving for several terms in the 50's and 60's.

CONNORS, James W. A soldier who came to San Diego with Magruder's Battalion in 1850. He married Harriet Vandergrift, sister of Richard Kerren's wife. He was deputy sheriff seven years under James McCoy and still lives in Coronado. His son, George A. Connors, married Isabel Smith, daughter of A. B. Smith. She is now deceased; he is still living; they had three children: James W. Connors, Jr., married Helen Minter and lives in Old Town. Has four children. William E. Connors, married first, a Minter, who died; married second, Dolores Alvarado. Has one child, living at Whittier; employed at reform school. Paul S. Connors, married Mary N. Stewart, daughter of John C. Stewart. Lives at Old Town. Is night watchman at the court house, San Diego; has been postmaster at Old Town, where he keeps a store. Has two children living, one dead. Hattie Connors, married Ben Lyons; lives at Coronado. Sarah Connors, married first, Dr. Edward Burr; second, Angelo Smith. Dead. Mary J. Connors, died in a Los Angeles school. Unmarried.

COUTS, Cave Johnson. Born near Springfield, Tennessee, November 11, 1821. His uncle, Cave Johnson, was Secretary of the Treasury under President Polk, and had him appointed to West Point, where he graduated in 1843. He served on the frontier until after the Mexican War, and was then at Los Angeles, San Luis Rey, and San Diego from 1848 to 1851. In 1849 he conducted the Whipple expedition to the Colorado River.

On April 5, 1851, he married Ysidora Bandini, daughter of Juan Bandini, of San Diego. In October of the same year he resigned from the army, and was soon after appointed colonel and aid-de-camp on the staff of Governor Bigler. In the Garra insurrection he served as adjutant, and at the courtmartial was judge-advocate. He was a member of the first grand jury September, 1850, and county judge in 1854. In 1853 he removed to a tract known as the G~~au~~uajome grant, a wedding gift to his wife from her brother-in-law, Abel Stearns. Having been appointed sub-agent for the San Luis Rey Indians, Colonel Couts was able to secure all the cheap labor needed for the improvement of his property. His business affairs were managed with skill and military precision, and he became one of the wealthiest men in Southern California. He purchased the San Marcos, Buena Vista, and La Jolla ranchos, and also government land, amounting in all to about 20,000 acres. His home was widely celebrated for its hospitality. He entertained Helen Hunt Jackson while she was collecting materials for *Ramona*, and part of the story is supposed to be laid at the Gaujome rancho. As Colonel Couts's wealth consisted largely of cattle, the passage of the "no fence" law was a severe blow to him, and one from which he never fully recovered. He died at the Horton House, in San Diego, June 10, 1874. He was over six feet tall, perfectly straight, and weighed 165 pounds. He was a man of good education, strict integrity, and gentlemanly manners. His widow continued to live on the rancho and manage it until her death.

Their children were ten, of whom ~~nine~~ eight lived to maturity: Abel Stearns, who died in 1855, aged nearly four years; María Antonia, who was married to Chalmers Scott, and still lives in San Diego; William Bandini, who married Christina, daughter of Salvador Estudillo, and is a farmer living near San Marcos; Ysidora Forster, who was married to W. D. Gray; Elena, married to Parker Dear and lived several years on the Santa Rosa rancho; Robert Lee; John Forster; and Caroline, Cave J. Couts Jr, Nancy Couts

died, aged

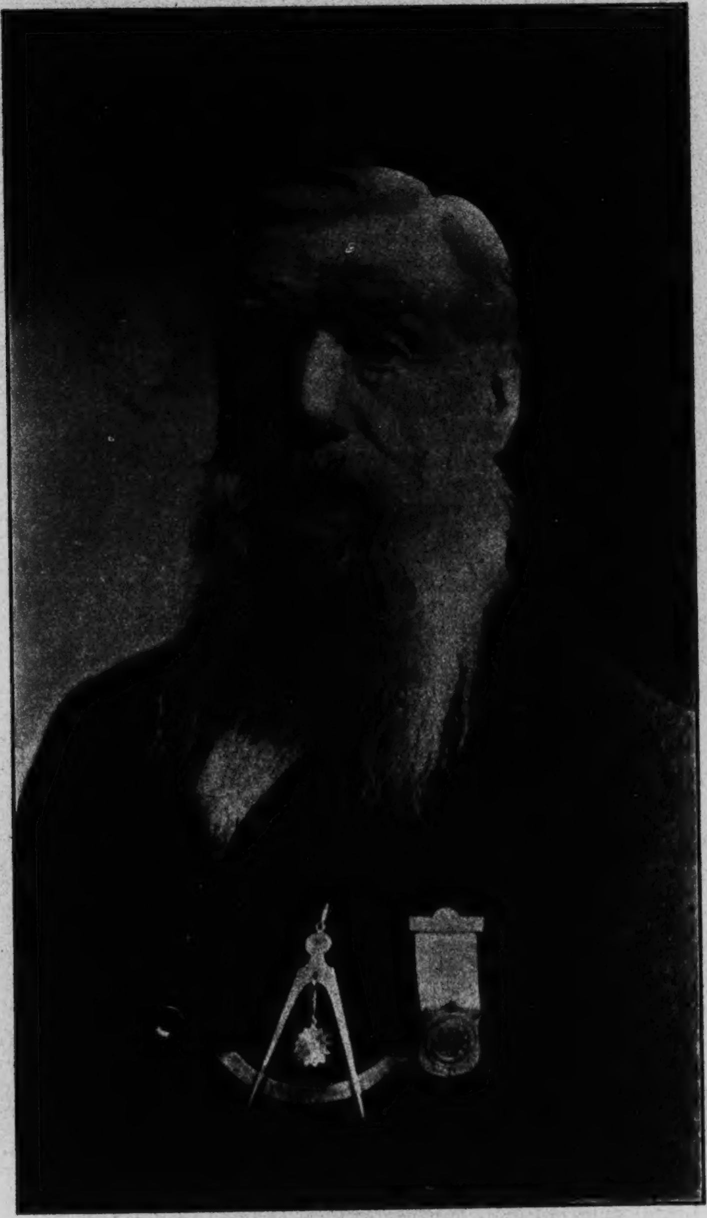
COUTS, William B. Brother of Cave J. Couts, married a daughter of Santiago E. Argüello. He was county clerk and recorder in 1855-6-7-8, postmaster in 1858, justice of the peace in 1861, etc. In 1857 he seems to have held nearly all the county offices at one time, if credit is to be given the *Herald* of April 27th in that year. His son, George A. Couts, is a San Diego city policeman.

CROSTHWAITE, Philip. Was born December 27, 1825, in Athy, County Kildare, Ireland, where his parents were visiting their old home, they having emigrated to the United States some years before. On their return to America, Philip was left in the care of his grandparents, and lived with them until 16, when he visited his mother. In 1843 he returned to Ireland to complete his education, and entered Trinity College, Dublin. His grandmother died in 1845 and he thereupon came to America for a second visit, intending to return and complete his education. But while in Philadelphia, he met a young man from Boston with whom he struck up an acquaintance, and for a "lark" these two determined to take a short sea voyage. Going to Newport, R. I., they shipped on board the schooner *Hopewell*, Captain Littlefield, supposing they were bound on a fishing trip to the Newfoundland banks. To their dismay, after reaching the open sea, they found the ship was booked for San Francisco. They begged so hard to be put ashore that the captain finally promised to allow them to return by the first ship they met; but Crosthwaite related it as a singular circumstance that they never saw another sail from that day until they reached the Bay of San Diego.

Crosthwaite and his friend, Rhead, deserted here and waited until the *Hopewell* had departed. A ship bound for the East came along soon after, but there was room for only one; there was a toss-up for the vacant berth, and Crosthwaite losing, he gave up all thought of leaving San Diego. He was strong and adventurous and made his way. In 1846, when the Mexican War broke out, he was on an otter hunting expedition on the Lower California coast, with Julian Ames, John Post, John C. Stewart, and William Curley. Learning of the war at the Santa Rosario Mission, they all returned to San Diego and served in the San Pasqual campaign. They reached the town late at night, and early the next morning were awakened by a thundering knock at the door. It was Captain Gillespie, who said: "There can be no neutrals in this country; you must either enlist for three months (as the war will probably be over by that time), or be imprisoned on the *Congress.*" He intended to enlist, anyway, but the choice was made easy. A good deal of the local color concerning the San Pasqual campaign has been derived from his accounts of it. He was in the midst of it from beginning to end, and was slightly wounded by Pico's rangers in the slaughter of December 6th. After the troops left for the capture of Los Angeles, he performed garrison duty until the close of the war.

In 1851, Crosthwaite served in the Garra Insurrection, with the rank of third sergeant. After these troubles, he was the mainstay of the citizens in preserving the peace, at the time when the San Francisco "Hounds" were terrorizing the town, and was seriously wounded in the discharge of his duty, as has been related.

He held a number of offices at an early day, being the first county treasurer, deputy sheriff several years, and sheriff one or two terms. He was also school commissioner in 1850, county clerk and recorder in 1853-4, and justice of the peace in 1854. He lived for several years in Mission Valley, above Old Town, and later owned the San Miguel Rancho in Lower California. He was lessee of the San Diego Mission in 1848, and later went to the mines. He also kept a store in Old Town, and later in



PHILIP CROSTHWAITE

One of the most notable and memorable of early American settlers and prominent in business and political life new San Diego, in partnership with Mr. Whaley. His old ledger, kept in 1853, is now owned by Mr. Joseph Jessop, and shows many curious things. The first entry in it shows the sale of over $200 worth of provisions to Lieutenant Derby, for the use of the Indians working on the San Diego River dam. The prices charged are also very interesting, now.

He purchased the San Miguel Rancho in 1861 and removed to Lower California, but still spent much of his time in San Diego. He was an active and earnest Freemason, and the first Worshipful Master of San Diego Lodge No. 35—the oldest lodge in the Southwest. When Lieutenant Derby left San Diego, he presented Crosthwaite with the Past Master's jewel, which the latter later gave to his beloved lodge, and which is now a cherished item of their furniture.

He married Josefa Lopez, a daughter of Bonifacio Lopez, of San Diego, 1848. They had a large family, of which seven sons and two daughters survived him. His daughter Mary was married to J. N. Briseño, of San Diego, but the others live in Lower California. He died in San Diego, February 19, 1903. Mrs. Wm. Jeff Gatewood was his sister. It is said he had nearly fifty grandchildren at the time of his death.

Crosthwaite was a well built man, with a full beard and a remarkably deep voice. It is related that an uncle by marriage, Mr. Hempstead, stopping off at La Playa on his way to San Francisco in the 50's, recognized him by his voice, though he had not seen him for years. He was known to be an utterly fearless man, whose courage was proved in many hard encounters. He was a man of strong character and had enemies as well as friends. Part of these troubles were due to religious differences, he being an Episcopalian and his wife a Catholic. He was fond of telling his recollections of early days and his stories were not always accurate or free from prejudice. He was fond of a joke, and it has been said that he carried this propensity into his tales of old times; but a careful study of them shows clearly enough that the inaccuracies and discrepancies are no more than was natural with one who talks a good deal and whose memory is not remarkable for its accuracy. That Crosthwaite had some faults is doubtless true, but he was beyond question a strong, resolute man, well fitted for the rough life of his time.

CURLEY, William. Was an otter hunter with Crosthwaite and others, in 1846. Served as a volunteer in the Mexican War. He was an elector at San Diego, April 1, 1850. Married Ramona Alipás, daughter of Damasio and Juana Machado de Alipás (later the wife of Thomas Wrightington), in 1844. He was drowned in December, 1856, on the beach near Point Loma, while out otter hunting with an Indian. His widow afterward married William Williams, and moved to Los Angeles.

DARNELL (or Darnall), Thomas R. Kept a store in San Diego in the early 50's; his store was robbed in February, 1856. In the following March he was chosen city trustee. He was an organizer of the San Diego & Gila Railroad Company. He was unmarried. Was Worshipful Master of the Masonic Lodge in 1858. He left San Diego soon after the latter year.

ENSWORTH, A. S. 'Squire Ensworth came to San Diego as a teamster in government employ. He was elected justice of the peace in 1856 and assemblyman in 1859. He was a "self-made man," who studied law after being elected justice, and later engaged in the practice of law, with considerable success. He was quite a reader and had a large library, for the times. He died in a hospital at Los Angeles. in 1865

FERRELL, William C. This pioneer came from North Carolina, where he had two daughters living. He settled at San Diego about 1850, and at the first election, held in that year, was chosen district attorney. He was a lawyer of ability and a useful member of the community. He was one of the founders of new San Diego, with Davis and others. In 1852 he was appointed collector of the port and served one year. In 1854 he was assessor and school commissioner, and, the following year, served as assemblyman. In 1858 he was a city trustee, and in 1859 district attorney again. In December of the last named year, he went to Reventadero, near Descanso, Lower California, where he lived the life of a recluse until his death. The reason for this action is somewhat obscure, but the traditional reason is at least plausible. It is said that, being a somewhat testy man and having set his heart upon winning a certain case, it was decided against him; whereupon, he became enraged, banged his books down upon the table, and declared that, since he could not get justice in this country, he would quit it, and proceeded to do so. There is evidence that he left in haste a document on file in the county clerk's office containing directions for the settlement of a number of small accounts, for the disposal of his personal effects, etc. His San Diego friends kept him supplied with reading, and when they visited him, found him always well informed and, apparently, happy. The newspapers of the time contain many references to Ferrell, how he watched over San Diego from his mountain fastness, etc. He died June 8, 1883.

Santo [illegible]

FRANKLIN, Lewis A. Came to San Diego in the summer of 1851, with George H. Davis, in a trading vessel from San Francisco. They decided to remain, and their San Francisco representative, Thomas Whaley, followed in October, and he and Franklin opened the *Tienda California* (California Store). This partnership was dissolved in April, 1852, Franklin retiring.

In 1851, he served in the Garra campaign, as a second lieutenant. With his brother Maurice, he built the Franklin House, which was long a prominent landmark. He also practiced law in the 50's.

FITCH, Henry D. Captain Fitch was a native of New Bedford, Mass. In 1826-30, he was master of the Mexican brig *María Ester*, calling at California ports. In 1827 he announced his intention of becoming a Mexican citizen and was naturalized in 1833. He was baptized at San Diego in 1829 as Enrique Domingo Fitch. His elopement with Señorita Josefa Carrillo is related elsewhere. In 1830-31 he was master of the *Leonor* and brought 50 Mexican convicts to San Diego, where 23 of them remained. He kept a general store in Old Town for many years and in 1845 this was the only store in the place; there had been some other small shops previously. He bought and sold hides, tallow, and furs, outfitted otter hunters, and made trading voyages along the coast. At different times he was a partner of Stearns, McKinley, Temple and Paty. He was San Diego's first *syndico*, in 1835, and held other public offices. In 1845, he made the first survey and map of the pueblo lands. In 1841 he received a grant of the Sotoyomi Rancho, in Sonoma County, and began to develop his interests there. He died in San Diego in 1849, and was the last person buried on Presidio Hill. The family removed to the ranch near Healdsburg soon after his death, and continue to reside there. Fitch Mountain, in Sonoma County, was named for him. Mrs. Fitch died at the age of 82, having kept her faculties remarkably to the end.

Their children were eleven in number, as follows: Henry E., born in 1830; Fred., 1832; William, 1834; Joseph, 1836; Josefa, 1837; John B., 1839; Isabella, 1840; Charles, 1842; Michael, 1844; María Antonia Natalia, 1845; and Anita, 1848.

The estimates of his character vary somewhat, but are mostly favorable. Dana hints that he was coarse, and perhaps he was somewhat so, according to that young man's standards; old sea captains were not then noted for their polish. The testimony is clear however, that he was an honorable, popular, and influential man and a useful citizen.

FORSTER, John. Often called Don Juan Forster, was born in England in 1815. He came to Guaymas in 1831 and two years later to California, settling at Los Angeles. In 1844 he removed to San Juan Capistrano and purchased the ex-mission lands there, where he lived for twenty years. In 1845 he was grantee of the National Rancho. In 1864, having sold the latter place, he bought the Santa Margarita Rancho from Pio Pico and spent his remaining days there. He was for many years a man of great wealth and lived and entertained in generous style; but in later years his affairs became involved and he died comparatively poor. He had not much liking for politics, but gave considerable attention to a number of colonization schemes, none of which he was able to carry to a successful conclusion. He died February 20, 1882. He was a useful and highly respected citizen.

In 1837, he married Isadora Pico, sister of Pio and Andrés Pico. They had six children, some of whom are still living in San Diego County.

GITCHELL, J. R. One of the ablest of early lawyers. Was the first attorney of the San Diego & Gila Railroad, and drew its charter. He was district attorney in 1856-7-8, and was a prominent member of the Masonic order. He left San Diego and settled in Los Angeles.

"SQUIRE" ENSWORTH

GRAY, Andrew B. In addition to his service on the boundary commission, Lieutenant Gray was one of the founders of new San Diego, and probably the original initiator of the project. He was a surveyor of more than ordinary ability, and made a survey for the old Southern Pacific Railroad on the 32d parallel in 1854, as far as the Colorado River; from that point, he made only a reconnaissance into San Diego, but it was sufficient to demonstrate the feasibility of the route. His report was published in 1856, and is a very valuable document. During the Civil War, he became a major-general in the Confederate Army.

GROOM, Robert W. Was a competent surveyor and a man of good sense and high standing. He filled the office of county surveyor in 1856, 1859, 1861-2-3, and was assemblyman in 1858 and 1860. He then went to Arizona.

HAYS, John. First county judge of San Diego County, and county treasurer in 1853. He came from Texas, where he had been an actor in the early troubles. His farm and fish-pond on Point Loma are described by Lieutenant Derby. He died May 24, 1857, having broken his neck by walking over a steep bank while on his way home, at night.

He was an elector in 1850, and a director of the San Diego & Gila Railroad from its organization in November, 1854.

HOFFMAN, Dr. David B. This name first appears on the records on December 1, 1855, and in that and the following years he served as coroner. He was admitted to practice law, April 1, 1856, and in 1859, 1860, and 1861, served as district attorney. In 1857 he was town trustee, in 1862 assemblyman, in 1865 school trustee, and in 1868 Democratic presidential elector for California. He was collector of the port from 1869 to 1872, and also acted as tidal gauger. His wife's name was Maria Dolores, daughter of Peter Wilder and Guadalupe Machado, who died August 12, 1887. He died in 1888, leaving a son named Chauncey, also a daughter, Miss Virginia Hoffman. He was a good physician and a much respected citizen.

ISRAEL, Captain Robert D. Is one of the few "real pioneers" still living. He is a native of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. Served in the Mexican War, in the Second Division, in the Rifles, and saw much hard service. Immediately after being mustered out, in 1848, he came to San Diego. He lived at Old Town several years, engaged in blacksmithing, keeping a saloon, and doing contracting with his brother, Joseph H. Israel. He became keeper of the lighthouse on June 14, 1871, and served until January 6, 1892. He was orderly sergeant in the Garra campaign and in charge of the firing squad which executed that brave man. He served as policeman and jailor in the early 50's, in 1858 was justice of the peace, and in 1865 school trustee. He married María Arcadia Alipás, daughter of Damasio and Juana Machado de Alipás, Their children are: Henry C., Joseph P. (died young), Robert L., and Joseph P., second. Since 1895 he has lived in Coronado. His memory is clear and his stories of early days most interesting and valuable.

JOHNSON, Captain George A. Captain Johnson is one of the best remembered of old San Diegans. He owned the Peñasquitas Rancho and was a large rancher and cattle raiser, and also largely interested in the Colorado Steam Navigation Company. He served as assemblyman for San Diego County in 1863 and 1867.

KELLY, Robert. A native of the Isle of Man, where he was born in 1825. Came to America while young and lived in New York and New Orleans. In 1850 he came west to the Colorado River and built a ferry-boat for the use of the government engineers. It was made of cottonwood timber, sawed by hand. He soon after came to San Diego and helped build the Davis wharf, in 1850-1. In 1852 he became, with Colonel Eddy, the owner of the Jamacha grant. They raised rye, wheat, oats, barley, and potatoes on 300 acres, and this was among the earliest successful agriculture in San Diego County. In 1857 he sold his ranch and engaged in mercantile business with Frank Ames at Old Town. In 1860 he again engaged in cattle raising with F. Hinton, on the Agua Hedionda Rancho, and later became sole owner of the rancho and made it his home. He served as *juez de paz.* In 1856 he was attacked by bandits and seriously wounded. He owned considerable real estate in new San Diego and was an enterprising and public spirited citizen. He was never married Mr. Charles Kelly, at present a member of the common council of San Diego, is his nephew.

KURTZ, Daniel Brown. Mr. Kurtz was the second mayor of San Diego, succeeding General Bean in 1851. He was born in Pennsylvania in 1819, and came to San Diego in June, 1850; studied law under J. R. Gitchell and was admitted to practice in 1856. He was state senator in 1852 and 1855, county judge in 1855-6, but resigned in the latter year; assemblyman in 1861 and 1865-6, and president of the town trustees in 1862. He was appointed brigadier-general of State Militia by the governor in July, 1856. Was a director of the old San Diego & Gila Railroad in October, 1855. He was a carpenter and did considerable contracting at Old Town and elsewhere. He removed to San Luis Rey in 1866, and resided there until his death, which occurred March 30, 1898.

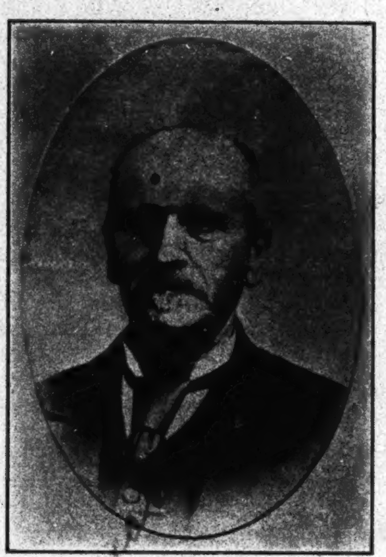
LYONS, George. A native of Donegal, Ireland, who came to San Diego in 1847. He had been carpenter on board a whaler on the Northwest coast. He kept a store in Old Town from 1851 to 1858. In the latter year he was elected sheriff and served two terms, until 1862, when he was succeeded by James McCoy. He was city trustee and postmaster in 1853-4, trustee again in 1855, etc. He was also a director of the San Diego & Gila Railroad from its organization in 1854.

In 1850, he married Bernarda Billar, daughter of Lieutenant Billar, at one time commandant of the San Diego Presidio. They had ten children, seven sons and three daughters. Their eldest son, William J. Lyons, married Sarah Ames. He was associated with H. A. Howard in the real estate business in boom days, and the *Souvenir*, published by the firm of Howard &

Lyons, consisting of advertisements written for them by Thomas L. Fitch, is famous. He has also been largely interested in mining in the Alamo district, Lower California. His daughter, Mary Dolores, was married to J. B. Hinton. She is now deceased. They had no children.

Son, Benj. Lyons, married Hattie Connors, daughter of Jas. W. Connors. They live at Coronado and have three children.

George Lyons is one of the best known of the few survivors of the days before the 50's.



D. B. KURTZ

One of the first mayors of old San Diego

MANNASSE, Joseph S. A native of Prussia, who came to San Diego in June 1853 and opened a store. He began with small capital, but prospered and soon became a large dealer. In 1856 he formed a partnership with Marcus Schiller, which continued many years. In 1868 the firm started a lumber yard at the foot of Atlantic and E Streets, and soon after bought and stocked the Encinitos Rancho. They built up a large business, but suffered severely in the drought and hard times and the early 70's, also in the great fire at Old Town in April, 1872. They laid out and sold Mannasse & Schiller's Addition, one of the earliest additions after Horton came. In later years, Mr. Mannasse's principal business was that of broker and collector. He was a public spirited citizen; served as city trustee two or three terms, and was president of that body when Horton made his purchase, but did not sign the deed. On account of his small stature he was called Mannasse Chico, or Mannasito.

He married Hannah Schiller, a sister of his partner. They had one daughter, Cilita Mannasse. Mr. Mannasse died December 26, 1897.

JAMES McCOY

For many years one of the most prominent citizens of Old San Diego, filling various offices, including that of State Senator

McCOY, James. A native of County Antrim, Ireland, born August 12, 1821. Came to America in 1842, and in 1849 became a member of Magruder's Battery, and accompanied it to San Diego. He was stationed at San Luis Rey, with a small squad, for over two years, and had some experience in Indian warfare. In 1859 he was elected county assessor and in 1861 sheriff. To the latter office he was re-elected five times and served until 1871, when he became state senator. He was a city trustee for fourteen years and took an active part in the public movements of his day.

In 1868, he married Winifred Kearny, who survived him. She is now Mrs. F. D. Murtha. They had no children.

Mr. McCoy was a man of strong personality. He had his friends, also some bitter enemies. While city trustee he was deeply involved, with Charles P. Taggart and others, in the tide lands speculation, over which a political controversy raged. The "tide landers" won at the polls, but the courts finally decided that the city had no title to the tide lands. Mr. McCoy was a man of considerable ability and a stanch friend of Old Town.

MINTER, John. According to the *Herald*, this man was attacked by an Indian and seriously cut in the left arm, in August, 1857. He married Serafina Wrightington, daughter of Thomas Wrightington, and they had a family of six children. He died several years ago. Had two daughters, one of whom, Ellen L., married Jas. W. Connors, Jr., and the other married his brother, William.

MOON, William H. A Georgian who settled at San Diego in 1849. He was an elector April 1, 1850, and a member of the first grand jury in September of that year. The records show that he was a justice of the peace and *ex officio* associate justice of the court of sessions, in 1850-1. He was a quaint character. He died February 3, 1859. He is the "Squire" to whom Derby refers, who

> "Goes 'round a-walkin'
> And sasses all respectable persons
> With his talk of pills he's invented
> To give a spirit of resentment."

MORSE, Ephraim W. This sterling pioneer is deserving of more space than the limits of this work allow. He was not only one of the earliest American settlers, but one of the most public spirited and active workers for the building of the new city.

Mr. Morse was born October 16, 1823, in Amesbury, Massachusetts. He was a farmer and school teacher until the discovery of gold in California, when he caught the fever and joined a company formed for the purpose of emigrating to the coast. "This company," he said, "was intended to be, and was, a select company. No one could join without presenting satisfactory recommendations from the selectmen of the town, the mayor of their city, or some prominent preacher." There were 100 of these associates. With their joint funds they bought the ship *Leonore* and freighted her with such goods as they thought would be salable. The constitution of the company was dated December 28, 1848, and stated that the organization was "for the purpose of buying and chartering a ship, and freighting her as the directors shall see fit, for the coast of California, and engaging in such trading and mining operations as shall be deemed most advisable." The capital stock was $30,000, divided into 100 shares of $300 each. Each member undertook to give his personal time and attention to the interests of the company, not to engage in speculation on his own account, nor to assume any pecuniary liability without the company's consent, nor to engage in any game of chance or skill by which money might be lost or won, nor to use any intoxicating liquors unless prescribed by a physician, all under penalty of a fine. Members were to be sustained and protected in sickness and interred at the company's expense in case of death. No stockholder was to be allowed or required to perform any labor on the Sabbath, "except works of necessity and mercy."

This company of highly proper young men were chiefly friends and neighbors of Mr. Morse's. Among their occupations were the following: Farmers, teachers, carpenters, clerks, bookkeepers, bookbinders, masons, seamen, hatters, blacksmiths, geologists, sail-makers, joiners, stair-builders, traders, moulders, brass finishers, machinists, soap-makers, truckmen, laborers, curriers, civil engineers, shoemakers, tailors, chemists, harness-makers, saddlers, and weavers. (This reminds one of the days of the Híjar colony.) Before sailing, they attended a special religious service at Tremont Temple, in Boston, where the Rev. Edward Beecher delivered an address full of solemn admonitions; he seemed to regard them as the leaven of a moral reformation, of which California stood particularly in need. Mr. Morse's papers include a copy of a pamphlet containing this address, with a list of the passengers, and much other curious information.

The *Leonora* sailed February 4, 1849, and, after an uneventful voyage, reached San Francisco on July 5th. Here the ship and cargo were sold and the company dispersed to the mines, on the Yuba River. Mr. Morse had for a partner a man named Levi Slack. They found the hot weather and other climatic conditions trying, and after four or five months returned to San Francisco to recuperate. They had read Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast*, and also met a man who had lived in San Diego and told them something about its climate. The partners therefore concluded to come to San Diego, and to bring with them a "venture," consisting of a stock of goods for a general store, a ready-framed house, etc. They came on the bark *Fremont*, and arrived in April, 1850. Liking the place, they put up their house at Davistown and opened their store. The building was 20x30 feet, with an upstairs room, where they slept. Within a month after his arrival, Mr. Morse found his health completely restored. In 1851, he returned to Massachusetts by way of the Nicaragua route, having a stormy and adventurous trip, but arrived safely. He married Miss Lydia A. Gray, of Amesbury, and while preparing to return to California with his wife, received news of the death of Mr. Slack and therefore hurried back to California, alone, leaving his wife to follow. He was absent all together six months, and returned in May, 1852. Mrs.

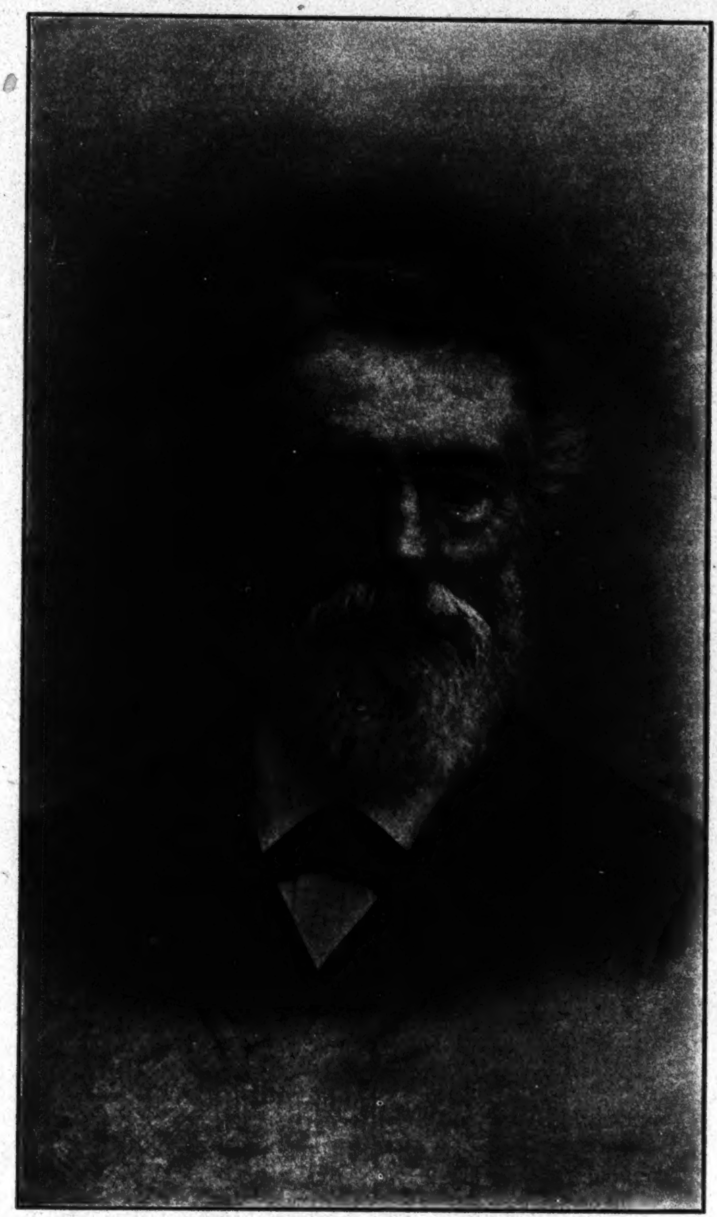
Morse came out with Thomas Whaley and wife, the following year.

By April, 1853, the new town had begun to dwindle and, having an opportunity to become a partner with Mr. Whaley at Old Town, Mr. Morse removed to that place. They kept a general merchandise store in one of the adobe buildings on the plaza. In 1856 this partnership was dissolved and Morse kept his store alone for three years. He then disposed of his stock and went to Palomar to engage in stock raising and farming. In 1861 he returned to San Diego and again engaged in business as a merchant, in the old Rose House, beneath the *Herald* office, and was also agent for Wells, Fargo & Co.'s express. In June, 1869, he sold out his stock at Old Town to Philip Crosthwaite and removed to Horton's Addition, taking the express office with him, much to the disgust of his old neighbors. From this time onward he was a resident and active worker for the new city.

In 1852, he was elected and served as associate justice of the court of sessions. He also became secretary of the board of trade and held the office twelve years. April 21, 1856, he was admitted to the practice of law. In 1858-9 he served as county treasurer, and again in 1861-2-3. In 1866-7 he was city trustee, and in the latter year was instrumental in selling the city's lands to A. E. Horton. He had shown his faith in the new town by settling there upon his first arrival; and he now stood by Horton and did everything in his power to aid in building up the new addition.

From the time of his removal to Horton's Addition he began to prosper and became a vital element in the life of the new town. In 1870 he was a leading spirit in the organization of the first bank in San Diego, the Bank of San Diego, which later was merged in the Consolidated National Bank, in both of which, as well as in the San Diego Savings Bank, he was continuously a director and officer. In 1871, he went to Washington city to represent San Diego in the matter of its pueblo lands, and argued the case with skill and ability. In company with James M. Pierce he built the handsome and substantial Pierce-Morse block on the northwest corner of Sixth and F Streets, and, in company with Messrs. Whaley and Dalton, the Morse, Whaley & Dalton block. At one time he was quite wealthy, but the collapse of the great boom hit him very hard, and he never fully recovered.

He was one of the prime movers in the organization of the San Diego & Gila Railroad and acted as a director and officer as long as the organization continued. He was also prominently connected with all other railroad projects from that time until his death, and probably knew the story of San Diego's struggle



EPHRAIM W. MORSE, THE IDEAL CITIZEN

One of the earliest American settlers at Old Town and one of the founders of New San Diego, who filled a place of great prominence in business, political and social life from his arrival in 1850 until his death in 1906 for railroad facilities better than any other man. At the time the representatives of the Santa Fé came to San Diego, in October, 1879, he was secretary of the Citizens' Committee, charged with the duty of furnishing the visitors with information. This duty he performed in a remarkably efficient manner, promptly producing everything called for, and answering all questions clearly and accurately. His associates testify that his great knowledge and untiring energy on this occasion were among the strongest elements contributing to the bringing of the railroad.

Among other activities, he was a member of the real estate firm of Morse, Noell & Whaley from 1880 to 1886, and for about a year longer of the firm of Morse, Whaley & Dalton. He was also connected with the San Diego Flume Company and made a considerable investment in it. He was public administrator in 1876-7. He had little taste for office, however, and only served when he felt it to be a duty. One of his greatest services was in connection with the park, which he was instrumental in having set aside. With characteristic steadfastness, he was a friend of the park to the end and stood up for its preservation and improvement, even when others weakened. He was a truly public spirited citizen, to whom no worthy enterprise or charity appealed in vain. He was an old and active Freemason and a member and officer of the first lodge formed in San Diego. He early learned the Spanish language and was regarded as a friend by the native population. Personally he was one of the most lovable of men, full of unaffected kindness and so unassuming that his real worth and the true value of his services were often not appreciated. He passed away on January 17, 1906, retaining his faculties in a remarkable degree to the last.

His first wife died at Old Town, in 1856. In 1865, while acting as school trustee (an office which he filled for several terms). he was instrumental in bringing here Miss Mary C. Walker, of Manchester, New Hampshire, to teach the Old Town school. The story of her troubles, and final resignation, has been told. On December 20, 1866, Mr. Morse and Miss Walker were married. By his first wife, he had one son, Edward W. Morse, who is a resident of Merrimac, Mass.

NOELL, Charles P. Born in Bedford County, Virginia, February 20, 1812. Came to California in November, 1848. He was a merchant in San Francisco until December, 1849, when he lost all he had in one of the great fires. In February, 1850, he came to San Diego and put up the first wooden building in the place. Here he conducted a general store, in partnership with Judge John Hays, for eighteen months. In company with M. M. Sexton and James Fitten, he bought a schooner in San

Francisco, loaded it with a miscellaneous cargo, and went on a trading expedition up the Gulf of California. They bought a band of sheep in Sonora, shipped them across the gulf, and drove them to San Diego overland. This was the first large band of sheep ever brought to San Diego County. In 1853, he sold his interest in the store to Judge Hays. The following year, he was elected and served as assemblyman. He then went to South America and remained two or three years, prospecting for gold. In 1870 he came back to San Diego, but returned to Texas where he had a brother, and three years later settled in San Diego for good.

In 1850, he was one of the purchasers of the addition known as Middletown, and, some years later, this proved a profitable investment. He was in the real estate business in partnership with Morse and Whaley, from about 1880 to 1886, when he retired. He was a public spirited citizen and did much to aid in the development of the city. In 1850, he was chosen one of the first councilmen; while serving in that capacity, he did everything in his power to prevent the looting of the city treasury by the ring which were then in the majority. Finding he could accomplish nothing, he resigned, in disgust. Two years later, when the treasury was empty and the town impoverished by the folly of his opponents, he was chosen a member of the first board of trustees (the city charter having been abolished). He was never married. He died December 30, 1887, leaving a valuable estate, and a richer legacy in the esteem of his neighbors. On his monument is carved the words: "An Honest Man is the Noblest Work of God." He deserves everlasting remembrance as the one honest and fearless man in San Diego's first reign of graft.

NOYES, William H. Noyes was editor of the *Herald* on several occasions during Ames's temporary absence, and once conducted the paper for a long period. He joined a company of volunteers and went to Arizona with them, a short time before the Civil War, and was killed in a battle with outlaws.

PENDLETON, George Allan. Born at Bowling Green, Virginia, in 1823. He was appointed to West Point in 1842, and was there at the same time as Grant, Sherman, Stoneman, and others. Cave J. Couts was also his classmate. He was appointed first lieutenant in the Seventh Regiment, New York Volunteers, August 29, 1846. This was the famous "Stevenson Regiment." The appointment was signed by Governor Silas Wright, of New York, and bears on its back the certificate of Colonel Stevenson that Pendleton had taken the oath. The regiment was stationed at La Paz more than a year and then came to California, seeing little active service in the Mexican War. Lieutenant Pendleton resigned and settled at Sonora, Tuolumne County, where he engaged in business. In 1849 he represented the San Joaquin district in the State Constitutional Convention. In 1855 he came to San Diego and made it his home.

In the following year he organized the San Diego Guards, was chosen captain, and remained at the head of the organization until it was disbanded, shortly before the Civil War. In 1857 he was elected county clerk and recorder (the two offices being combined in one), and continued to fill the position until his death, in 1871. He also held various other offices, being at times the only official in the county.

Captain Pendleton was a nephew of Colonel J. Bankhead Magruder and a descendant of the last British governor of Virginia. He was a man of capacity and culture. He married, first, Concepcion B. Estudillo, daughter of José Antonio Estudillo. He married, second, Clara F. Flynn, who survives him. He died March 3, 1871. His widow is now the wife of William Carson, and lives in San Diego. She relates that during the boom times, after Horton came, Mr. Pendleton would sometimes have as many as 400 or 500 deeds on hand at a time, waiting to be recorded. She was his deputy several years. His part in the conveyance of the city lands to Horton has been related. He was a steadfast friend of Old Town.

c. May 21, 1865

POOLE, Gharles Henry. Born in Danvers, Mass., February 5, 1835. Entered West Point but resigned before completing course. Engaged in newspaper work and surveying at Salem and Boston. In 1853 was appointed assistant to Lieutenant Derby in the survey of the river and harbor of San Diego. His wife came out with Thomas Whaley, Mrs. Morse, and party, in 1853. He made some surveys of lands on the desert, and two or more surveys for the San Diego & Gila Railroad (the first of the kind ever made in San Diego County). He was county surveyor several terms, and made an official survey and map of the San Diego pueblo lands which is well known. His report to the Surveyor-General is a most interesting document, full of information, to say nothing of its humor. He was a very bright man. After leaving San Diego, he had a checkered career. From the year 1867, he was located in Washington, D. C., as assistant topographer in the P. O. Department, until his death, which occurred January 25, 1880.

ROBINSON, James W. Judge Robinson was, perhaps, the only early settler who had a distinguished career before coming to San Diego. He was a native of Ohio, went to Texas at an early day, and in 1835 was living in Austin. In November of that year he was a member of a convention which met at San Felipe, and was by that body chosen lieutenant-governor of Texas. In the following January, as the result of a long quarrel between Governor Smith and his council, Smith was deposed and Robinson became governor of Texas. The independence of Texas was proclaimed on March 2d and the republic organized. In December, 1836, he was commissioned judge of the 41st judicial district and became a member of the San Antonio bar. A short time after, Santa Aña had the whole court seized and carried away prisoners, and confined in the fortress of Perote. In January, 1843, tiring of his imprisonment, Robinson sent a letter to the Mexican president proposing to use his good offices in the negotiation of peace between the two countries. His offer was accepted and he was released and sent as a commissioner from Santa Aña to the Texan authorities. There was never any chance of such a proposition being accepted by the Texans, and Robinson knew it; but he had gained his object—his liberty.

In 1850, Governor Robinson came to San Diego with his wife and son, and settled. From the first he took a leading part in public affairs. It was stated by Mr. Morse that Robinson and Louis Rose were the originators of the San Diego and Gila Railroad project. He was district attorney in 1852-3-4-5, and in the latter year delivered the Fourth-of-July oration at Old Town. He was school commissioner in 1854, and rendered many other important services. He died late in October, 1857. His son, William N. Robinson, was a child when he came to San Diego with his parents. He was a well known citizen of Jamul, where he died October 30, 1878. He served in the Confederate army. In 1869-70 he represented the county in the assembly. Mrs. Robinson (his mother) was for many years the only American woman living in San Diego.

ROSE, Louis. Mr. Rose's business undertakings have been mentioned. He came to San Diego in 1850, from Texas, with Governor Robinson and party. He was a member of the first grand jury, in 1850, city trustee in 1853 and, later, interested in the San Diego & Gila Railroad and its treasurer from organization. Served as a volunteer in the Garra uprising. About 1866, he bought the tract known as "Rose's Garden" from Judge Hollister. He laid out Roseville on lands purchased by him, partly from Governor Robinson and partly from the city. At one time he was offered $100,000 for the townsite, but refused it, believing it would be the site of the future city. He was a Mason and one of the founders of Lodge No. 35. He was a most enterprising citizen and at times had considerable means. In June, 1883, he resigned as postmaster at Old Town, after having served nearly ten years. He died February 14, 1888. His only child, Miss Henrietta Rose, is a teacher in the San Diego public schools.

SCHILLER, Marcus. Born in Prussia, October 2, 1819. Came to America when 17, and in 1853 to San Francisco. Three years later, broken in health and fortune, he came to San Diego. In 1857 he formed a partnership with Joseph S. Mannasse. The activities of the firm of Mannasse & Schiller have been sketched.

Mr. Schiller was city trustee in 1860-1 and 1868, and in the latter year aided in establishing the park. He was superintendent of schools in 1868-9. Also served as stockholder and director of the San Diego & Gila R. R. He married Miss Rebecca Barnett, of San Francisco, in September, 1861, and left a family. He died March 19, 1904.

SLOANE, Joshua. If this work were a collection of entertaining anecdotes, instead of a sober and veracious history, it would be easy to fill it with stories about the various characters who once lived here. Among them all there is, perhaps, none more interesting than Joshua Sloane. He was the butt of many jokes and the "fresh" young newspaper writers of the early 70's took such liberties with his personality that it is difficult to disentangle him from their fairy tales. But enough has been gathered from the records and from the recollections of his friends to show that he was something more than merely an eccentric old man.

He was a native of Ireland, came of a good family, and had advantages when young. He came to San Diego in the early 50's and earned a livelihood by various pursuits. At one time he was a clerk in Morse's store and later a deputy in Captain Pendleton's office. He owned a wind-power mill near the old Mission and had some real estate. In 1858 he was deputy postmaster and in the following year postmaster. When his term was about to expire, the people of San Diego, who were nearly all opposed to him in politics, signed a protest against his reappointment. When the letter containing this document was deposited in the postoffice, Sloane's curiosity was aroused by its appearance and address, and he opened it and read the enclosure. Having done this, he coolly cut off the remonstrance, wrote on similar paper a petition for his own reappointment, pasted the signatures below it, and forwarded the altered enclosure in a new envelope. The people of San Diego were at a loss to understand why their almost unanimous petition passed unheeded, and it remained a mystery until Sloane himself told the story, years after.

In the campaign of 1856, Sloane voted for Frémont, and is said to have been one of two or three in San Diego who did so. In the campaign of 1860 he was very active, organized a Republican club, and became known to the party leaders in the East. For this service he was made collector of the port in 1861, and served one term. A famous story about those days was to the effect that he appointed his dog, "Patrick," deputy collector, and carried him on the pay roll. He was an autograph collector and delighted to show the letters he had received from notable persons.

His greatest service to San Diego was, undoubtedly, his work for the park. He was secretary of the board of trustees at the time the question of setting aside the park came up, and was one of the earliest, most tireless, and most earnest advocates of a large park. One of his friends says regarding this: "He was the man who first proposed having a big park here and he urged it upon the trustees till they let him have his way. There were people here who wanted it cut down and it was due to his efforts that this was not done. He often said to me: 'They want to cut up the park, but I'm damned if they shall do it!' He stood like a bulldog over that big park and, some day, people will be grateful to him for doing so. His mission here seemed to be to save that park, and he did it."

While Joshua Sloane was a shy man, he had a few warm friends who understood him and speak of him to this day with respect and affection. There is no doubt that he was eccentric and much misunderstood. He died, unmarried, January 6, 1879.

SMITH, Albert B. This was one of the earliest American settlers, coming to San Diego before the Mexican War. He was a native of New York. His service in the Mexican War has been described. In 1856, 1858-9 he was superintendent of schools. He married Guadalupe Machado de Wilder, widow of Peter Wilder and daughter of José Manuel Machado. They had several children: Angelo Smith, born 1851; married Sally J. Burr, widow of Dr. Edward Burr; they had five children. Lives in the old Burr place at Old Town. Mrs. Smith died recently. Estes G. Smith, married first, Joseph Schellinger; second, Richard Kerren, both of whom are dead. She lives at Old Town. Albert H. Smith, married first, Mary Pond; they had five children; second, Julia Cota, who had four children. Lives in the old A. B. Smith house at Old Town. Mary Smith, first wife of Andrew Cassidy. Ysabel Smith, married Geo. Lyons and had three children; she is dead.

STEWART, John C. Was a shipmate of Richard Henry Dana in 1834, and settled at San Diego in 1838. Dana speaks of meeting him when he revisited San Diego, in 1859. He was born Sept. 2, 1811, and died February 2, 1892. He married Rosa Machado, daughter of José Manuel Machado; she was born November 15, 1828, and died May 4, 1898. John C. Stewart was second mate of the *Alert*. He was a pilot and was called "El Pilato." He served in the Mexican War and with the Fitz-

gerald Volunteers in 1851. Children: John B., married; lives at San Bernardino; has five children. Manuel, unmarried, lives at Old Town. James, unmarried, lives at San Diego. Frank J., unmarried, lives with Paul Connors at Old Town. Rosa, unmarried. Serafina, married Louis Serrano. Mary N., married Paul S. Connors. Susan, married Ben F. Parsons, lives at Old Town; has three children.

SUTHERLAND, Thomas W. Was one of the earliest, if not the very first, attorney to make San Diego his home. He was *alcalde* March 18, 1850, on which date he signed the deed to Davis and associates for the new San Diego tract. He was the first city attorney under the American administration, and district attorney in 1851. He removed to San Francisco in 1852.

TIBBETTS (or Tebbetts), George P. Was an elector at La Playa, April 1, 1850. A member of the "Reform" council elected in 1851, and mayor in 1852, being the last mayor before the abolition of the city's charter. He was associated with the San Diego & Gila R. R. from its inception, and was its secretary from 1854 to 1858. He served as an ensign in the Garra campaign, and in 1853 was a captain of militia under Kurtz. He left San Diego before its new prosperity began and settled at Santa Barbara, where he was for many years the publisher of the *News*.

WALL, Enos A. Born at Freeport, Maine. Was an elector at San Diego, April 1, 1850. Married Antonia Machado, daughter of José Manuel Machado. He died in new San Diego, January 2, 1885, and left a family, none of whom lives here now. A daughter, Refugia, married Capt. William Price. He was a shipmate of John C. Stewart's, and is said to have been in charge of one of the old hide houses when Dana was at San Diego in 1836.

WARNER, Jonathan T. Better known as Don Juan Warner, was born at Lyme, Connecticut, November 20, 1807. He came to California in 1831 and settled at Los Angeles. In 1848 he removed to what is known as Warner's Ranch and lived there until 1857. His adventures in the Garra insurrection have been mentioned. In 1836, he married Anita Gale, daughter of William A. Gale. His later years were spent in Los Angeles. He was San Diego's first state senator, serving in 1850-1-2.

WHALEY, Thomas. Mr. Whaley was born in New York City, October 5, 1823. He received a good education at Washington Institution, and then travelled two years in Europe with his tutor, M. Emile Mallet. At the breaking out of the gold fever he sailed for California in the *Sutton*,—the first ship to leave that port for the diggings,—and reached San Francisco

July 22, 1849. In the summer of 1851, Lewis A. Franklin and George H. Davis chartered a vessel and with a cargo of goods started down the coast on a trading voyage. Mr. Whaley had an interest in this venture, but remained in San Francisco as agent. Reaching San Diego, they liked the place so well that they determined to remain. Mr. Whaley followed in October, and, in partnership with Franklin, opened the *Tienda California* (California Store). In the following April the firm was dissolved and in partnership with Jack Hinton, Mr. Whaley bought the interest of R. E. Raymond in the *Tienda General* (general store). This partnership continued a year and in that time the firm cleared $18,600—quite a sum for those days. In April, 1853, Hinton retired and E. W. Morse entered the firm.

MR. AND MRS. THOMAS WHALEY

Mr. Whaley went to New York and married Miss Anna E. Lannay, August 14, 1853. Mrs. Whaley is of pure French extraction, being a descendant of the De Lannay and Godefrois families. On the return of the party to San Diego a number of others, including Mrs. Morse and Mrs. Poole, came with them.

In 1856 Mr. Morse retired from the firm and Mr. Whaley continued alone, also engaging in brickmaking in Mission Valley —the first burnt bricks made in San Diego County. In that year, also, he erected his residence and store building, which is still standing at Old Town—the first burnt brick building on the coast south of San Francisco. In 1858 he was engaged in mercantile business with Walter Ringgold, but the store and goods were destroyed by an incendiary fire.

Upon the breaking out of the Garra insurrection, Mr. Whaley joined the Fitzgerald Volunteers and served in the campaign. In 1859 he quitted San Diego and was in different employments, at San Francisco and in Alaska. Soon after Horton came, he returned from New York, bringing a stock of goods with him. He bought out Mr. Morse, who removed to new San Diego, and took into partnership Philip Crosthwaite. By February, 1870, it had become quite evident that the new town would prevail as the city of the future, and the firm removed to Horton's Addition. The enterprise did not prosper, however, and the connection was a disastrous one for Mr. Whaley. In 1873 he again went to New York and remained five years. In 1879 he once more settled in San Diego, and in the following fall engaged in the real estate business with E. W. Morse. Charles P. Noell was soon after admitted to the firm. In February, 1886, Mr. Noell sold out to R. H. Dalton. Mr. Whaley retired from active business in 1888. He was a large property owner at Old Town, new San Diego, and La Playa. He was a public spirited citizen, but took little part in politics, only holding the office of city trustee in 1885, city clerk in 1881-2, etc. He died December 14, 1890.

WILDER, Peter. One of the American residents in 1845. He married Guadalupe Machado, daughter of José Manuel Machado. They had two daughters: Dolores, who was married to Dr. David B. Hoffman, and Refugia, who was the wife of Captain Samuel Warren Hackett. Wilder died and his widow was married a second time, to Albert B. Smith.

WITHERBY, Oliver S. Judge Witherby was one of the most important men in the community, in his day, as he is yet one of the best remembered. He was born near Cincinnati, Ohio, February 19, 1815. Received his education at the Miami University, where he graduated in 1836. Studied law in Hamilton, Ohio, and was admitted to practice in 1840. At the breaking out of the Mexican War, he was appointed first lieutenant and served about a year, when he was invalided and discharged. Served as prosecuting attorney of Hamilton County and acted as editor of the Hamilton *Telegraph*. In February, 1849, came to San Diego as quartermaster and commissary of the U. S. Boundary Commission, reaching San Diego June 1. Liking the country, he decided to remain, and the people of San Diego County elected him to represent them in the first assembly, at Monterey, in 1850. He was appointed by this legislature judge of the newly created first district court and served the full term of three years. In 1853 he was appointed collector of customs for San Diego and adjoining counties and filled a term of four years. In 1857 he purchased the Escondido Rancho and for more than ten years was a successful farmer and stock raiser. In 1868 he sold his ranch and removed to San Diego. He was a stockholder and director of the early banks of San Diego, and in 1879, upon the consolidation of the Bank of San Diego and the Commercial Bank, he was chosen president of the new institution and served several years. He invested largely in real estate and showed his faith in the city's future at all times. He was prominently connected, as an investor and executive officer, with most of the important enterprises of his day. At the collapse of the great boom and the subsequent bank failures, he was "caught hard" and lost practically his whole fortune, although he had been rated at half a million. He died December 18, 1896.

Besides the offices mentioned, he served as public administrator from 1860 to 1867. He was also intimately connected with the San Diego & Gila R. R., and was its president in 1858 and for some years after. Judge Witherby was a genial and popular man.

WRIGHTINGTON, Thomas. With the possible exception of Henry D. Fitch, Thomas Wrightington was the first American settler in San Diego. He came with Abel Stearns, on the *Ayucucho*, in 1833, and settled, while Stearns went on up the coast. Wrightington was supercargo of the vessel. He was from Fall River, Mass., was a shoemaker by trade, and had a good education. He applied for naturalization in 1835 and got provisional papers in 1838. He served as a volunteer in the Mexican War. He held several minor offices, both under the Mexican and American governments. Bancroft spells his name Ridington, which is erroneous.

He married Juana Machado de Alipás, widow of Damasio Alipás and daughter of José Manuel Machado. Their children were José, Serafina, and Luis. José was sent to Boston with the intention that he should be adopted and brought up by an uncle; but, having taken offense at a colored footman in his uncle's house, he went off to sea on his own account. He was a whaler all his life and married a Chilean woman. Serafina was married to John Minturn. Luis was killed by a horse, at San Juan.

Mrs. Wrightington was a widow several years, and a well remembered character of Old Town. She was a mother to all the unfortunates around the Bay. She spent her last days with her daughter, Mrs. Israel, at Coronado.

CHAPTER XIII

THE JOURNALISM OF OLD SAN DIEGO

THE first paper published in the city of San Diego was the *San Diego Herald.* The initial number appeared on May 29, 1851, only twelve days after the first publication of *La Estrella de Los Angeles* (The Star of Los Angeles). In September of the preceding year a small sheet called the *San Luis Rey Coyote* had been issued by some army officers stationed at that mission, purporting to be edited by one C. Senior (Sí Señor). It was a comic journal neatly written, and contained a map and some useful information; but it was not in any proper sense of the word a newspaper, and only one number was published. It is not known how many copies were issued.

The *Herald* was at first a four-page four-column paper, published every Thursday. The subscription price was $10 per annum, and the advertising rates were: 8 lines or less, $4 for the first insertion and $2 for each subsequent insertion; business cards at monthly rates and a discount offered to yearly advertisers. The reading matter in the first number, including a list of 320 letters which had accumulated in the San Diego postoffice, filled five and three-fourths columns. The local advertisements made two columns, and those of San Francisco advertisers eight and one-fourth columns. The paper contained quite a little local news and was well set up and printed.

The editor and proprietor of this paper was John Judson Ames. He was born in Calais, Maine, May 18, 1821, and was therefore a few days past his thirtieth birthday when he settled in San Diego. He was a tall, stout, broad-shouldered man, six feet six and one-half inches high, proportionately built, and of great physical strength. His father was a shipbuilder and owner. Early in the 40's young Ames's father sent him as second mate of one of his ships on a voyage to Liverpool. Upon his return, while the vessel was being moored to the wharf at Boston, a gang of rough sailor boarding-house runners rushed on board to get the crew away. Ames remonstrated with them, saying if they would wait until the ship was made fast and cleaned up, the men might go where they pleased. The runners were insolent, however, a quarrel ensued, and one of the intruders finally struck him a blow on the chest. Ames retaliated with what he meant for a light blow, merely straightening out his arm, but, to his horror, his adversary fell dead at his feet. He was immediately arrested, tried for manslaughter, convicted, and sentenced to a long term in the Leverett Street Jail. The roughs had sworn hard against him, but President John Tyler understood the true facts in the case, and at once pardoned him. After this, he was sent to school to complete his education. A few years later, being of a literary turn, he engaged in newspaper work, and in 1848 went to Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and started a paper which he called the *Dime Catcher,* devoted to the cause of the Whig party, in general, and of General Zachary Taylor's candidacy for the presidency, in particular.

After the discovery of gold, he joined the stream of immigrants and came to California *via* Panama, arriving at San Francisco October 28, 1849, without a penny in his pockets. Borrowing a handcart, he engaged in the business of hauling trunks and luggage. He always kept as a pocket-piece the first quarter of a dollar he earned in this way. His financial condition soon improved and he formed a number of valuable friendships, especially among his Masonic brethren at San Francisco. He was present at the first meeting of any Masonic lodge in California, that of California Lodge (now No. 1); on November 17, 1849. On the following 9th of December he became a member of this lodge, presenting his demit from St. Croix Lodge No. 40, F. & A. M. of Maine. He also became interested in newspaper work, writing under the pen name of "Boston."

The question naturally occurs at this point: What was it which induced a man thus situated to leave these friends and settle in a little town of five or six hundred inhabitants? Ames's own writings may be searched for the answer, in vain. It is scarcely sufficient to suppose that it was due to his desire for independent employment, for at that time the region could not support a paper which would pay its publisher a living. The matter has excited wonder in other quarters. Thus, a writer in the Sacramento *Union* says:

> A number of young but well-defined interests called for the publication of an organ in this end of the Western American seaboard, though San Diego at that early day, no less than in later times, offered very little encouragement of the quality of local support to a newspaper. Any person who was willing to accept the chances of an easy living, and endure the dull routine of a little out of the way place, holding on for advantages that must certainly come by and by, might publish a newspaper in San Diego successfully; and such a person seems to have been

> found in the conductor of the organ at that place. To him belongs the merit of establishing the press on that lonely shore.

The answer to this question rests upon the testimony of living men, to whom Ames disclosed it in confidence, and is strikingly confirmed by the whole policy of the *Herald*. *Ames established the Herald as the organ of United States Senator William M. Gwin, who expected to bring about the division of the state, the annexation of Lower California and the Sandwich Islands, and the construction of a Southern transcontinental railway terminating at San Diego.* This, of course, would have made San Diego the capital of the new state, and probably the most important city on the Pacific coast. That Gwin had the purposes mentioned, and that the first transcontinental railway project was for a line on the 32nd parallel and intended as an outlet for the Southern states, are historical facts too well known to require proof. From the first, the *Herald* vigorously supported Senator Gwin's policies, the project of state division, and the Southern transcontinental railway. Moreover, the surprisingly large volume of San Francisco advertisements in the *Herald* can scarcely be accounted for on any theory except that the paper was subsidized by means of these advertisements. It is scarcely reasonable to suppose that there was business enough here to justify San Francisco merchants in using more than half of Ames's space for their advertisements, at the start, and to keep this up for years. As a matter of fact, Ames took only a slight part in the public life of San Diego, and spent all the time he possibly could in San Francisco. Gwin failed in all these schemes, although he served as senator from California two full terms from 1849 to 1860. He also failed to keep his promises to Ames, and the editor's end, broken in health, fortune, and ambition, was truly a sad one. But this is anticipating; at the present point in our story, our editor is young, strong, and full of hope.

In getting his paper established at San Diego, he had to overcome obstacles which, as he himself says, "would have disheartened any but a 'live Yankee.'" He issued a prospectus in December, 1850, and took subscription and advertising contracts on the strength of it. Had his plans prospered, the *Herald* would have been the first newspaper printed south of Monterey; but delays and difficulties followed. He says in his first number:

> We issued our prospectus in December last, and supposed at the time that we had secured the material for our paper; but when we come to put our hand on it, *it wasn't there!* Determined to lose no time, we took the first boat for New Orleans, where we selected our office, and had returned as far as the

> Isthmus, when Dame Misfortune gave us another kick, snagged our boat, and sunk everything in the Chagres River. After fishing a day or two we got enough to get out a paper, and pushed on for Gorgona, letting the balance go to Davy Jones' Locker. Then comes the tug of war, in getting our press and heavy boxes of type across the Isthmus. Three weeks of anxiety and toil prostrated us with the Panama fever by which we missed our passage in the regular mail steamer—the only boat that touched at San Diego—thereby obliging us to go on board a propeller bound for San Francisco. This boat sprung a leak off the Gulf of Tehauntepec—came near sinking—run on a sand-bank—and finally got into Acapulco where she was detained a week in repairing. We at last arrived in San Francisco, just in time to lose more of our material by the late fire.

Some side lights are thrown upon his adventures, by the way, by those to whom he related them more in detail. On arriving at Chagres, he found much difficulty in getting his outfit transported across the Isthmus. The only means of conveyance was by barges or canoes up the Chagres River to the head of navigation at Gorgona or Cruces, and thence on the backs of mules to Panama. He engaged a bungo with a crew of native boatmen and started up the river. When the boat was snagged, the standard of the press, a casting weighing about four hundred pounds, was part of the sunken material and, although the river was shallow, the boatmen were unable to lift it up on the boat again. After watching their futile efforts for half a day, Ames lost his patience completely and, jumping overboard in a frenzy and scattering the boatmen right and left, he seized the press and placed it upon the boat, himself. Arriving at Cruces, he experienced great difficulty in getting his goods transported by mules, and had to pay exorbitant prices. When he reached Panama, he was compelled by the attack of fever to remain some time, along with a number of California immigrants waiting for a steamer. During this time of waiting, he set up his plant and published a paper called the *Panama Herald*, half in English and half in Spanish.

It would seem that a man of so much strength and tenacity of purpose was of the sort to make a success of his newspaper venture at San Diego; and, indeed, though the *Herald* was somewhat erratic, it never lacked in vigor.

Ames cast in his lot with the new town (Graytown, or Davis's Folly), which was then just starting. He had met William Heath Davis before coming, and the latter aided him to the extent of almost $1,000 in getting his press set up—a debt which was never discharged. The office of the *Herald* was over the store of Hooper & Co., at the corner of Fourth and California Streets. About two years later, when the new town had proven a temporary failure, the *Herald* was removed to Old Town, and for the greater part of its life occupied the second floor of a building owned by Louis Rose, at the northwest corner of the plaza.

Ames's frequent trips to San Francisco, doubtless made for the purpose of looking after his political fences as well as his advertising patronage, began soon after his settlement in San Diego. It has been suggested that his readers, as well as himself, needed an occasional rest. Having no partner, it was his custom to leave the paper in charge of his foreman or some friend whom he could induce to undertake the burden. This course led to trouble on more than one occasion. It was quite the usual thing for an issue or two to be skipped at such a time. While he was away on these and other trips, it was Ames's custom to write long letters to the *Herald*, which he signed "Boston," and hence he became locally known as "Boston."

His first trip to San Francisco seems to have been on October 30, 1851, when he left his foreman, R. M. Winants, in charge of the paper, "with a good pair of scissors and a vast pile of exchanges."

On January 24, 1852, he went to San Francisco again, leaving "the amiable trio, Vaurian & Co.," to occupy the editorial chair. Vaurian was the pen name of a contributor to the *Herald*, whose identity is unknown.

In the latter part of August, 1852, Ames left for the Atlantic States, and did not return until the following March. He left the keys of his office with Judge James W. Robinson, but in December a man named William N. Walton came to San Diego and, representing to Judge Robinson that he had arranged with Ames in San Francisco to publish the paper, was allowed to take possession. He proceeded to publish the paper in his own name from December 4 until Ames's return, March 19-21, 1853, when he suddenly disappeared. The only allusion Ames made to this affair upon his return was this:

> During our absence in the Atlantic States, last winter, a friend to whom we loaned the keys of our office allowed a usurper to enter there, who made such sad havoc with our working tools, to say nothing of the injury done to the reputation of the *Herald*, that it will take some time yet to get things established on the old basis.

Six years later this Walton was arrested in Portland, Oregon, on a charge of robbery, and the *Herald*, in commenting on this, says that at the time of the Walton episode he had closed the office "for the season."

The *Herald* of August 13, 1853, contained the following announcement:

> We shall leave on the first steamer for San Francisco, to be absent about two weeks. A friend of acknowledged ability and literary acquirements will occupy the Old Arm Chair during our absence.

This was the prelude to the most amusing scrape that Ames's absences led him into, as it was the occasion when Lieutenant Derby edited the *Herald* for six weeks (instead of two) and changed its politics, as related farther on. Ames seems to have learned something from this experience, for upon starting again for San Francisco, about December 3rd, of the same year, leaving one "Borax" in charge, he gave the editor *pro tem.* of the paper "strict injunctions not to change its politics," as Derby had done.

In April, 1855, Ames went East again. It is said this trip was made on public business, but nothing has come to light to show what the public business was. Ames himself states that he was present at the convention of the American (Knownothing) party, in Philadelphia, when Fillmore was nominated for president. It is a matter of record that he brought out *Phoenixiana* at this time, and it is also understood that he married and brought his wife to San Diego with him upon his return, some time the following spring.

During this prolonged absence, Ames left Wm. H. Noyes in charge of the paper, who took good care of it, not only at this time, but also on several subsequent occasions when Ames went to San Francisco. In April, 1857, when about to depart on such a trip, Ames left the following savage attack upon certain officials for insertion in the next issue:

> Malfeasance in Office: . . . We have for a long time been aware of the utter unfitness of our County Clerk and Recorder for the position which he occupies. . . . It is well known that this County is deeply in debt, but it is not so well known that the greatest portion of this debt has gone into the hands of county officers. . . . The salary of the County Judge of this county is fixed by law at $1000 and yet for a long time Mr. Couts, the County Auditor, has been issuing scrip to him at the rate of $1200 per annum.

He then goes on to say that a party had a bill against the county, of long standing, which after some trouble he got approved, and demanded the issuance of scrip to him *first*, so that it would be the first paid when the county had any money. He charges that Couts promised to do this but evaded it and issued scrip clandestinely to his friends ahead of it.

Walley B. Coutts ?

> It is to be regretted that there are not other offices in the county to which he (Couts) could be elected or appointed, as he at present only fills the following: County Clerk, County Recorder, County Auditor, Clerk of the Court of Sessions, Clerk

of the First District Court, Clerk of the Board of Supervisors and Clerk of the Board of Equalization; the income of which offices is greater than that of any other officer in the county.

This looks as though Gilbert had been reading the *San Diego Herald* when he drew his character of Pooh Bah, in the opera of the Mikado. In the next issue of the *Herald* Noyes repudiates this blast and "wishes it distinctly understood that it owes its paternity to the regular editor."

The issue of May 30, 1857, contains an apology for its leanness in the matter of news, "the editor being absent in San Francisco, the sub-editor gone into the country, and, to crown all, the 'devil' having sloped, leaving us 'alone in our glory,' with an overabundance of labor to perform, and a dearth of local news."

WILLIAM H. NOYES

It is probable that on account of his relations with Senator Gwin, Ames had free steamer transportation during the first two or three years of the *Herald's* life. Derby seems to have had some such thought in his mind when writing this:

"*Facilis descensus Averni*, which may be liberally translated:

It is easy to go to San Francisco. Ames has gone."

During the last year or two of the *Herald's* publication in San Diego it was not so "easy," for the paper severely criticises the Holliday steamship line, complains of its poor service and high fares, "which prevent the editor from going to San Francisco on pressing business," indicating, possibly, that the free pass had been called in.

The political complexion of the paper was changed several times. The first issue announced it to be "Independent in all things, neutral in nothing," but soon afterward it supported Bigler for governor, and the full Democratic ticket nominated by the Benicia convention. But Ames was independent enough to kick over all party traces when he felt like it. He opposed President Pierce and severely criticised him at times; one reason for this doubtless being the fact that Pierce had vetoed a bill appropriating money for the improvement of the San Diego River. In April, 1855, he hoisted the name of General Sam Houston for president. In May, 1856, he came out for Fillmore and Donelson for president and vice-president, and went over completely to the Knownothing party, substituting for his original motto the following: "Thoroughly American in principle, sentiment and effort." This bolt to the Knownothing party appears not to have produced any results. The town and county were Democratic up to the time that Horton came, and for some little time thereafter. When the Knownothing movement died out Ames returned to the Democratic fold. In 1857 his motto was changed to: "Devoted to the interest of Southern California."

It is clear that Ames suppressed many things which he thought might hurt the reputation of the town. The trouble with the San Francisco volunteers, following the Garra insurrection, is scarcely mentioned in the *Herald*. Again, while Ames was away on one of his trips, the editor *pro tem.* thought proper to write up and condemn certain disorders. Some of the citizens protested against this publicity in a letter in which they declared it was contrary to Ames's policy to have such items appear. It may be inferred from this that much interesting historical material has been lost, on account of this policy of suppression—a policy which is not yet extinct.

The many difficulties under which the paper struggled would make an interesting story could Ames himself tell it. There was no telegraph, no telephone, no railroad in those days, and for news of the outside world he was dependent upon a semimonthly mail service by steamer, which service was poor and irregular. He seems to have depended for his exchanges almost entirely upon the pursers of the steamers calling at this port.

In almost every issue of the paper he acknowledges the receipt of bundles of papers, or growls about the neglect of those who should deliver mail and do not. After the transcontinental stage line was opened to the East (August 31, 1857) matters went somewhat better.

In the latter part of 1855 the *Herald* ran for some time a list of all the postoffices in California and at all times it was found necessary to fill up with miscellaneous matter.

Another source of trouble was the difficulty of obtaining supplies of print paper, and several issues were printed on common brown wrapping paper, for the reason that the paper ordered had, through some neglect or blunder at San Francisco, not arrived.

The failure of Gwin's schemes had a very depressing effect upon Ames, whose hopes and expectations had been very high, and other causes tended to discourage him. His wife died March 14, 1857, and not long after unknown parties mutilated and destroyed the monument at her grave. On October of this year, while he was absent in San Francisco, a gale blew down and completely demolished his house at Old Town, known as "Cosy Cottage." These things saddened and embittered him and, already somewhat given to indulgence in liquor, he became dissipated and broken in health. He married again, about 1858 or 1859. Soon after this, Brigham Young ordered the Mormons living at San Bernardino to come to Salt Lake to aid him in resisting the United States troops under Albert Sydney Johnston, and most of them sold out in haste for whatever they could get. The influx of Americans who bought them out, together with the discovery of gold in Holcomb Valley, made San Bernardino quite lively and Ames determined to remove his paper to that place. The last number of the *San Diego Herald* was issued April 7, 1860, and then Mr. Harvey C. Ladd, a Mormon who had been a resident of San Diego, hauled the outfit to San Bernardino, and Ames began the publication of the *San Bernardino Herald.* The new paper did not prosper, however, and in a short time he sold out to Major Edwin A. Sherman. Ames's end was now near, and he died on the 28th day of July, 1861. He had one son, called Huddie, born in San Diego, November 19, 1859, and died in San Bernardino March 27, 1863. His widow married again, and she is now also deceased.

The press which was used in printing the *San Diego Herald* was an old-fashioned Washington hand press, made by R. Hoe & Co., New York, and numbered 2327. It is still in use, in Independence, Inyo County, where it prints the *Inyo Independent.* After using it for a time to publish the *San Bernardino Patriot,* at the beginning of the Civil War, Major Sherman employed

Mr. Ladd to haul it across the mountains to Aurora, then in California, but now in Nevada, where in May, 1862, he commenced the publication of the *Esmeralda Star*. Three years later he sold the outfit to other parties, and it was later taken to Independence. It should be brought to San Diego to form the nucleus of an historical collection. There may be a few scattered numbers of the *Herald* in the hands of old residents, but the only collection known is that in the San Diego public library. A few numbers are missing, but it is almost complete. The preservation of this invaluable file is due to the care of Mr. E. W. Morse.

In estimating the character and achievements of John Judson Ames, there are some things to condemn, but, on the whole, much to praise. He was large-hearted, generous, and enterprising. For that time, his education was good and he wrote with clearness and fluency. He had opinions of his own and was not backward about expressing them. In speaking of the New England Abolitionists, he refers to them as "such men as Garrison and Sumner, who are distracting the country with their treasonable and fanatical preachings." Like other journalists, he found it impossible to please all the people all the time, and there was frequently local dissatisfaction with his utterances. June 10, 1852, he published a letter, signed by nine residents and business men of San Diego, discontinuing their subscriptions, and made sarcastic comments on it; and a few months later he says: "There are several individuals in this city who don't like the *Herald*. We don't care a damn whether they like it or not."

On another occasion he broke out thus:

> *Insolence.*—There is a man in this town, holding a public position, who has got to using his tongue pretty freely of late, and but that we esteem him beneath the notice of responsible citizens, we have been half inclined, on several occasions, to knock him down and give him a good sound thrashing. If we thought the better portion of the community would justify us, and the District Attorney would not bear down too hard upon us for a fine, we would try what good a little pummeling would do an insolent official.

It is probable that Ames's immense size kept him out of trouble, as no one cared to tackle him. There is no record of his having been engaged in a duel, or in any personal combat, except the mythical one with Lieutenant Derby, but an item in the *Herald* of August 13, 1853, shows that he was a valuable peace officer and something of a sprinter as well.

> *Indian Rows.*—There is scarcely a day passes that there is not some fight among the Indians about town, in which one or more is cut or otherwise mutilated—and all through the direct influence of whiskey or some other intoxicating drink sold

> to them by Californians or Americans. . . . A row occurred last Sunday night in which some fifteen or twenty drunken Indians participated, some of whom got badly beaten or cut with knives. Sheriff Conway called upon a number of citizens about 12 o'clock to go and arrest these disturbers of the peace. They succeeded in capturing eleven of the tribe, who were arraigned the next day before Justice Franklin. One was fined $10 and sentenced to ten days imprisonment, another to receive 25 lashes each for two offences; and two were fined $5 and costs. On arresting the last "batch" the ringleader was put in charge of Judge Ames, to convey to the "lock-up." They had advanced but a few rods from the rest of the party when the Indian made a sudden spring from his leviathan escort and made tracks towards the river. The Judge commanded him to stop, but he kept on, and was fired at twice—the last ball taking a scratch at his side just under the left arm. Having no more shots, legs were put into requisition, and then came the tug of war. The Indian held his own for about fifty yards, when the Judge began to gain on him, and when he had got within striking distance, that ponderous arm of his came down twice with a "slung shot," breaking the Indian's right arm and his left collar bone, which brought him to the ground, when he was secured and taken to the *calaboose*.

Soon after this occurrence, Ames advertised for the return of a sword cane. It also appears that he had some difficulty with Major Justus McKinstry, which mutual friends thought it necessary to arrange before Ames's departure for the East, in April, 1853, and J. R. Gitchell published a card stating that a reconciliation had been effected. It is clear that, notwithstanding his gigantic size, our first editor was not altogether a man of peace. It is also a fact that he was very remiss in the payment of his debts. That he had enemies in San Diego and vicinity is shown by the fact that he held but one elective office, and that a minor one.

Lieutenant George H. Derby made San Diego his home for about two years, from 1853 to 1855, and left behind him memories which the people of San Diego cherish to this day. This, not merely because the scene of so many of the funny things in *Phoenixiana* is laid here, but quite as much on account of his lovable personality. It may be assumed that the reader is familiar with that delectable book and it will therefore not be profitable to reproduce any considerable part of it; but it is believed that something about Derby's life and personality, with a few selections of local interest from *Phoenixiana* and others from the old *Herald* files not so familiar to the public, will prove of interest.

George Horatio Derby was born in Dedham, Massachusetts, April 3, 1823. He attended school in Concord and is remembered by Senator Hoar, who says in his *Autobiography* that Derby was very fond of small boys. Afterward he tended store in Concord, but failed to please his employer, "who was a snug and avaricious person." During the proprietor's weekly absences in Boston, Derby would stretch himself out on the counter and read novels, and at such times did not like to be disturbed to wait on customers and was quite likely to tell them the goods they wanted were out. He afterward entered West Point and graduated with distinction, in 1846. He served through the Mexican War, was wounded at Cerro Gordo, and was made a first lieutenant.

In April, 1849, he arrived in California on board the *Iowa*, with General Bennett Riley and a part of the Second Infantry Regiment. He was employed on different tours of duty in the Topographical Corps, until July, 1853, when he was detailed to superintend the turning of the San Diego River to make it debouch into False Bay. His description of the voyage down and of the appearance of the town of San Diego at that period, in *Phoenixiana*, are among the funniest things he ever wrote. He met Judge Ames, and has this to say about him: "I fell in conversation with Judge Ames, the talented, good-hearted, but eccentric editor of the *San Diego Herald*. . . . I found 'the Judge' exceedingly agreeable, urbane and well informed, and obtained from him much valuable information regarding San Diego." Ames appears to have proposed to Derby almost immediately to take charge of his paper for two weeks, while he made one of his frequent trips to San Francisco. Ames and Derby had probably met in San Francisco. At least, it is quite certain they were acquainted, for Derby had been in San Diego during the preceding April, on business connected with the work on the river, and at that time visited the Masonic Lodge, of which order they were both members. He was undoubtedly well acquainted with Derby's reputation as a writer, as his sketches had appeared in the San Francisco papers over the pen names of "John Phoenix" and "Squibob." Derby readily fell in with the proposal, doubtless foreseeing opportunities for no end of fun. The situation is developed thus in the *Herald*:

In his issue of August 13th, Ames said:

> *Our Absence.*—We shall leave on the first steamer for San Francisco, to be absent about two weeks. A friend of acknowledged ability and literary acquirements, will occupy the "old arm chair" during our absence.

Derby writes, in his letter to a San Francisco paper:

> Lo, *I am an editor!* Hasn't Ames gone to San Francisco (with this very letter in his pocket), leaving a notice in his last edition, "that during his absence an able literary friend will assume his position as editor of the *Herald*," and am I not that able literary friend? (Heaven save the mark). "You'd

> better believe it." I've been writing a "leader" and funny anecdotes all day . . . and *such* a "leader" and *such* anecdotes. I'll send you the paper next week, and if you don't allow that there's been no such publication, weekly or serial, since the days of the "*Bunkum Flagstaff*" I'll *crawfish*, and take to reading Johnson's Dictionary.

In the *Herald* he made the following announcement:

> Next week, with the Divine assistance, a new hand will be applied to the bellows of this establishment, and an intensely interesting issue will possibly be the result. The paper will be published on Wednesday evening; and, to avoid confusion, the crowd will please form in the plaza, passing four abreast by the City Hall and *Herald* office, from the gallery of which Johnny will hand them their papers. "*E pluribus unum*," or "A word to the wise is *bastante*."

Ames neglected to ask what Derby's politics were, or to give instructions respecting the policy of the paper during his absence. The result was disastrous, for Derby immediately changed its politics from Democratic to Whig. The mingling of fun and seriousness in his political leaders of this time is inimitable. He sometimes mixed up the two gubernatorial candidates, Waldo and Bigler, referring to them as "Baldo and Wigler," or "Wagler and Bildo."

"Old Bigler," he declares, "hasn't paid the people of this county anything for supporting him (though judging by the tone of the *Independent Press*, he has been liberal enough above). We think therefore they will do precisely as if he had, —vote for a better man."

Again:

> Frank, our accomplished compositor, who belongs to the fighting wing of the Unterrified Democracy, "groans in spirit and is troubled," as he sets up our heretical doctrines and opinions. He says "the Whigs will be delighted with the paper this week."
>
> We hope so. We know several respectable gentlemen who are Whigs, and feel anxious to delight them, as well as our Democratic friends (of whose approval we are confident), and all other sorts and conditions of men, always excepting Biglerites and Abolitionists. Ah! sighs the unfortunate Frank, but what *will* Mr. Ames say when he gets back? Haven't the slightest idea; we shall probably ascertain by reading the first *Herald* published after his return. Meanwhile, we devoutly hope that event will not take place before we've had a chance to give Mr. Bigler one *blizzard* on the subjects of "Water-front extension," and "State Printing." We understand these schemes fully, and are inclined to enlighten the public of San Diego with regard to them. Ah! Bigler, my boy, old is J. B. but cunning, sir, and *devilish sly*. Phoenix is after you, and you'd better pray for the return of the editor *de facto* to San Diego, while

> yet there is time, or you're a *goner*, as far as this county is concerned.

On September 17th, Derby says that Ames had promised to write to the *Herald* regularly. "We present to our readers this week the only communication we have received from him for publication, since his departure. It contains the speeches of William Waldo, advocating his own election; the remarks made by the Judge himself before the Railroad meeting, in favor of San Diego as the Western terminus; and the political principles in full of John Bigler. Apart from these matters of interest, it may be considered in some respects a model communication, for it contains no personal allusions whatever, nor anything that could cause a blush on the cheek of the most modest maiden, or wound the feelings of the most sensitive or fastidious. As a general thing, it may be considered the most entirely unexceptionable article the worthy Judge ever composed. Here it is:

"Letter from J. J. Ames, Esq., for the *San Diego Herald.*"

(A blank space.)

But although Ames was strangely silent for a time, he did write Derby, at last, protesting against his policy. This letter was not received, however, until after the election, and remembering this fact it is interesting to note how Derby treated it:

> We have received by the *Goliah*, an affecting letter from Judge Ames, beseeching us to return to the fold of Democracy from which he is inclined to intimate we have been straying. Is it possible that we have been laboring under a delusion—and that Waldo is a Whig! Why! lor! How singular! But anxious to atone for our past errors, willing to please the taste of the Editor, and above all, ever solicitous to be on the strong side, we gladly abjure our former opinions, embrace Democracy with ardor, slap her on the back, declare ourselves in favor of erecting a statue of Andrew Jackson in the Plaza, and to prove our sincerity, run today at the head of our columns, a Democratic ticket for 1855, which we hope will please the most fastidious. Being rather hard up for the principles for our political faith, we have commenced the study of the back numbers of the *Democratic Review*, and finding therein that "*Democracy is the supremacy of man over his accidents,*" we hereby express our contempt for a man with a sprained ankle, and unmitigated scorn for anybody who may be kicked by a mule or a woman. That's Democratic, ain't it? Oh, we understand these things—Bless your soul, Judge, we're a Democrat.

The ticket which he "ran up" was as follows:

> Democratic State Nominations.
>
> Subject to the Decision of the State Democratic Convention, May, 1855. For Governor, John Bigler. For Lieutenant-Governor, Samuel Purdy.

Concerning the Whig ticket he says:

> The "Phoenix Ticket" *generally*, appears to give general satisfaction. It was merely put forward suggestively, and not being the result of a clique or convention, the public are at perfect liberty to make such alterations or erasures as they may think proper. I hope it may meet with a strong support on the day of election; but should it meet with defeat, I shall endeavor to bear the inevitable mortification that must result with my usual equanimity.
>
> Like unto the great Napoleon after the battle of Waterloo, or the magnanimous Boggs after his defeat, in the gubernatorial campaign of Missouri, I shall fold my arms with tranquillity, and say either "*C'est fini,*" or "*Oh shaw, I know'd it!*"

The Whig ticket carried the county, but the Democrats carried the state. His comments upon the result of the election are interesting:

> *News of the Week.*—We publish this week the gratifying intelligence, *sobre la izquierda* (over the left), of the triumphant re-election of John Bigler to the chief magistracy of this commonwealth. The voice of the Democracy has been heard, pealing in thunder tones throughout the length and breadth of the State, waking the echoes on Mokelumne Hill, growling in sub-bass from the San Joaquin (*Republican*), reverberating among the busy and crowded streets of Monterey, and re-echoed from the snow-capped summits of San Bernardino, with extensive shouts of Extension and John Bigler forever! While we of San Diego, through the culpable negligence of the *Goliah* (which put the *Voice* aboard but left it at San Pedro), have gone on unhearing and unheeding and voted for William Waldo, just as if nothing extraordinary was taking place. Many reasons are assigned by the *Independent Press* of San Francisco, and our Whig exchanges, for the election of Bigler. I am inclined to attribute it principally to the defeat of Waldo, and the fact that the *San Diego Herald* took no active part in the Gubernatorial election. Had Waldo been successful, or our course been of another character, there is every reason to suppose that the result would have been different. But "whatever is, is right," as the old gentleman sweetly remarked, when he chopped off the end of his nose with a razor, in an endeavor to kill a fly that had lit thereon while he was shaving. "There is a Providence that shapes our ends rough—hew them as we may." Governor Bigler is still *Governor* Bigler, there'll be no *Ex.* to his name (unless it be ex-tension) for the next two years; the people are satisfied, he is gratified, and I am delighted, and the Lord knows that it makes very little difference to me individually, or the people of this county at large, whether the water front of San Francisco remains unaltered, or is extended to Contra Costa. San Diego boasts a far finer harbor at present than her wealthier rival, and when that of the latter is entirely filled up, it will be more generally known and appreciated. "It's an ill wind that blows nobody any good." If this election should, however indirectly, cause San Diego to assume its proper position as the first commercial city of California, I shall reverence

> the name of John Bigler forever, and I will bestow that honored appellation upon my youngest child, and have it engraved upon a piece of leather or other suitable material, and suspended about that tender infant's neck, until such time as he shall be old enough to learn and love the virtues of his honored Godsire.

Derby never wrote anything more delicious than his account of the combat (which did *not* occur) between himself and Ames upon the latter's return, when "we held 'the Judge' down over the press by our nose (which we had inserted between his teeth for that purpose)," until "we discovered that we had been laboring under a 'misunderstanding,' and through the amicable intervention of the pressman, who thrust a roller between our faces (which gave the whole affair a very different complexion), the matter was finally adjusted on the most friendly terms." The people of San Diego took the change of politics of the *Herald* rather seriously, greatly to Derby's delight. One old gentleman, still living, admits that he hurried to the *Herald* office and paid a year's subscription in the belief that the change was genuine. There was quite a little speculation as to "what Ames would do to Derby when he got back," and Derby played upon this apprehension and purposely let it be understood that he was awaiting Ames's return in trembling terror. Thus, he says:

> Though this is but my second bow to a San Diego audience, I presume it to be my last appearance and valedictory, for the editor will doubtless arrive before another week elapses, the gun will be removed from my trembling grasp, and the *Herald* will resume its great aims, and heavy firing, and I hope will discharge its debt to the public with accuracy, and precision. Meanwhile "The Lord be with you." "Be virtuous and you will be happy."

The friendly relations between Ames and Derby were never broken, and the combat which Derby describes was purely imaginary. The editor was a very large man, and had a reputation as a fire eater, while the lieutenant was small, and such a combat would have been a very unequal affair. Ames's own comments, in the first number after his return, show that, if he did not entirely relish the joke, he reconciled himself to bear it:

> *Turned Up Again!* Here we are again! Phoenix has played the "devil" during our absence, but he has done it in such a good humored manner, that we have not a word to say. He has done things which he ought not to have done, and has left undone things which he ought to have done; but as what evil he has done cannot be undone, we may as well "dry up" and "let it slide."

> He has abused Captain Wright, and like David of scripture memory, he has killed off the *Goliah*. He has abused our noble friend, Governor Bigler, but as the people in this region considered it only a faint echo of the *Independent* (?) *Press* of San Francisco, it had a contrary effect from that intended, and we are perfectly satisfied with the result. Notwithstanding the great hue-and-cry throughout the State, that Gov. Bigler was the father of the "Extension Scheme," and every imaginable outrage against the rights of the people, and that hired emissaries were sent down here from San Francisco, to stir up discord in the ranks of the Democracy, Waldo got but about thirty majority in the county—and these votes were all cast in one precinct. Well, it's all over, Bigler is Governor, and the country is safe for the next two years, at least.

The files of the *Herald* give incontrovertible proof of the friendship which continued to exist between these two men, so long as they both lived. In 1855, Ames compiled *Phoenixiana* and superintended its publication. This was done against Derby's judgment, he apparently thinking the matter too ephemeral for such a setting. It is possible that he also doubted Ames's competency, and if so, he was justified, for a more sloppily gotten-up book has seldom been issued. Notwithstanding this, the naive humor and exquisite drollery with which it abounds made it a success and today it is a classic. It was with considerable pride that Ames announced, in 1859, that he had re-engaged the services of "John Phoenix" to write for the *Herald* exclusively.

The fun which Derby had while conducting the *Herald*, aside from the famous political *bouleversement*, has received too little attention. In his first number, he added to the editorial column, under the name of Ames: "Slightly assisted by Phoenix." He had fun with ex-Governor McDougal, who chanced to visit the city:

> *Distinguished Visitors.*—His ex-Excellency, the Hon. John McDougal, and Col. J. B. Wells, from San Francisco, have arrived among us on business, which will detain them until the arrival of the next steamer (as they have no other means of getting away).
>
> The Governor looks as hale, hearty and roseate as ever: don't think Bigler stands much chance of election, and wouldn't be quite inconsolable if he *should* be defeated. He has been engaged in a theological and polemical controversy with the Rev. Dr. Reynolds since his arrival, in which they have had it "Nip and Tuck," the Gov. taking an occasional "Nip" to clear his mind and fortify his spirits as "Friar Tuck" would get a little advantage in the argument. At their last sitting, the discussion turned upon the "Divinity of the Scriptures," and was closed by a remark of the Governor's, "that the Bible (like his adversary's nose), was a good deal *read*."
>
> Governor McDougal goes to the Playa today to wait for the *Northerner* to take him to San Francisco. The Gov. ex-

> presses himself much gratified with his visit; and we are pleased to hear that it is his intention to purchase an elegant mansion lately erected at New Town, bring his family here in the spring, and make San Diego his permanent residence. He will devote himself to the profession of the law, and will be a most valuable acquisition to our bar.

The *Herald* having received a letter from the resident physician of the Stockton Insane Asylum, asking for a copy of the paper, Derby says he will send it, and anxiously inquires whether *two* could not be used? He also asks whether the idea of sending for the *Herald* was the doctor's or the patient's; and if the latter, "they're sensible to the last," "there's method in their madness," and "they ought immediately to be discharged, every mother's son of them."

Derby was fond of San Francisco, and his writings abound with allusions to it. This remark may aid somewhat in the appreciation of the following:

> *The Press of San Francisco.*—The steamer of the 1st from San Francisco brought no papers, none whatever—Some three or four weeks since, two little papers, called, we believe, the "*Alta California*" and the "*Herald,*" were published regularly in that village, and we used occasionally to receive them. They were made principally of excerpts from the *San Diego Herald*, and we cannot but regret that the failure of the *Goliah*, and the uncertainty of the mails, preventing our paper reaching them with its customary regularity, should have caused their publication to be discontinued.
>
> San Francisco is a place of little business or importance, but in a large city like this, country intelligence is occasionally amusing, and should either of the above papers be republished or a new press started in San Francisco, we shall be willing to exchange. We are just informed that two little political sheets called the "*Commercial Advertiser,*" and the "*Placer Times and Transcript,*" are occasionally published yet in San Francisco. Ah, we dare say; we have never seen them, however. Willing to encourage the humble efforts of any individuals if exerted in a proper direction, we shall not object to an exchange with either of these little affairs, if they think proper to request it.

While the work on the San Diego River was progressing, he allowed himself the luxury of a few jibes about it. Upon his arrival, he wrote:

> Here I saw Lieut. Derby [himself], of the Topographical Engineers, an elderly gentleman of emaciated appearance and serious cast of features. Constant study and unremitting attention to his laborious duties have reduced him almost to a skeleton, but there are not wanting those who say that an unrequited attachment in his earlier days is the cause of his careworn appearance.
>
> He was sent out from Washington some months since "to dam the San Diego River," and he informed me with a deep

sigh and melancholy smile, that he had done it (mentally) several times since his arrival.

A little later he noted that: "The report that Lieut. Derby has sent to San Francisco for a lathe, to be used in turning the San Diego River is, we understand, entirely without foundation."

The Indians at work on the river behave well and shovel with great ardor *con amore*. There are at present 47 of them at work, and 50 more are expected early in the week. They are under the control of Mr. Conroy and Charles Gage, overseers, and their own chiefs, Manuelito and old Tomás. Tents have been pitched for them, and with an unlimited supply of beans, and the flesh of bulls (a burnt offering they do not despise), they are as happy as circumstances will admit, and "doing as well as could be expected."

LIEUTENANT GEORGE H. DERBY

Author of "Phoenixiana" whose fame as a humorist has endured and seems likely to grow with the years

The shanty occupied by the workmen on the San Diego River has been christened "The Phoenix Hotel," out of compliment to the brevet editor of the *San Diego Herald*.

One more quotation from his writings must suffice. In 1856, Colonel Warren, secretary of the California State Agricultural Society, invited Derby to deliver an original poem at the annual meeting of the society, in September. Derby accepted the invitation by letter, and wrote the following as a sample of what he could do:

Here's to the land of potatoes and carrots,
Whose *banks* grow wild, rich *bacon* and *parrots*;
Where each apple and pear a dollar apiece is,
And a man may devour just as much as he pleases (Spoken—
    if he's the money to pay for them.)
Where the soil is teeming with vegetable treasures,
And a pumpkin ten feet in circumference measures;
Where to root up a turnip, an ox employed is;
By each laborer a very large salary enjoyed is; (*Play on
    the word celery*)
And kind Colonel Warren with interest watches
The growth of parsley and marrowfat squashes,
And stirs up the farmers, and gives them rules of action and
    incentives to exertion, and constantly teaches
How they ought not to let Oregon get ahead of them, but
    establish nurseries at once, where they could raise at
    very trifling expense, all kinds of grafted fruit,
    pears and apples, and cherries, and the most delicious
    peaches, &c, &c, &c.

Listening to the stories told about him by old San Diegans, it becomes clear that Derby was an incorrigible joker and player of pranks. One lady recalls that, having one day climbed into an empty crockery cask, for fun, Derby slipped up and started the cask rolling with her, so that her dress was sadly torn on the projecting nails. She and her husband lived in upstairs rooms at the old Gila House, and Derby used to come into the room below, when he knew she was alone, and rap on the ceiling with his cane, to frighten her. Once while he and Mrs. Derby were calling on this lady and all sitting on the hotel piazza, Derby climbed upon the head of an empty barrel and began to make a burlesque speech. While he was in the midst of this, waving his arms and talking loud, the head of the barrel suddenly fell in with him and he took a tumble, to the great amusement of his audience. The house in which he and Mrs. Derby lived is still standing. He had a very remarkable memory, could recite chapter after chapter of the Bible, and, after hearing a sermon, could repeat it from beginning to end. It is said that he expected the appointment to make the Pacific Railroad survey and was greatly disappointed when he did not receive it.

In later years he was employed in the erection of lighthouses on the coasts of Florida and Alabama. He died May 15, 1861, in the prime of his years, and his friend Ames died at San Bernardino two months later. His son, George McClellan Derby, is now a lieutenant-colonel in the army.

CHAPTER XIV

ABORTIVE ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH NEW SAN DIEGO

THE site of old San Diego was by no means favorable for a seaport town. The presidio was located on the hill above the river, at the outlet of Mission Valley, merely because the place could be easily fortified and defended against the savages. Old Town grew up upon the flat below Presidio Hill because it was originally only an overflow from the garrison itself. La Playa took on some size and importance and flourished for a time because it lay close to deep water, but its topography was such as to offer no encouragement to the growth of a large city. San Diego simply could not have come into being with anything like its present consequence and future promise where the Spanish planted the seed of the city in 1769, nor where the seed was wafted and took root, on Point Loma, in the brief day of Mexican dominion.

These conditions were sure to become manifest when men of energy and ambition should arrive and begin to study the possibilities of the region. Such men came with the American flag and but little time elapsed before they were planning a new San Diego at a far more eligible point on the shores of the beautiful bay. And yet, though these men had the judgment to choose the best spot for the city and the imagination to behold its possibilities, they lacked the constructive capacity required for its building. Hence, their effort goes into history as an unsuccessful effort to take advantage of a genuine opportunity.

Andrew B. Gray, who served as surveyor with the boundary commission, and who was afterward a major-general in the Confederate Army, is entitled to the distinction of having first selected the present site of San Diego. In June, 1849, the officials of the survey camped near the spot where the army barracks are now located, on what is now H Street. It occurred to Gray at that time that this was the true location for such a city as would inevitably develop in connection with this great natural seaport. He discussed the matter freely and found several San Diegans who indorsed his conception, but the enterprise required capital.

In February, 1850, William Heath Davis came to town and Gray promptly laid his scheme before him. Davis thought well of it and agreed to co-operate. On March 16, an agreement was made by which Gray, Davis, José Antonio Aguirre, Miguel de Pedrorena, and William C. Ferrell entered into a partnership for the purpose of developing a new townsite. Before the papers were signed, however, a vessel arrived at La Playa with materials for the new government building, in charge of quartermaster and commissary for the Southern Department, Lieutenant Thomas D. Johns. Gray and his associates saw that the location of the government buildings at La Playa would make it very difficult to attract population to their townsite. Hence, they lost no time in waiting upon Lieutenant Johns and urging the advantages of the new location upon him. They argued so convincingly that Johns reshipped the materials which had been landed at La Playa and brought the vessel across the bay, anchoring off the new townsite. Johns evidently joined the syndicate, for he received one of the eighteen shares. The others were distributed four each to Gray, Davis, Aguirre and Pedrorena, and one to Ferrell, the attorney. Under the agreement, Davis undertook to build a wharf and warehouse, retaining the ownership of the land and improvements. The scheme seems to have been very well "put up," combining capital, influence, and the necessary expert knowledge in engineering.

On March 18, 1850, the associates were granted the land for which they applied to the city, the deed being signed by Alcalde Thomas W. Sutherland. The tract contained 160 acres, was bounded on the east by what is now Front and on the north by what is now D Streets and cost $2,304—a nice little townsite, which is now worth considerably more than it was 56 years ago. It was long supposed that it included the adjacent tide lands, lying on the bay shore between the lines of high and low water, but this construction proved to be incorrect. The terms of the grant called for "a new port," and stipulated that a wharf and warehouse should be built within 18 months.

New San Diego certainly started with bright prospects. The country was prosperous, had recently become a part of the United States, and was receiving constant recruits in the way of American settlers. The gold boom in the north was at full tide and people were rushing to California from all parts of the world. It would seem the new town should have depopulated Old Town and La Playa, attracted a reasonable share of the newcomers, and quickly established itself on a sure foundation.

Toward the end of the summer, the brig *Cybell* arrived at San Francisco from Portland, Maine, loaded with lumber and carried also eight or ten houses already framed and a quantity of bricks. Davis bought this cargo and sent the ship at once to San Diego, where all but 80,000 feet of the lumber was used. The wharf and warehouse were begun in September, 1850, and finished in August of the following year. The wharf extended from the foot of Atlantic Street for some distance, then turned and extended at a right angle to the stream. Its total length was 600 feet, and with the warehouse it cost about $60,000. The barracks were built in 1851, on a block given for the purpose, and two companies of troops from the mission moved in.

The first house was built by Mr. Davis—one of the framed houses sent on the *Cybell*. It was on State Street, between G and H. About 1855, this house was purchased by Captain Knowles and removed to its present location on 11th Street, between K and L. Davis also put up a number of other buildings, among them one at the corner of State and F Streets known for years as the "San Diego Hotel." Gray also put up a house, which is still standing, on State Street between H and I and was known as the "Hermitage." Some army officers also bought lots and built houses, among them Captain Nathaniel Lyon. A short time before the Civil War, a number of these houses were removed to Old Town, being either moved bodily, or taken down and re-erected.

The coming of the *Herald* in May, 1851, was an important event. At that time, the following were in business at new San Diego, as shown by the advertisements in the *Herald*:

George F. Cooper, general merchandise, corner 4th and California Streets. The office of the *Herald* was upstairs over this store.

Ames and Pendleton, lumber and merchandise, California Street.

Slack & Morse, general merchandise.

The Boston House, Slack & Morse.

J. Judson Ames was the notary public.

On July 31, 1851, the *Herald* states that Davis's new wharf would be completed in about a week. This wharf was used by the government for several years, and was for a time a profitable investment. The government buildings were designed as a military storehouse and depot, and formed the government depot of supplies for several posts. The supplies were sent out by ship, unloaded at Davis's wharf, and sent out by wagon trains to Tejon, Yuma, Mojave, San Luis Rey, Chino, Santa Ysabel, and other places.

One of the difficulties with which the new town had to contend from the start was the absence of fresh water. The officers sent a water-train to the San Diego River, near Old Town, every day. Major McKinstry contracted with a Mr. Goens, who had sunk a well at La Playa, to do the same at the new town. He sunk about 300 feet on the government's land, and then, for some unknown reason, suddenly abandoned the job and quit the country. However, it was not long until a good supply of fresh water was struck near the location of the present courthouse, Front and B Streets, and soon after at State and F, where Mr. Morse had sunk a well, and by Captain Sherman on his new addition. The future of the new town now seemed assured.

HOUSE KNOWN AS "THE HERMITAGE" BUILT BY LIEUTENANT GRAY

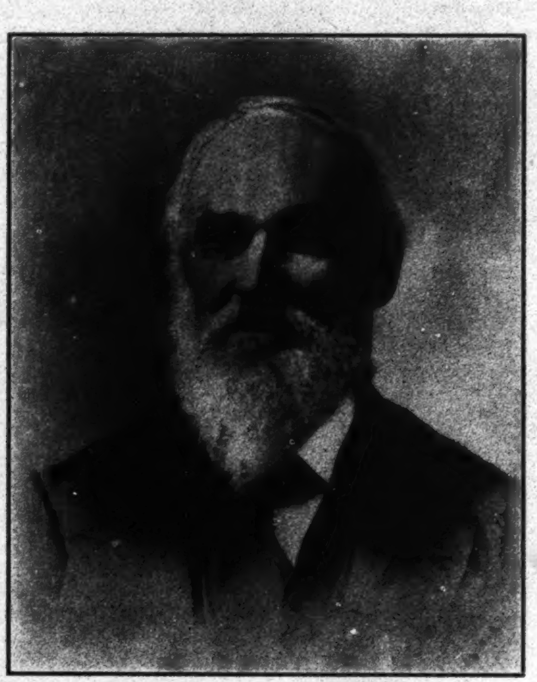
That this opinion did not prevail in every quarter, however, is clear. The people of La Playa were naturally disappointed at losing the wharf and government buildings and the access of business and population going with them. Old Town was the county seat and the largest center of wealth and population, but began to fear the loss of that distinction. This three-cornered fight continued for some years, and it was difficult to prophesy which would win out. People in other places also had opinions. Thus, the San Francisco *Alta California* said in September, 1851: "The establishment of the new town at the head of the bay was certainly a most disastrous speculation, an immense amount having been sunk in the operation."

But the "most unkindest cut of all" was that of Bartlett, who saw the place in February, 1852, and wrote thus: "Three miles south of San Diego is another town near the shore of the bay, which was surveyed and plotted by Mr. Gray, U. S. surveyor to the boundary commission, while on duty here. . . . . There is no business to bring vessels here, except an occasional one with government stores. There is no water nearer than the San Diego River, three miles distant. Efforts indeed are being made to find it with an artesian well; but with what success remains to be seen. There is no timber near, and wood has to be brought some eight or ten miles. Without wood, water, or arable land, this place can never rise to importance."

At the time of the Indian uprising, late in 1851 and early in 1852, considerable anxiety was felt for the safety of the government stores at new San Diego, it being suggested that the depot would be a natural point of attack for the loot-loving savages, and the number of regular troops being small. Levi M. Slack was one of the victims of the massacre at Warner's ranch. Mr. Morse was absent in Massachusetts at the time and their store remained closed until his return, in May, 1852. It does not appear that the uprising had any lasting effect upon the new settlement.

About this time there was a considerable settlement at new San Diego of immigrants who came by the Southern route, by way of El Paso and Yuma. At Warner's ranch they divided, part going to Los Angeles and part coming here. In October, 1887, while some laborers were digging a culvert on B Street between 7th and 8th, they found an old, forgotten graveyard and removed five coffins which were reinterred in the cemetery. E. W. Morse was of the opinion that these were graves of members of this party of immigrants, eight of whom died while they were here. He appeared not to know what had become of these people, and it has been found impossible to ascertain who they were or what became of them. The best opinion appears to be that they were a party of gold hunters who, after remaining long enough to recruit, went on to the northern diggings overland or by ship.

Strange as it may seem to us in view of what has since happened, the new San Diego of Gray and Davis, in spite of the natural advantage of its site and the improvements which gave it the benefit of shipping facilities and government headquarters, could not hold its own in the struggle for supremacy with old San Diego. Early in 1853, less than two years after the completion of the wharf, E. W. Morse and the *Herald* establishment had removed to the Old Town of the Spanish fathers. There is no doubt that this marks the date when the tide turned definitely away from the new undertaking, though there was a slight revival in 1859, on account of army activities. Soon, however, the Civil War came on and the troops went East, leaving new San Diego to fall into decay. The wharf and warehouse ended ignominiously as fuel for the volunteers assembled there in the cold winter of 1861-2, and the toredos cleaned up the piles. Many years later (1886) Mr. Davis obtained $6,000 for the loss of his wharf. The site is now occupied by the Santa Fé wharf.



CHARLES P. NOELL

One of the original owners of Middletown

The "Middletown" tract of 687 acres was the scene of an enterprise inaugurated by the prospects of new San Diego. It was granted by Alcalde Joshua H. Bean to Oliver S. Witherby, Wm. H. Emory, Cave J. Couts, Thomas W. Sutherland, Atkins S. Wright, Agostin Haraszthy, José María Estudillo, Juan Bandini, Charles P. Noell, and Henry Clayton, on May 27, 1850. It became dormant with the new town, but in later years revived and became valuable property, and there was a suit for its partition. It is now one of the most important additions in the new city.

The true and enduring San Diego—the city of today and tomorrow—does not date from 1850, nor is Andrew B. Gray its father. When Gray and his associates had gone and counted their labor lost, the sunny slope and the blue waters had yet many years to wait before the real founder and builder should arrive.

HISTORY
OF
SAN DIEGO

1542-1908

AN ACCOUNT OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE
PIONEER SETTLEMENT ON THE PACIFIC
COAST OF THE UNITED STATES

VOLUME II.
THE MODERN CITY

BY
WILLIAM E. SMYTHE
Author of "The Conquest of Arid America," "Constructive Democracy," Etc.

SAN DIEGO
THE HISTORY COMPANY
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PART THIRD

The Horton Period

CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDER OF THE MODERN CITY

ON THE 15th of April, 1867, something happened which radically changed the course of San Diego history. This was the arrival of a man from San Francisco on the steamer *Pacific*. He was not possessed of large means, represented no organization, and had no personal following, yet was destined to inaugurate a movement which should change the location of the city and start it on the road to real and enduring greatness. In the next chapter we shall have "Father" Horton's own account of the circumstances which led to his coming and of how he proceeded after his arrival. At this point it is important to get a glimpse of his previous career and to make some characterization of his work in founding the modern city.

Alonzo Erastus Horton was born at Union, Connecticut, October 24, 1813. He was thus in his fifty-fourth year when he began his work in San Diego, an age at which very few men undertake a new task of such importance. He came of old New England stock and the story of his life is really a picture of his times. It begins with the clean, sweet poverty which went with the migration of the old stock into new countries in the early days of the Republic. The family began their westward march while the future founder of San Diego was two years old, moving from Connecticut to Madison County, New York. They next moved to Oswego County and, in 1824, they had reached the shore of Lake Ontario at the town of Scriba, and were living in a log house. Young Horton's father had become blind and the boy began to earn money by basket-making, while still going to school. Later, he contributed to the family support by hewing timber, which was sold in the local market. By the time he reached his majority he had gained experience as a grocery clerk, as a lake sailor before the mast, and as captain and owner of a small vessel engaged in the wheat trade between Oswego and Canada. He retired from the lake with several hundred dollars in his pocket and learned the trade of a cooper. In spite of his strength, and his local note as a wrestler, a physician told him he had consumption and could not live a year unless he went West.

Acting upon the advice, he proceeded to Milwaukee in May, 1836. The next fifteen years he spent mostly in Wisconsin, with one or two trips to New York. He availed himself of the opportunity of the frontier to make money in various ventures, principally by trading in land and cattle.

After the Mexican War, when he had accumulated about $4,000, he went to St. Louis and bought land warrants from the soldiers at less than their face value. With these he returned to Wisconsin and located ten sections of land in the pinery on Wolf River, about twenty miles from Oshkosh, in what is now Ontagamie County. The land cast him 70 cents an acre and contained a good millsite and steamer landing. Here he laid out the town of Hortonville, which still flourishes. He encouraged settlement by furnishing work, giving free lots, and selling lumber at half-price, to those who would build houses. In less than three years he sold the mill and town for $7,000 and later the balance of the land at $15 an acre, so that his first important enterprise netted him a comfortable fortune. Then he joined the tide and went to California, arriving in 1851 and settling in the mining region. He opened a store at Pilot Hill and constructed a ditch over six miles in length to supply miners with water. At the end of his first year he disposed of his property for $6,500, which represented but a slight profit on his original investment, and began trading in gold-dust, first, acting on commission for the Adams Express Company, and later, on his own account.

The business of buying gold-dust in pioneer times, when the country swarmed with rough characters, involved considerable danger and Horton had his full share of adventure. The following incident, related in the *Horton Genealogy*, published at Philadelphia in 1876, shows us how he drew upon his fund of Yankee shrewdness to avert trouble on one occasion:

> He arrived one evening at one of the rough taverns of those times, with treasure enough about him to incite the gamblers about him to worse crimes for its possession. His good clothes were covered with very dirty overalls and cotton shirt. In calculating Yankee phrase, he interrogated the proprietor as to his accommodations for man and beast, and the reasonableness of his charges. Card-playing ceased for a time in the general astonishment, then the party shouted with laughter at the green chap from Connecticut. They bantered him to play off a Yankee trick. He showed them how to eat the mush and milk, which he had stipulated for as his supper, and with a yawn of indifference at the jests made at his expense, he signified his desire to sleep. The door of his room was without lock or bolt, but the landlord laughingly assured his guest that

> he would be the last man anyone would think of robbing. He awoke next morning from an undisturbed sleep, and at breakfast time was up and dressed. He passed over a small package of dust in settlement, which was accepted and pronounced all right. Word was sent to the stable, his horse could now be brought out—his bill was paid.
>
> "Mister, want to buy some more of that stuff?"
>
> "Yes"; replying with a surprised look.
>
> "How much?"
>
> "Suppose I can buy all *you* have to sell."
>
> "Will you treat this 'ere crowd if you can't?"
>
> "Yes, I will, and *yeou*, too."
>
> Diminutive sacks of dust were handed to the wondering host, and the coin counted out in return. By the time $2,500 had changed hands, the landlord's $20 pieces were exhausted, and our Yankee had played the "trick" with a $250 pile still in reserve. The laugh came in then louder than the night before; and as the glasses were being filled the buyer of the gold-dust remarked, irreligiously, that he would have robbed the fellow himself if he had known how he was playing him.

The gold-dust speculation turned out profitably, sometimes paying as much as $1,000 a month. Horton was also highly fortunate in an ice speculation in El Dorado County, from which he realized $8,000 in a few months. In March, 1856, he was a passenger on the steamer *Cortez* for Panama, and found himself involved in the fight between the Americans and the natives, which occurred on the Isthmus. He took a conspicuous part in protecting the passengers during their flight from the hotel to the ship, but lost $10,000 in gold as the result of the riot. On arriving in New York, he was sent to Washington to represent the passengers in reporting to the government. From that time until 1861, he repeatedly journeyed to Washington in connection with the affair, making a strenuous fight for the recovery of heavy losses sustained by the passengers. A settlement was reached at last, but Horton had made himself so obnoxious to the commissioner from New Granada that his own name was stricken from the list of creditors.

Soon after the outbreak of the Civil War, Horton returned to the Pacific Coast. He extended his wanderings as far north as British Columbia, where he engaged in mining and trading without success. He then went to San Francisco to begin life over again. He first tried a stall in the market, then real estate, and finally went into the furniture business, where he was doing fairly well when the San Diego idea took possession of him.

The man who came in 1867 to lay the foundations of a new San Diego had had a rough, adventurous career and was a true product of frontier conditions. By instinct and training, he was a trader and a bold, shrewd speculator, but he was also a man endowed with the creative cast of mind who preferred to trade and speculate where he could also build and have the satisfaction of looking upon important things which had come from his labors. In estimating the work of such a man it is important to avoid extremes of praise or blame. Thus it would be unjust to say that he was actuated solely by avarice and took no pride in what he did beyond the amount of money it paid him. On the other hand, it would be a mistake to treat him as a philanthropist who thought only of social gains and the good of others. His predominant motive in coming to San Diego was to engage in what he rightly conceived to be a good real estate speculation. In carrying the scheme into effect he adopted a policy of liberality not always tempered with wisdom, but consistently designed to foster his own interests while benefitting the community as a whole. He was shrewd enough to see that whatever made San Diego larger or more prosperous must make him richer, and he was broad enough to pursue this object in a way that gave everyone a share of the results. He entered upon his work without any comprehensive training for the laying out of a modern city, and made some mistakes in consequence which have often been criticised. Such mistakes were never due to petty motives, for pettiness had no place in his character. His methods were always marked by boldness and generosity, springing from boundless faith in the future of the city.

Although Horton does not belong to the class of men who have founded communities in order to illustrate some great idea, or to facilitate human progress in some important direction, he nevertheless displayed high qualities in his work at San Diego. He exercised the soundest judgment in selecting the site upon which a city could be built. He was not the first to appreciate the importance of the location—that credit belongs to Lieutenant Gray, as we saw in a previous chapter—but he was the first to create a successful settlement here. The abortive attempt which preceded his undertaking certainly made his work no easier. In the opinion of many, it stamped it with failure in advance. He had a large measure of imagination, that gift of the gods which enables men to foresee what is to happen and to discern the practical steps by which events may be brought to pass. Undoubtedly the opportunity was much riper in 1867, when Horton began, than in 1850, when Gray had his inspiration in the same direction; but the ability to know when opportunities are ripe is an important quality in itself. There were able men in San Diego when Horton came, and able men elsewhere in California, but they did not know that the time had come to make a new San Diego where the city now stands. Horton not only saw his chance, but he had the courage to take his chance at a time when his pecuniary capital was so small that it would have appalled most men to think of such an undertaking, much less to set their hands to it.

Not only did he have discernment, imagination, and courage,—the pioneer of modern San Diego had boundless confidence in himself and a tremendous amount of personal force. Had it been otherwise, he would have been no richer after buying his land for twenty-six cents an acre than before. The value of the land for townsite purposes was potential, not actual. To convert the potentiality into a reality, and to do it with no capital except his wits, required genuine ability, sustained by faith and backed by tireless energy. Horton was equal to the occasion—in three years new San Diego had three thousand people. It is easy enough to criticise the man who did it; it is not so easy to duplicate the achievement, nor was it ever done before by the will of a single individual, without capital, without the support of some religious, social, or commercial organization.

The founding of modern San Diego, under the circumstances, was a big thing, and the credit for the achievement belongs absolutely and indisputably to A. E. Horton. His title to the distinction is as clear as that of Cabrillo to the discovery of the Bay, or that of Serra to the founding of the mission. It would be palpably absurd to pretend that Horton, alone, made San Diego what it is today. Thousands of people had a part in its making, and among these thousands were a few individuals who doubtless contributed more to the development of the city than Horton did. But they did not land in San Diego on April 15, 1867, purchase the vacant land, decree that the community (already a century old) should be moved three miles south, and initiate the era of true and enduring greatness. "Father" Horton did that, and did it exceedingly well, as the result testifies.

CHAPTER II

HORTON'S OWN STORY

(The statement contained in this chapter, together with much other material for this volume, was dictated by Mr. Horton to a stenographer in a series of interviews occurring in October, November and December, 1905. The white old pioneer had then just entered upon his ninety-third year, yet enjoyed vigorous health, with unimpaired sight and hearing, and with the keenest interest in all public affairs, present as well as past. Every day he drove alone through the streets of the city, as self-reliant as in the days of his prime. His memory seemed clear and strong, though it naturally dwelt largely in the past and lingered with especial fondness on the triumphs of his career. And as these words are written, nearly a year after the interviews described, "Father" Horton still lives in his suburban home, at the corner of State and Olive, from which spot he commands one of the finest views in the world.)

I RETURNED to the Pacific Coast in 1861, and in May, 1867, was living in San Francisco. I had a store at the corner of Sixth and Market Streets where I dealt in furniture and household goods, and was doing well. One night a friend said to me:

"There is going to be a big meeting tonight" [at such a place], "and it might be interesting for you to attend."

"What is to be the subject of the talk?" I asked.

"It will be on the subject of what ports of the Pacific Coast will make big cities."

So I went, and the speaker commenced at Seattle and said it was going to be a big city; and then he came on down to San Francisco, which he said would be one of the biggest cities in California. Then he kept on down along the coast until he came to San Diego, and he said that San Diego was one of the healthiest places in the world, and that it had one of the best harbors in the world; that there was no better harbor.

I could not sleep that night for thinking about San Diego, and at two o'clock in the morning I got up and looked on a map to see where San Diego was, and then went back to bed satisfied. In the morning I said to my wife: "I am going to sell my goods and go to San Diego and build a city." She said I talked like a wild man, that I could not dispose of my goods in six months.

But I commenced that morning and made a large sale that day. The second day it was the same and I had to hire two more helpers. By the third day I had five men hired, and in these three days I had sold out all my stock. It was not an auction sale, but just a run of business which seemed providential. Then my wife said she would not oppose me any longer, for she had always noticed when it was right for me to do anything, it always went right in my favor; and as this had gone that way, she believed it was right for me to do so.

I went down to the office of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company and inquired, and they said the steamer would be in on her return trip in about ten days; so I engaged passage down and back. I took passage on the steamer *Pacific*, and arrived in San Diego on the 15th of April. The steamer carried twenty-six tons of freight and six passengers. On the return trip she had a cargo of whale oil. I was the only passenger going to San Diego to stay. Wells, Fargo & Co.'s agent was on board. His name was Morgan, and he did business at all the places where the steamer stopped on the way down. E. W. Morse was the agent of the express company in Old Town at that time. This Morgan was bragging about San Diego all the way down, and telling me what a beautiful place it was.

We landed at the old wharf, near where the coal bunkers [Santa Fé wharves] now are, and had to wait there an hour for a wagon to come and take us up to San Diego (Old Town). While we were waiting, I walked up to where the court-house now is and looked over the ground. There was nothing there but sage-brush then. I thought San Diego must be a heaven-on-earth, if it was all as fine as that; it seemed to me the best spot for building a city I ever saw.

I made some inquiries about who had been here before. Some army officers had come in from the East before the war and started a town at what was called New San Diego. At the time of the discovery of gold the people all left that place. They said there could never be a town there. When I came, all the inhabitants were at Old Town. There was not a man living south of Old Town for twenty miles, to the head of the Bay. There was one man living at the head of the Bay; his name was Santiago E. Argüello. The Spanish settlements at the old fort on Presidio Hill, and at the old hide houses near where Roseville now is, were entirely deserted.

When we got to Old Town, they were taking the goods out of the wagon, and this Mr. Morgan said to me:

"Well, Horton, how do you like the looks of San Diego?"

"Is this the great San Diego you were talking so much about?" said I.

"Yes."

"Look here, are you telling me the truth?"

"Sure; this is San Diego; what do you think of it?"

"I would not give you $5 for a deed to the whole of it—I would not take it as a gift. It doesn't lie right. Never in the world can you have a city here."

Mr. Morse was standing by and heard this. He had a store in Old Town and was one of the first men here in San Diego. He was one of the smartest men they had here, and has always been one of our best citizens. When he heard this he said to me (and these were the first words he ever spoke to me):

GEORGE A. PENDLETON

A prominent figure of the early days, who as County Clerk, called the election in connection with the sale of Pueblo lands to A. E. Horton

"Where do you think the city ought to be?"

"Right down there by the wharf," I replied. "I have been nearly all over the United States, and that is the prettiest place for a city I ever saw. Is there any land there for sale?"

I thought then that if I could buy twenty or forty acres there, that I would be satisfied. Mr. Morse said:

"Yes, you can buy property there, by having it put up and sold at auction."

I found out that the old city trustees were holding over. The pueblo had some debts and no income, so they did not want to incur the expense of holding an election. I said right away that that was illegal, that the old trustees could not give a good title to the property, and that there would have to be an election called. They could call a special election by giving ten days' notice, and I asked who the man was to call the election. Morse pointed out a tall man on the other side of the plaza, and said:

"There is Mr. Pendleton crossing the plaza. He is county clerk and clerk of the court and can call an election." I went across to meet this man, and said to him:

"Mr. Pendleton, I came down here to buy some land and help you build up a town, but I find the old town trustees are holding over and cannot do anything legally, so I want you to call an election."

"I shan't do it, sir. The town owes me enough, already."

"Mr. Pendleton, how much would it cost for you to call an election?"

"Not less than five dollars."

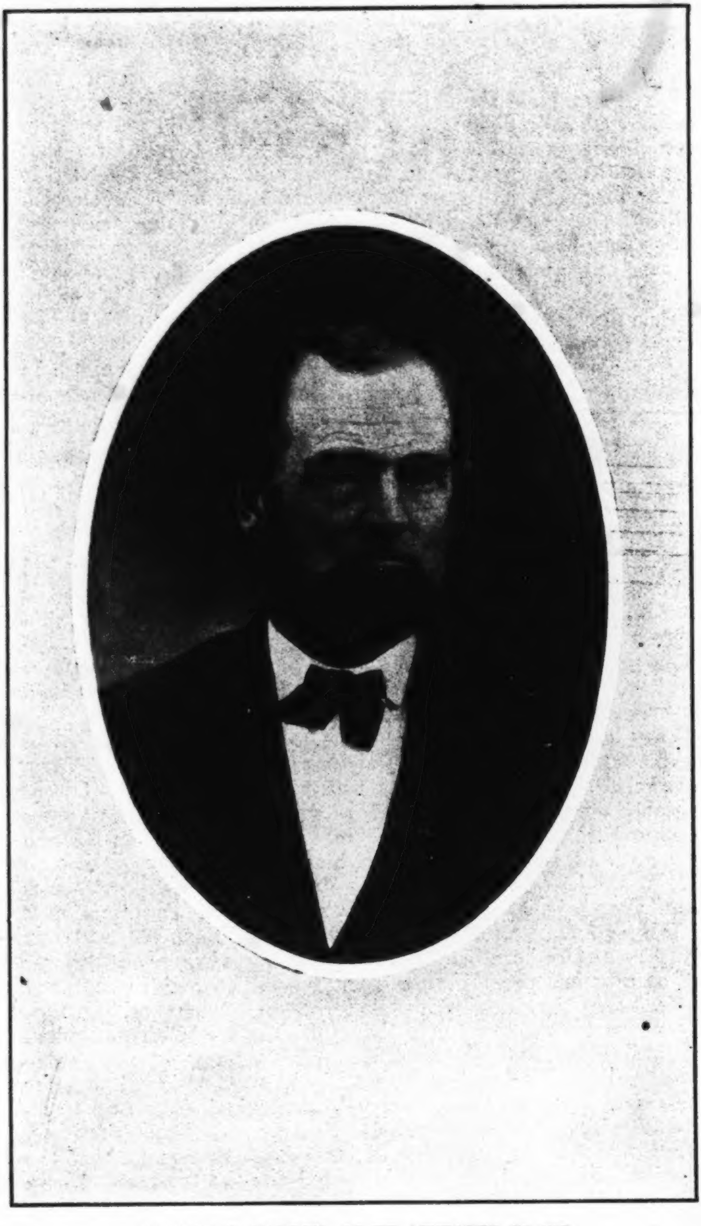
I put my hand in my pocket and took out ten dollars and handed it to him and said: "Here is ten dollars; now call the election."

He wrote three notices and I put them up that night in conspicuous places, and that was the starting of San Diego. Morse went with me to show me what would be good land to get hold of, and showed me what is now called Horton's Addition.

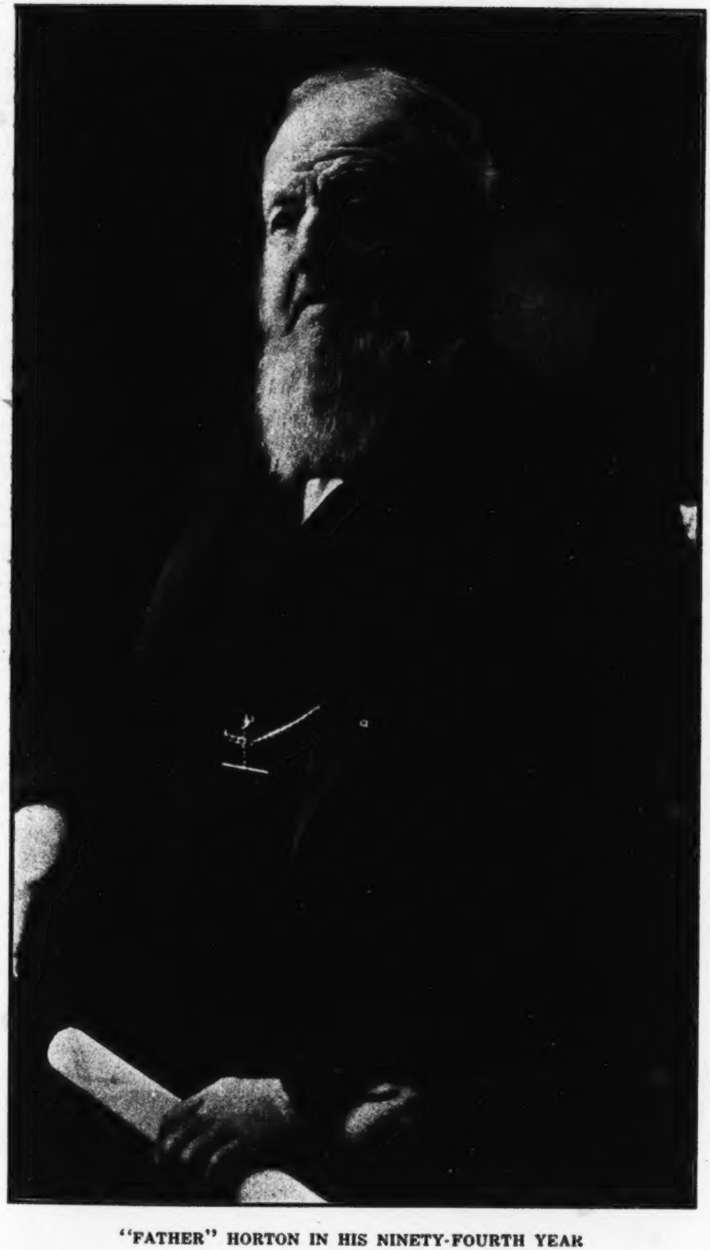
They had to give ten days' notice before the election could be held. While waiting for the time to pass, a doctor at Old Town asked me to go out on the mesa with him to shoot quail. I went out on the mesa with him, and I asked him how it was that since coming here my cough had left me? I had had a hard cough for six months and began to feel alarmed about it.

"Well," he said, "that is the way with everybody that comes here. They all get well right off, even if they have consumption."

When Sunday came, I went to the Catholic church service at Old Town. Father Ubach was the priest in charge, and he was a young man, then. When they passed around the plate I noticed that the contributions were in small coins, and the most I saw put in was ten cents. I had $5 in silver with me, rolled up, and I put that on the plate. This attracted considerable attention, and Father Ubach, among the rest, noticed it. After the service he came and talked with me; asked if I was a Catholic. I said no. What church did I belong to? I told him none. What was I there for? I told him about that and about the election. He asked me who I wanted for the trustees. I said I wanted E. W. Morse for one, and I did not know the business men very well, but I thought Joseph S. Mannasse and Thomas



ALONZO E. HORTON, AS HE APPEARED IN 1867



"FATHER" HORTON IN HIS NINETY-FOURTH YEAR

H. Bush would be satisfactory for the other two. He said immediately: "You can have them." When the election came off, these three men were elected, having received just 32 votes each.

Mr. Morse was the auctioneer. The first tract put up extended from where the court-house now is, south to the water front and east to Fifteenth Street, and contained about 200 acres. My first bid was $100, and the people around me began to giggle and laugh when they heard it. I thought they were laughing because I had bid so little, but on inquiring what it was customary to pay for land, I was told that $20 was a good price if the land was smooth, or about $15 if it was rough. I did not bid so much after that. The pueblo lands had been surveyed into quarter-sections by the United States surveyors. I was the only bidder on all the parcels except one, and I bought in all about a thousand acres at an average of 26 cents an acre. On a fractional section near where Upas Street now is, Judge Hollister bid $5 over me. I told him he could have it, and then he begged me to bid again. I finally raised him 25 cents, and then he would not bid any more, but said:

"You can have it. I wouldn't give a mill an acre for all you've bought. That land has lain there for a million years, and nobody has built a city on it yet."

"Yes," I said, "and it would lay there a million years longer without any city being built on it, if it depended upon you to do it."

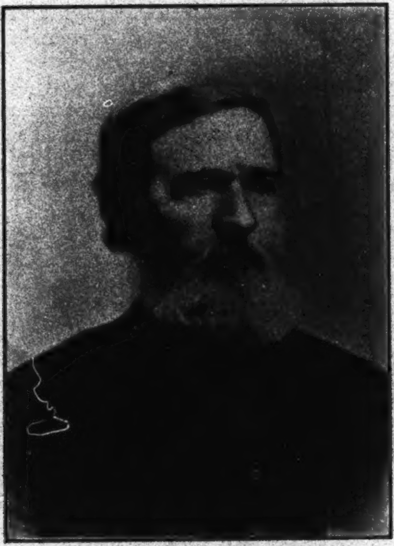
After the auction and before commencing work on my land, I thought I would go back to San Francisco and close out what business I had left there. I had the deeds from the trustees put on record and then when the steamer came took passage back to San Francisco. I told my wife I considered I had made a fortune while I had been away, and she was wonderfully well pleased.

I had lived in San Francisco about two years and was well known there, and after I returned large crowds came to ask for information about the new city by the only harbor south of San Francisco. I told them all about the harbor, the climate, and so forth, and what a beautiful site it was for a city. General Rosecrans was one of these visitors, although I did not know him at the time. He came to me a little while afterward and said he had heard about San Diego before, but had never heard its advantages so well explained. He thought he would like to go down and see it, and to make a trip from San Diego to the desert, to see if a railroad could be built from San Diego eastward. He said if it could, my property was worth a million dollars. "Well," I said, "come on." So we came down to San Diego (it did not cost him anything for steamer fare), and we got two teams, one for passengers and the other for provisions, etc., and started. E. W. Morse and Jo Mannasse furnished the teams, and they and two or three other people went along. We went first down to Tia Juana and from there about a hundred miles east to Jacumba Pass, where we could see out across the desert. General Rosecrans said to me: "Horton, this is the best route for a railroad through the mountains that I have ever seen in California." He said he had been all over the state, and he was now satisfied that Horton's property was well worth a million dollars. I said: "I am glad you are so sanguine about the property." Coming back through where San Diego now is, he said to me: "If I ever have a lot in San Diego, I would like to have it right here." I said I would remember him when the survey was made, and after it was completed I made him a present of the block bounded by Fifth and Sixth, F and G streets—block 70, I think it is. He had not asked for anything and did not expect to be paid, but he thanked me very kindly. Two years from that time I paid him $4,000 to get that block back again, and I sold half of it afterwards for more than I paid him.

After this excursion we went back to San Francisco and in a few days General Rosecrans came to me and said there were two men who wanted to buy me out. I went with him and met these men. General Rosecrans described the property and we talked it over for half or three-quarters of an hour, and they said they would give me $100,000 for the property. I thought, since they took me up so quick that they would probably give more. General Rosecrans told them that in his opinion the property was well worth a million dollars, and at last they said they would give me $200,000, and finally $250,000. I thought they might not be able to carry out their agreement, and also that if it was worth that much I might as well build a city there myself and get the profits. General Rosecrans asked me afterwards why I did not accept the offer. He said that I could have lived all my days like a fighting-cock on that much money. He said that they had the money and were abundantly able to fulfill any agreement they might make.

There was an old building standing in new San Diego, about State and F Streets, on the water front when we landed. It had been braced up to keep it from falling down. It belonged to a man named Wm. H. Davis known as "Kanaka" Davis, who had been connected with new San Diego, but was then living in San Francisco. I bought this building from him with the lot it stood on and I think I paid him $100 for them. A man named Dunnells came to me to ask about the chance for starting a hotel at San Diego. He had been up north somewhere and was looking for a location, and I wanted to get a hotel started. So I told him about the place and about this old building, and he wanted to know what I would take for it. I sold it to him, with the lot, for $1,000. He was afraid he would not like the place, so I told him I would take it off his hands if he did not; and when he got there he liked the place and the property. It was a small frame building. Captain Dunnells was a good citizen. He died within a year past. His son is chief pilot of San Diego harbor.

Well, I got everything closed up in San Francisco and came down here and began work. I surveyed the land; I also began the building of a wharf at the foot of Fifth Street, in August, 1868. A man from San Francisco had agreed to put in half the materials and do half the work on this wharf, if I would give him five blocks of land for it. I agreed and he began work under this arrangement; but he soon backed out and I took it off his hands and finished the work myself. This was the first construction work I did in San Diego. The wharf cost altogether $45,000. This Judge Hollister, the same man who bid against me for the last parcel of land I bought from the city



CAPT. S. S. DUNNELLS

Proprietor of the first hotel in Horton's Addition trustees, was the assessor, and he assessed this wharf at $60,000 and tried to make me pay taxes on that valuation. But I took the matter up with higher authorities, showed them just what the wharf had cost, and got the assessment canceled.

After the survey was made, I set to work to get the town built up. There were a number of men who had come here and wanted work, and I offered them lots at $10 apiece. There was a man stopping with Dunnells who had brought about $8,000 in silver with him and said he was going to buy property. He said to these men: "Don't pay it, you fools; you will be giving Horton something for nothing. Those lots only cost him about 26 cents an acre." They had already agreed to buy, but this man's talk made them want to go back on their bargain. I went to them and said: "I understand that you would like to get your money back. There is your money." I had not yet made out the deeds. I told them that they could each have a lot free, on condition that they would each put up a house on his lot to be at least twelve feet wide, sixteen feet long and twelve feet high, covered with shingles or shakes. That I would give them an inside lot on these conditions, but not a corner, and the deeds to be delivered when the buildings were finished. They said they

DUNNELLS' HOTEL, CORNER STATE AND F STREETS would do that, and they went ahead and put up twenty buildings, down on Fifth Street, near the water front. That was the beginning of the building of new San Diego. I said to those men: "Now you keep those and take care of them and pay the taxes, and they will make you well off." But every one of them sold out in a little while for a good price, except one man, Joseph Nash. He still owns the lot he got from me.

The next day after I had made this arrangement, some of the men who had been scared out of buying from me came and said: "Well, Horton, I guess we will take those lots now at $10." I said: "No, they will cost you $20 now." A few days later I raised them to $25, then to $30, and sold them at these prices. The man who had caused trouble with my first purchasers came to me and wanted to buy lots at the increased prices, but I refused to sell him anything, because it was through him that these men had backed out of their trade. "Not one dollar of your money, sir," I said, "will buy anything from me. If you buy it will be at second hand from someone else." He went back to San Francisco and told people there was no use for anybody to come down here to buy property from Horton, unless he was a Republican.

When I went to San Francisco, I had just come from the war and was a black Republican. I talked my religion (Republicanism) freely in Old Town. A man came to me and said: "Be careful how you talk politics, Horton. What you have already said here is as much as your life is worth. This is the worst Copperhead hole in California."

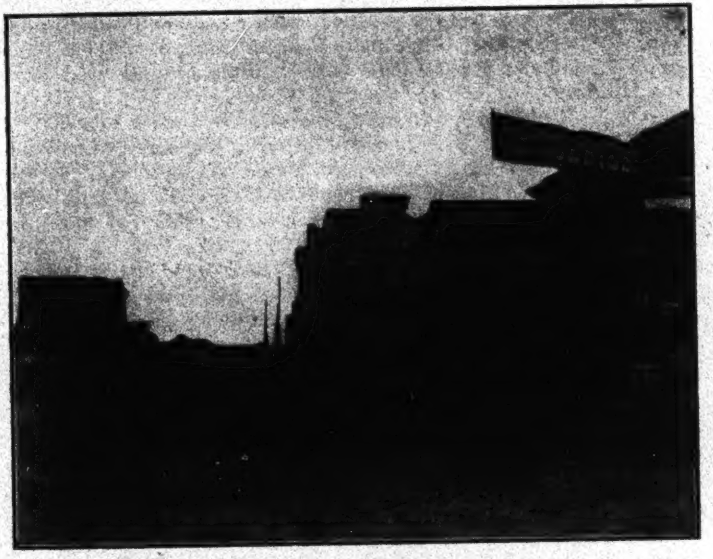
I said: "I will make it a Republican hole before I have been here very long."

"Well," he said, "I would like to see the tools you will do it with."

At that time I would not employ a man unless he was a Republican. Two years after I started San Diego, I carried the city for the Republican ticket, county and state, and the city and county have remained Republican ever since.

Nobody here had any money to hire men but me. I employed in building, surveying, working on the wharf, and so on, about a hundred men. I had my office on Sixth Street. Property was rising in value and I was taking in money fast. After a steamer came in, I would take in, for lots and blocks, in a single day, $5,000, $10,000, $15,000, and even $20,000. I have taken in money so fast I was tired of handling it.

There was a man named John Allyn, who built the Allyn Block on Fifth Street. He came down here to see San Diego and I hired him to paper this old building that I had sold to Dunnells. He was four days doing the work, and I gave him for it the lot on the southeast corner of Fifth and D Streets, 50x100. He took it, but said he didn't know whether he would ever get enough for it to make it worth while to record the deed. It was only a year or two later that he sold it for $2,000 to the people who now own it, and it is now worth over $100,000. Allyn is now dead. He gave $3,000 to the city park, and that was the first donation that was made for that purpose.



CORNER OF FIFTH AND D STREETS IN 1872

Showing Horton House, and Union Building in course of construction

Just north of the Russ Lumber Company's place there were about a dozen houses which had been built by people who had bought lots. I said to these people that if they would whitewash their houses I would furnish the brushes and lime. They said they could not spare the time. But I wanted it done because I thought it would look well when the steamers came in. I then said that if they would let me whitewash one-half of their houses, on the seaward sides, I would furnish the materials and do the work. They consented, and so I hired men and had the houses whitewashed on the south and west sides. Then they wanted me to whitewash them all over, and I would not do it, but still offered to furnish the brushes and lime, so they finally finished the job themselves. The houses then made a fine show and people coming in on the steamers thought the town was growing very fast.

I commenced building the Horton House in January, 1870, and finished it in just nine months to a day from the time I turned the first shovelful of dirt. It cost me $150,000, finished, furnished and painted. There were 96 sleeping rooms in the Horton House, besides a dining room, reading room, bar, and office. The main wing was three stories high and the balance two. It was built of brick made here and they cost $11 a thousand. I bought two steamer loads of lumber and used it in the building.

I began the bank building just about the time I moved into the Horton House. This is the building on the southwest corner of Third and D Streets, where the *Union* has its offices. It was built of the same kind of brick that the Horton House was. The strongest vault in California today, I think, is in that building. A hole was dug down to hard gravel and a foundation laid upon it with cement and broken bottles. There were either four or six pieces of stone about 18 inches thick, 24 inches wide and 12 feet long for the foundation, laid on top of this foundation. The building was finished in about a year. I used the building myself—had my office in the corner rooms upstairs for my land business, and the downstairs part was fitted up for a bank. The building was intended for the Texas and Pacific Railroad, but they never occupied it.

I was president of the old San Diego Bank when it was first organized, but I resigned soon after and Mr. Nesmith became its president. I was doing more business than the bank was; I told them they were too slow for me. I used to keep my money in the old Pacific Bank, at San Francisco, and I would give Klauber, Marston and others certificates on that bank, and they used these certificates as checks to pay their bills with.

The property I have given away in San Diego and never received a cent for is now worth over a million dollars. Outside of this, I have received, as I can show from my books, from the sale of property, over a million dollars in San Diego.

I put up about fifty residences in Middletown for people who had come out here during the boom and wanted to get property cheap. None of these houses cost less than $500; one cost $3,000, and the rest cost $1,500 apiece. I rented these buildings to people who were waiting to buy, at $5 a month. As soon as things began to go down and rents were cheap, many of these people left my buildings. I was once offered $30,000 for 30 of these buildings, by people who wanted to buy right off and move into them.

After I had built the Horton House, I went to San Francisco to get Ben Holliday to put down the steamer fare and freight. The freight was $15 a ton from San Francisco to San Diego, and passenger fares were $60 a round trip. Holliday was the principal owner of the steamship line. He said to me: "Mr. Horton, I am running these steamers to make money, and I am not going to put the freight or passenger rates down. I shan't put them down at all."

"Then," I said, "I shall have to do the best I can."

"Well, what will you do?"

"I will put on an opposition line, if I can find a steamer."

"Well, you do it, if you can, and be damned!"

Holliday was a rough talking man. After I had left his office I went up Montgomery Street and there I met a man named George W. Wright, who was the owner of the steamer *Wm. Taber*, which had just come around the Horn. He said to me: "Horton, if you will give me one-half the freight you are giving to Holliday & Co., I will put the steamer *Taber* on as an opposition line to San Diego."

I said if he put the freight down from $15 a ton to $9 a ton, and passenger fares from $60 to $30 a round trip from San Francisco to San Diego, he should have one-half of the freight.

He said: "I don't know whether I can rely on that or not. Show me how you are situated."

I said to him: "I am employing in San Diego a hundred men. I will tell them that if they don't support the opposition line, I will tell them that their time is out and they can go wherever they can do better."

"What would you advise me to do?" he asked.

"I would advise you to put into the newspapers—all of them—a notice that you will carry freight between San Francisco and San Diego for $9 a ton and passengers for $30 a round trip or $15 each way. I will take the stage and ride night and day till I get to San Diego, and attend to that end of it."

When the steamers came in, the *Taber* was loaded down to the gunwale with freight and passengers, but the *Orizaba* had not enough passengers to pay for the lights they were burning on the ship. It went that way, as near as I can remember, about two months. Then Holliday went to Wright and asked him to take off the opposition steamer, and how much he would take to keep it off for three years. Wright said he wanted $300,000. "Well, what will you take for keeping it off for only a year?" Wright said $100,000, but that he would have to send down for Horton and see him about it first. "What, has Horton got anything to say about it?" "Yes." "The hell he has! Well, send for Horton." So Wright sent for me and I went up to San Francisco and Wright told Holliday: "Horton has come and is at the Occidental Hotel."

"Well, ask him to come to my office."

"Horton has told me he would never set foot in your office again and you know it. You will have to go up to the hotel to see him, for Horton will not come down here."

"Horton's pretty damned independent, isn't he?"

"Yes, and he is able to be."

"Well, Jesse [speaking to his brother, Jesse Holliday], come along and let's go up and see Horton."

Well, they came up to the hotel where I was stopping, and Wright told them about the arrangements they had with me.

"Well," said Holliday, "I will agree to that."

"Well," I said, "I want you to agree further never to raise the rates for freight or passengers."

He said he would not agree to that.

"Well, gentlemen," I said, "you can sit here as long as you like; I have other business to attend to;" and I took my hat and started for the door. They called me back, and after some further talk, agreed to my demands. I said to them then: "Before this business is closed, we will have a lawyer come here, and you will sign an agreement never to raise the freight or passenger rates." He didn't want to do it, but I said: "Do it, or I'll have nothing more to do with you;" so finally he agreed to that. Holliday paid Wright his $100,000, and he went out of the business. That was a benefit to Los Angeles, too, because freight rates were reduced to that point.

The landing for Los Angeles was San Pedro. The old *Taber* lies today up above Rio Vista, where she has been run ever since she was taken off. The *Orizaba* continued to run, for years. I don't know just when she stopped running. Captain Johnson was her captain.

Just after I had moved into the Horton House, a man in the employ of the Western Union Telegraph Company came down here to see if he could get subscriptions enough to build the telegraph line from Los Angeles to San Diego. After he had been around and raised what he could, he was sitting in the stage waiting for it to start, to return to Los Angeles. He called me out there and told me he could not get help enough to warrant building the line down from Los Angeles; he thought perhaps it could be done after a year. I said: "What will it cost to build the line from Los Angeles?" He said that he lacked about $5,000 of having enough. I said: "What will you give me if I make up the amount?" He said: "If you will subscribe one-half the amount we lack, we will give you one-half the earnings of the telegraph for three years. We will send an operator down here, and you to furnish an office and pay him $50 a month." I said: "I will take it." He said: "Shake hands on it, sir!" So we shook hands, and in one month from that time they had the instruments in working order in the Horton House. Quite a number of people around town had subscribed, but there was not enough pledged to secure the line. E. W. Morse was appointed to collect the subscriptions, but I furnished the $5,000 that was lacking to secure the extension. Within three years I got my money back and a little more.

I never parted with the title to the Plaza until I sold it to the city, but had reserved it for my own use and for the Horton House. People got to talking about wanting to buy it and to put different buildings on the ground. I told them they could have it for the city, if they would pay me $10,000 for it, and they agreed to do it. Before the sale was closed, a man from Massachusetts wanted that ground, and after he had examined the title offered me $50,000 for it. I went to the men I had had most of the talk with, and asked them if they would not let me sell to this man, instead of to the city. "Well," they said, "we want it for the city, and we should think you would, too." "Yes," I said, "I did want the city to have it." "Well, you agreed to let the city have it for $10,000 and we think you ought to stand by your bargain." "Very well, then," I said, "let me have $100 a month until it is paid for," and that is the way the arrangement was made, to pay me $10,000 in monthly payments of $100 until it was paid for. That is the full history of the Plaza.

After I got moved into the Horton House, I went to Washington to see about getting the Scott Railroad. Scott and some other people in the East wanted to build a railroad from El Paso west, but they did not make any provision for building from San Diego east. I saw how this was, and so I got up one morning, took money, and went off to Washington without waiting to consult anyone about it. When I got to Washington, I went to Scott and said:

"I see your bill is up and I don't know whether it will pass or not, but it depends upon one thing: You have agreed in your bill to build one hundred miles a year, commencing at El Paso, this way; and you have agreed to nothing from San Diego east. Now, unless you will agree, and have it put in the bill, that you shall build fifty miles a year east from San Diego and fifty miles west from El Paso, your bill is lost."

"Well," said Scott, "how do you know you can defeat it?"

I said: "Tomorrow or next day your bill comes up, and you are beaten. If you can get that bill fixed right, I can help you to pass it."

S. S. ("Sunset") Cox was in Congress then, and had just made a speech against this bill. When I first got there, I went to see our Congressman. He was from San José. A man from New Orleans, our Congressman, and Cox were the committee in charge of the bill, and Cox said that if Scott would consent to amend it, he (Cox) would help get the Democratic votes necessary to pass it, notwithstanding he had already made a speech against the bill. This was done in half an hour.

So then I told Scott about Cox and the arrangement I had made with him. I got Scott and the committee together in the library of the Capitol, and they agreed to change the bill the way I wanted it. Of course, Cox could not vote for the bill after having made a speech against it, but he got leave of absence and went home for a few days when it was about to be voted on. After securing his leave of absence he started off without having arranged with his friends to vote for the bill. I reminded him of it just in time, and he said: "Oh, my God! I had forgotten all about that." Then he went back and talked with about twenty-five of his Democratic friends, and when the bill came up for a vote, it passed.

I went to Washington three times on this business, after I got into the Horton House, and it cost me altogether $8,000. I got Scott, one senator, and two or three congressmen and others who were helping with the road, to come out here, and they all stopped with me at the Horton House. (This was August 30, 1872.)

Scott was satisfied with the proposition, and so he let a contract to grade 25 miles, from 25th Street to Rose Canyon, and 10 miles were graded and Scott paid for it. [Horton threw the first shovelful of dirt, April 21, 1873.]

Scott went to Paris and made an agreement to sell his bonds there, and they were getting everything ready in order to close the transaction. They called him "the railroad king" in the United States at that time. He had an invitation to dine with the crowned heads of Europe, in Belgium. He did not tell the Paris bankers where he was going, but went off and was gone thirty-six hours. In twelve hours after he left, they had everything ready to pay over the money at the bank. They went to the place where he had been stopping and inquired, and sent in every direction to find him, and even telegraphed to England, but could not hear from him. During the time before he got back, Jay Cooke and Company failed, and when he got back to Paris, they said to him:

"Mr. Scott, if you had been here a few hours ago instead of taking dinner with the crowned heads, you would have had your twelve million dollars. Now, we have lost confidence and cannot take your bonds."

Scott telegraphed me how it was. I had put up the bank building, where the *Union* office now is, as I said, for him, and he had agreed to give me $45,000 for it. He telegraphed me:

"I have lost the sale of my bonds and am a ruined man. I don't know whether I shall ever be able to get my head above water again. Do the best you can. I shall not be able to fulfill the contracts I have with you."

This failure hurt me severely. People who had bought land of me heard of the failure, and they met in front of the bank building and sent for me. I went over there and they asked me to take the property back, and said I was welcome to all they had paid if I would only give up the contracts. I told them nobody should be deceived, and how Scott had failed and would not be able to live up to his contract. I paid them back dollar for dollar; every man who had made payments on account of land purchase got it back.

I had given 22 blocks of land at the northwest corner of Horton's Addition, as a contribution toward getting the first railroad to come here. I lost them, and the railroad never was built.

This refers, of course, to the Texas and Pacific. When Huntington, Crocker, and some other Southern Pacific officials came here (there were five in the party), I entertained them at the Horton House and did not charge them a cent.

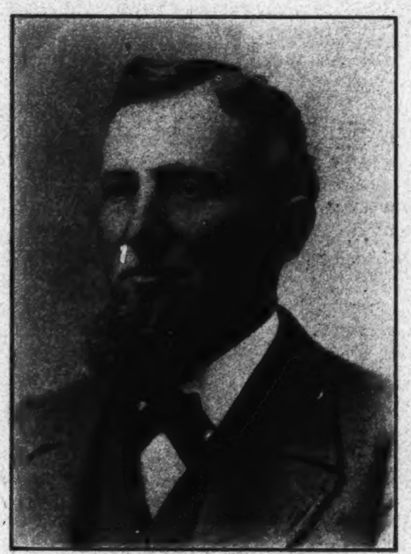
Huntington said: "If you will give us one-half of the property you have agreed to give Tom Scott, we will build the road from here to Fort Yuma." I told them we could not do it. They sent an engineer to go over the ground that had already been surveyed by Scott.

Up at Los Angeles, they had agreed to build a road, and had it as far as from Los Angeles to San Bernardino, and there they came to a stand. They told the Los Angeles people if they would give them $400,000 to help them get through a certain piece of land to the desert (San Gorgonio Pass), they would go on through there; otherwise they would build the road to San Diego and from there to Point Yuma. Mayor Hazzard told the people of Los Angeles that if they did that, Los Angeles would be nothing but a way-station, and the only way to save the city was to agree to give them the money they wanted. They did this, and that was the reason the Southern Pacific was not built to San Diego. The objection they had to coming here, they said, was because they could not compete with water transportation, and therefore it would not be to their interests to come to a place where they would have to compete with water.

[This is the end of Mr. Horton's "own story."]

THE DEED TO HORTON'S ADDITION

When Horton came along and proposed to buy lands from the town, no meeting of the trustees, and no election, had been held for two years. Horton insisting upon it, a special election was called, and E. W. Morse, Thomas H. Bush, and J. S. Mannasse elected trustees. This board met and organized on April 30, 1867, the minutes of the meeting reading as follows:



JOSEPH S. MANNASSE

Conspicuous in business and political affairs in San Diego before and during the boom

> Organization of the Board of Trustees for the City of San Diego, California.
>
> April 30, 1867.
>
> The new Board, consisting of J. S. Mannasse, E. W. Morse, and Thomas H. Bush, chosen at the election held the 27th day of April, 1867, met and Organized by Electing J. S. Mannasse

President, E. W. Morse Treasurer, and Thomas H. Bush Secretary.

On motion of E. W. Morse it was Resolved that an order be entered for the Sale of certain farming Lands of the city property. Said Sale to take place on the 10th day of May, 1867, at the Court House.

On Motion, the Board adjourned to meet Tuesday Evening May 11, 1867.

Approved,

Thomas H. Bush,
Secretary.

J. S. Mannasse,
President.

The sale was held at the court house in old San Diego, on Friday, May 10, 1867. The sheriff (James McCoy) was the proper official to act as auctioneer, but Mr. Morse acted in his place as deputy. Mr. Horton bought six 160-acre lots, 960 acres in all, for an aggregate sum of $265, a little over 27 cents an acre, and two parcels were sold to other parties at the same time. The following is a copy of the minutes of the next ensuing meeting of the trustees, at which the sale was confirmed and the deed issued:

Special Meeting
May 11, 1867.

All the members of the Board present. The Board conveyed by Deed the following Lots of land purchased by A. E. Horton, May 10th:

Eleven hundred and Forty-Six	1146
Eleven hundred and Forty-Seven	1147
Eleven hundred and Fifty-Six	1156
Eleven hundred and Forty-Five	1145
Eleven hundred and Thirty-Four	1134
Eleven hundred and Thirty-Three	1133

At the City Land Sale held at the Court House on Friday, May 10, 1867, the following Lands were sold and account presented of such to the Board, by James McCoy, Auctioneer:

		Purchaser	Price
1146 Lots	Eleven hundred and Forty-Six	A. E. Horton	
1147 Lots	Eleven hundred and Forty-Seven	A. E. Horton	
1156 Lots	Eleven hundred and Fifty-Six	A. E. Horton	$150.00
1145 Lots	Eleven hundred and Forty-Five	A. E. Horton	40.00
1134 Lots	Eleven hundred and Thirty-Four	A. E. Horton	20.00
1133 Lots	Eleven hundred and Thirty-Three	A. E. Horton	55.00
1173 Lots	Eleven hundred and Seventy-Three	J. S. Murray	20.50
	Fractional Lot lying between Eleven hundred and Fifty-Six and Eleven hundred and Fifty-Seven, to	Edward Heuck	9.50
			$295.00

On motion of J. S. Mannasse it was resolved to advertise City Lands for Sale, on the third day of June, 1867, at public Auction, and the Secretary be ordered to post Notices of the Same, in three conspicuous places.

On Motion Meeting Adjourned to meet June 10, 1867.

Approved,

THOMAS H. BUSH, Secretary.

J. S. MANNASSE, President.

The deed was made and recorded the same day. It was signed by Morse and Bush, Mannasse not signing, and witnessed by C. A. Johnson. A full copy of this deed is given below:

This indenture made this eleventh day of May, A. D. one thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven, between E. W. Morse and Thomas H. Bush, Trustees of the City of San Diego, County of San Diego, State of California, parties of the first part, and A. E. Horton, of the same place, party of the second part, Witnesseth, That whereas at a sale at public auction of lots of said City of San Diego, after due notice given of the same, according to law, on the tenth day of May, eighteen hundred and sixty-seven, by the said parties of the first part, Trustees of said City as aforesaid, the said party of the second part bid for and became the purchaser of the following described property and that said property was then and there sold and struck off to the said party of the second part—as the highest and best bidder thereof.

Now therefore the parties of the first part, Trustees of the said City as aforesaid for themselves and their successors in office, by virtue of authority in law in them vested—and for and in consideration of the sum of two hundred and sixty-five dollars to them in hand paid by the said party of the second part, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, have granted, sold, released and quitclaimed and by these presents, do grant, sell, release and quitclaim unto the said party of the second part, his heirs and assigns forever, all the right, title, interest or claim whatsoever, of the said party of the first part, or their successors in office in and to the following described property, situate in the boundary of said City, to wit: Lots eleven hundred and forty-six (1146), eleven hundred and forty-seven (1147), eleven hundred and fifty-six (1156), eleven hundred and forty-five (1145), eleven hundred and thirty-four (1134), and eleven hundred and thirty-three (1133), and designated upon the official map of said city, made by Charles H. Poole in the year 1856. Together with all and singular the ways, streets, rights, hereditaments and appurtenances thereunto belonging or in any wise appertaining. To have and to hold the aforesaid premises, hereby granted to the said party of the second part, his heirs and assigns forever.

In witness whereof the said parties of the first part have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year first above written.

E. W. MORSE, (Seal)
THOMAS H. BUSH, (Seal)
Trustees.

Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of C. A. Johnson.

State of California }
County of San Diego } ss.

On this eleventh day of May, A. D. one thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven, before me G. A. Pendleton, County Clerk and ex-officio Clerk of the County Court in and for said County, personally appeared E. W. Morse and Thomas H. Bush, personally known to me to be the individuals described in and who executed the annexed instrument and they acknowledged to me that they executed the same freely and voluntarily and for the uses and purposes therein mentioned.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said Court in this County the day and year in this Certificate first above written.

G. A. Pendleton,
Clerk.

(Seal)

Received for record on Saturday, May 11, 1867, at 6 P. M., and recorded on Saturday, May 11, 1867, at 8 o'clock P. M., at request of A. E. Horton.

G. A. Pendleton,
County Recorder.

(Fifty cents.)
(U. S. Rev. Stamp)
(E. W. M. T. H. B.)
(May 11, 1867)

These proceedings did not escape attack. When it became apparent that the new town would be a success, a number of suits were brought for the purpose of setting aside the deed from the trustees to Horton. Perhaps the most famous of these was the suit of Charles H. De Wolf *versus* Horton, Morse, and Bush, brought in September, 1869, in which Judge Benjamin Hayes was the plaintiff's attorney. It was alleged that the proceedings leading up to the conveyance were irregular in several respects. The owners of the ex-mission rancho also brought suit to extend their boundaries over Horton's Addition, claiming that the pueblo lands should comprise four leagues, instead of eleven. There were rumors that there was collusion between Horton, Morse, Bush, and others, by which the trustees profited by the sale. Some excitement rose at one time and "land jumping" began; but the people of San Diego took prompt action, pulled down and burned the fences erected around some blocks the "jumpers" were attempting to claim, and soon suppressed their enterprise. Horton's title was sustained in all the courts and the suits ended in smoke.

CHAPTER III

EARLY RAILROAD EFFORTS, INCLUDING THE TEXAS & PACIFIC

THE railroad ambition found early lodgment in the San Diego heart and the passion has endured through the years. Indeed, ever since railroads came into existence men have appreciated the importance of a direct eastern outlet for the seaport. In the dreamy days of Mexican rule, away back in the 30's, they were discussing ways and means to accomplish the great end, but it was not until the American began to dominate the land that any organized effort was made.

In the early 50's an agitation began for the construction of a railroad on the 32d parallel. Congressional action was secured for the preliminary surveys, and in May, 1853, Colonel J. Bankhead Magruder, president of the Atlantic & Pacific Railroad Company, published his report. In January, 1854, Colonel Andrew B. Gray started out to make his "survey of a route for the Southern Pacific Railroad, on the 32d parallel," for the Texas Western Railroad Company. This report was not published until 1856, but the people of San Diego were fully informed of the undertaking and its results. Both these reports are extant and both are of great value.

Different statements have been made as to who was entitled to the credit for originating the first railroad corporation in San Diego. The account most generally credited seems to be that it was due to Judge James W. Robinson and Louis Rose. They were both from the South and doubtless well informed as to the feeling in the matter of the people there, and both took an active part in the affairs of the organization; so that the tradition carries a strong degree of probability. Wm. C. Ferrell and J. J. Warner are also mentioned in this connection.

Early in November, 1854, the San Diego & Gila, Southern Pacific & Atlantic Railroad Company was organized. On November 16th J. R. Gitchell returned from Sacramento with the charter, and the following officers were elected: President, James W. Robinson; vice-president, O. S. Witherby; treasurer, Louis Rose; secretary, George P. Tebbetts; directors, J. W. Robinson, General H. S. Burton, U. S. A., E. W. Morse, Joseph

Reiner, John Hays, M. M. Sexton, Louis Rose, L. Strauss, J. R. Gitchell, George Lyons, O. S. Witherby, and Wm. C. Ferrell. The purpose of the organization was to build a railroad to Yuma, there to meet the line which might reach that point from the East. Colonel Gray had abandoned his work at Yuma, on account of his pack mules being broken down, and the new company, therefore, promptly took steps to supply the deficiency. They sent out a party of surveyors to examine the pass to Santa Ysabel by way of the San Diego River, who returned about the time the charter arrived, and according to the *Herald* "made their report, which is so favorable as to astonish everyone who had never been through by this route." A second reconnaissance of the mountains was immediately begun, and the surveys were pushed with vigor and success, demonstrating the feasibility of the "direct route" to Yuma, upon which the people of San Diego insisted with so much tenacity in later years. But this was not all; these enterprising men prevailed upon the city to make a donation of two leagues of land (about 8,850 acres)—at an election held October 19, 1855, all the votes being for the donation—a gift which would have become of princely value had the railroad been built—and secured the confirmation of this grant by the state legislature.

The organization continued actively at work until the Civil War began. Many of the original officers and directors retained their positions during the period. In 1855, J. C. Bogart, E. B. Pendleton, and D. B. Kurtz succeeded John Hays, L. Strauss, and Wm. C. Ferrell as directors. In the following year, J. C. Bogart was treasurer, in place of Rose. Early in 1858, Rose was treasurer again, and E. W. Morse chairman of the auditing committee. At the annual election in this year, O. S. Witherby became president, Wm. C. Ferrell vice-president, D. B. Kurtz treasurer, and George P. Tebbetts remained secretary, as from the beginning.

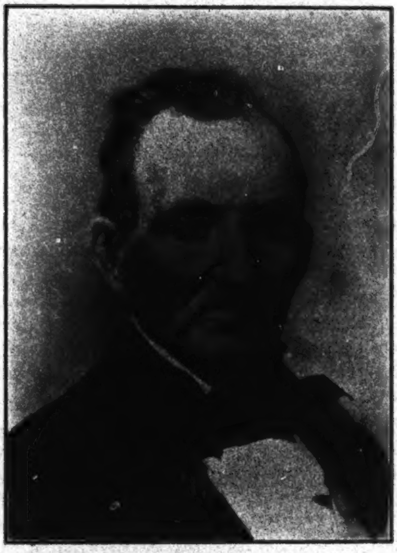
At this time the hopes of the people were very high. Indeed, it seems probable the road would have been built but for the war. That conflict dashed the people's hopes, not merely for the time of its duration, but for many years after. The South had never for a moment thought of building a railroad to any terminus other than San Diego, but it now no longer dominated either the politics or the finances of the country, and it was necessary to wait until new financial and industrial combinations could be made. It was not until the second year of the Horton period that lively hopes of the speedy building of a railroad again cheered San Diego.

The Memphis, El Paso & Pacific Railroad Company, known as the Memphis & El Paso, or the Frémont route, was one of the numerous projects for building on the 32d parallel. The eastern terminus was Memphis, and the western was at first Guaymas, but this was afterward changed to San Diego. The old San Diego & Gila was revived with a new set of officers, and Colonel Wm. Jeff. Gatewood, the president of the reorganized company, was sent to Memphis to negotiate. In 1868 General M. C. Hunter, of Indiana, representing the Memphis & El Paso Railroad, came to San Diego and addressed large meetings. He succeeded in negotiating a contract between the two companies, whereby the former company agreed to build the road, and received the grants, franchises, and lands of the latter, valued at $500,000, in exchange for stock. General Hunter selected a site for the depot, upon the company's own lands, some half mile from Horton's wharf, and also made a contract with the Kimball brothers, owners of the National rancho, for a way station on their lands, for which the Kimballs were to donate 100 blocks of land. General Thomas S. Sedgwick then proceeded to make a survey, and General John C. Frémont went to Paris and succeeded in placing 148 first mortgage bonds for $116,430. Application was made to Congress for a grant, but this failed, and the whole scheme quickly collapsed. The Paris investors sued Frémont, and the land subsidy was forfeited to the city. General Sedgwick, who had just completed his maps, was sent east as the agent of the San Diego & Gila to secure a concellation of the contract between the two companies, and succeeded in doing so.

But the people of San Diego were not left long without hope. During these years, from 1868 to 1871, we hear of the San Diego & Fort Yuma, which was to run *via* Jacumba Pass; of the old Southern Pacific, the Transcontinental, and other projects; but it was not until the Texas & Pacific Railway Company was chartered, March 3, 1871, that there seemed once more substantial ground for the belief that the day of prosperity was at hand. The Texas & Pacific was responsible for so many things—for San Diego's first considerable boom and its greatest disappointment—and, in a way, for its subsequent growth and prosperity—that a somewhat extended account may properly be given.

This company was incorporated by Colonel Thomas A. Scott, of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and others. Scott was made its president, and gave his efforts energetically for several years to the task of building a road through to San Diego. Senator John S. Harris, one of the directors, spoke in San Diego on behalf of the road, August 28, 1871, which was the first public meeting held in connection with the enterprise. In March, 1872, Scott acquired by consolidation and purchase property and franchises of the old Southern Pacific, the Transcontinental, and the Memphis & El Paso Railroads, and by act of Congress approved May 2, 1872, was granted power to build and equip lines between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Coast.

In the meantime, the people of San Diego were awake to their interests. Late in March, 1872, a committee of forty was appointed, of which Thos. L. Nesmith was chairman, and the congressman, S. O. Houghton, was instructed to use his best judgment. Horton went to Washington a few days later, and co-operated with Houghton and General Sedgwick. It was thought essential that the charter should provide for building the road from both the eastern and western ends simultaneously, to fix a minimum mileage to be constructed each year, and to limit the time within which work should be commenced to one year, in order to safeguard the city's interests. Colonel Scott readily agreed to these requirements, and promised to visit San Diego to negotiate for the franchise and property of the old San Diego & Gila and explain his views to the people. There



JAMES W. ROBINSON

Who came to San Diego after a conspicuous career in Texas and was identified with the earliest railroad efforts was a powerful lobby against the bill, both before and after amendment, much of which came from northern California, but the bill finally passed and was approved on May 2d, causing great rejoicing in San Diego.

Surveying parties were immediately put in the field and the work was pushed with vigor. Three surveys in all were made. The first party of engineers arrived in San Diego on June 21, 1872. On August 8th, J. A. Evans, chief engineer of the California division, arrived to take charge of the work. On September 5th the second party took the field, and nine days later, the third. In the following December, Crawford's survey of the route from San Diego eastward was completed, and in March the Reno party completed its work and was disbanded. These three routes were, respectively: the southern route by way of El Campo; the middle route, by way of Warner's rancho; and the northern, through the San Gorgonio Pass.

All of this was very encouraging, indeed, and when Colonel Scott started west early in August, with a party of legislators and other public men, the excitement rose to something approaching fever heat, and the people began to cherish an apparently well-grounded hope that their ambitions were about to be realized. The name and fame of San Diego were in everybody's mouth. Population began to pour in from every direction, men began to see visions of a wonderful destiny, and in a few weeks San Diego's first great boom was fairly on.

The railway party came by way of San Francisco, where Colonel Scott and others made addresses. On August 18th, the steamer *Hassler* arrived at San Diego, having on board Professor Agassiz and party, on a voyage of scientific exploration, who remained to meet with members of the Scott party. Agassiz was here ten days, continued his scientific researches, and left a much valued estimate of San Diego's resources. The Scott party arrived by steamer on August 26th. A very distinguished party it was, consisting of Colonel Scott; Senator John Sherman, of Ohio; Governor R. C. McCormick, of Arizona; Colonel George Williamson, of Louisiana; General G. M. Dodge, of Iowa; Colonel John W. Forney, of Philadelphia; Governor J. W. Throckmorton, of Texas; W. T. Walters, of Baltimore; John McManus, of Reading, Pennsylvania; Hon. John S. Harris; ex-Senator Cole; and W. H. Rinehart, the sculptor.

"As the boom of the *California's* guns announced the arrival of the vessel," said Colonel Gatewood in the *World*, "all San Diego drew a breath of relief and hope," and we may well believe it.

A committee of citizens met the party, and Colonel Gatewood gave them a formal welcome. They were domiciled at the Horton House, and the same evening a mass meeting and banquet were held at which Scott explained his plans. Among those who spoke were: Scott, Sherman, McCormick, Williamson, Dodge, and Agassiz, of the visitors; and T. L. Nesmith, Gatewood, Taggart, and Hinchman, of the residents. Other citizens who participated were: T. L. Nesmith, Aaron Pauly, C. L. Carr, Bryant Howard, George W. Marston and Mr. Boyd.

Scott's demands were far less onerous than had been feared. In the language of the *Alta California,* the committee of forty were "in fear and trembling," expecting nothing less than "a modest demand for half a million in county bonds and at least one-half that the people owned in lands." What he actually asked the people to give him was: a right of way 100 feet wide from the ocean to the Colorado River; the lands which had been granted to the old San Diego & Gila Company; a tract of land west of the court house, on the water front, 600 by 1500 feet, for a terminal; and either 100 acres of tide lands of acceptable shape and location, or the same area in Horton's Addition adjacent to the shore.

These requirements were considered moderate, and the committee of forty joyfully accepted them. But a "vote of the citizens must be taken in order to authorize the levy of a tax to raise the necessary funds. It was resolved to call a mass meeting at an early day, that the action of the committee may be submitted to the people for ratification." This was done August 30th, without serious opposition. The stockholders of the San Diego & Gila were agreeable to all this, provided they were reimbursed for their outlay in times past, as they ultimately were by payment of $58,000 of city bonds.

The transfer of the franchise and remaining property of the old company to the new was made December 11, 1872, President Gatewood consenting reluctantly and insisting that the Texas & Pacific be firmly and legally bound to fulfill its agreements. On January 14, 1873, the final step in the transfer of the subsidy lands was taken. They were put up at auction, in 160 parcels, and bid in by James A. Evans, engineer of the Western division of the Texas & Pacific, at $1 per parcel, there being no competition. The deeds from the city to Evans, and from him to the Texas & Pacific, were executed and filed for record the same day. The total area of these lands was 8,606 acres, besides 51 lots in Old San Diego and other places. The total value was estimated by the San Francisco papers at $3,000,000, and by Colonel Scott himself at $5,000,000.

The remainder of the San Diego & Gila's story is brief. After the distribution of the bond proceeds, Mr. Morse employed W. T. McNealy to defend all suits against the company and attend to the disincorporation. As late as November 25, 1878, however, its business had not been wound up. The directors met on that date and declared a dividend of 56½ cents a share, payable upon disincorporation. The amount estimated to be on hand, after payment of bills, was $1,766.85. The company was soon after finally dissolved.

The stay of Colonel Scott and his party was short. The negotiations with the citizens' committee were finished on the 27th, the party departed at midnight, and the *Hassler* with the Agassiz party the next day. After this, events moved rapidly. The election of September 27th provided for the issuance of bonds to satisfy the San Diego & Gila stockholders, as well as to purchase terminal property. On November 11th occurred one of the most joyous and impressive ceremonies ever held in San Diego. Ground was broken for the new railroad, on the company's land, about one-fourth of a mile southeast of Mannasse & Schiller's Addition. W. W. Bowers was grand marshal and his aides were Adolph Gassen, Miguel de Pedrorena, L. G. Nesmith, Frank Stone, and A. B. Hotchkiss. Colonel Gatewood presided, and the addresses were by Judge Rolfe, C. P. Taggart, and Governor McCormick. The jubilant feeling of the people was reflected in the *World*, which exclaimed: "We have twice supposed that the right note of accord had been struck, and we have been twice disappointed. Now there is no longer possibility of deception. All our high contracting parties have put their sign manuals to an instrument which gives Scott all he has ever asked."

Some months now elapsed, in which little apparent progress was made, and San Diegans began to grow restless. There were not wanting those who would be now called "knockers," and, indeed, the vast issues staked upon this railroad might well excuse a feeling of impatience. On February 12, 1873, the *World* felt called upon to declare:

"We have enough raw material in San Diego to stock an ordinary lunatic asylum. We have amongst us men who discredit the good faith of Scott, and who cannot rid themselves of an uneasy opinion that he intends to palter with San Diego. It is useless to call the attention of these men to the fact that the railroad king is a man whose reputation for fair dealing is as exceptional as his success as a railroad administrator. They are possessed by the demon of distrust, and the sign manual of an archangel wouldn't reassure them."

But one week later the same writer recorded his opinion that: "After a very full consideration of the matter, we have no hesitation in saying that it is time that the Texas & Pacific Railway authorities should show their hands." Evidently, he too had become infected with the microbe of impatience.

On April 21, 1873, occurred the ceremonies attending beginning of actual work on the construction of the railroad. T. L. Nesmith made a few remarks on behalf of the committee of forty, and C. P. Taggart also spoke. "Father" Horton threw the first shovelfull of earth, and said it was the happiest day of his life and that he felt more honored than if he had been chosen governor. About ten miles of the roadbed were graded, and some of this grade can still be seen near the tracks of the Santa Fé Railway.

THOMAS L. NESMITH

Chairman of the Committee of Forty who conducted the negotiations with the Texas and Pacific in 1872

In May, Colonel Scott wrote informing the committee that his company had decided upon the San Gorgonio route, and giving their reasons briefly. This was a disappointment to the people of San Diego, as they greatly preferred the "direct route" by one of the two other surveys. Still, so long as San Diego was made the terminus in good faith, they did not greatly object.

Scott went to Europe in the fall to complete his arrangements for placing his bonds and raising funds for the construction of the road. Everything apparently went well, and he had matters all arranged in Paris for delivering the bonds and receiving the money, as soon as the formalities of making out the papers could be completed. To pass the time of waiting he went to London with a party of friends, and during their absence the "Black Friday," or panic, occurred which deranged the finances of the country and caused the French financiers to change their minds about making the loan. The failure of Jay Cooke & Company in December, 1873, cut considerable figure in this wiping out of the financial arrangements for the new railroad. Colonel Scott notified his friends and supporters in San Diego that he would be unable to fill his agreements.

The blow was a severe one to the young city and many thought it fatal. The population dwindled in the course of two or three years from 3,000 to 1,500. But there were a stout-hearted few who never lost faith nor courage. Scott was not ruined, they argued; he was still a wealthy man, still president of the Pennsylvania Railroad and of the Texas & Pacific, and had not abandoned or changed his plans. Jay Cooke & Company were endeavoring to rehabilitate their standing and would come to his aid. And so they fed their hopes for some years.

But while these things were largely conjectural, there was one source of hope which seemed a strong one. This was the appeal which Scott promptly made to Congress for a national subsidy. Congressman Houghton had been re-elected in the fall of 1872 largely on the ground that he could help in matters of national legislation affecting San Diego's interests. He was still in Congress, but, unfortunately, found himself in a minority in the support of this measure. The day of great grants to railroads was passing, the country had been too hard hit by the panic of 1873, and Congress could not be induced to give the subsidy. Hope was not abandoned for a long time, however. In October, 1875, David Felsenheld was appointed to act as agent of the city at Washington, and in the following February a bill was passed by the House for a road on the 32d parallel, which was supposed to mean the Texas & Pacific; but the name of the company was changed to the Southern Pacific as successor to the interests of the Texas & Pacific, and San Francisco was made the western terminus. Further action was postponed until the next session of Congress.

When the matter came up in the next Congress, in December, 1876, San Diego was again represented by special agent, Felsenheld, and stormy times began, in a struggle to save the western terminus to San Diego. On December 18th, the trustees and railroad committee telegraphed Colonel Scott as follows:

> The citizens of San Diego rely implicitly upon your honor and good faith for the consummation of your oft-repeated pledges. You promised that if the route directly east proved feasible it should be constructed. Fulfill your pledge. The direct line is the only route upon which a competing railroad should enter San Diego and they will unanimously oppose any compromise that will not secure that line.

To this Colonel Scott replied:

> Have used my utmost efforts to secure San Diego a railroad line on such route as can best effect the object; and if you can effect it in any better shape than I can, I should be very glad to have you take it up and adjust it with any party, or on any terms that you may think best. But in taking these steps, I shall expect you to relieve me of any possible obligation.

At this time, Scott offered to relinquish his subsidy, being in doubt about the possibility of securing government aid, but the offer was not accepted, and on the contrary every effort was made to secure the enactment of suitable legislation.

General Thomas S. Sedgwick was employed to assist Felsenheld, and in January Horton was sent "to assist Sedgwick and yourself in explaining advantages of direct route and disadvantages and great injustice of proposed San Gorgonio switch." Long telegrams were sent to Hon. L. Q. C. Lamar, chairman of the House Committee on Pacific Railroads, and to Hon. James A. Garfield, and other members of that committee, explaining San Diego's situation and desires. The chief contention was that "this people entered into a contract with the company authorized by law to build the road, conveying to said company valuable franchises and over nine thousand acres of land on said bay, incurring thereby a large city bonded indebtedness, for which all our property is pledged;" "that a large population have been drawn hither from all parts of the Union, and induced to invest their fortunes here, in reliance upon the good faith of Congress in said legislation;" and that the proposed compromise, making San Francisco the terminus, missing San Diego by a hundred miles and leaving it to be served by a branch line of the Southern Pacific, would be a great injustice to the people of San Diego and the country, "and will bring ruin upon several thousand people who have trusted the promise of the government in said Act of Charter, and who rely upon the obligations of contracts entered into with a corporation in good faith for very valuable considerations."

Two historic telegrams which passed between San Diego's representatives at Washington and the city trustees exhibit the situation very clearly. The attitude of the trustees was enthusiastically sustained at a mass meeting of citizens. The telegrams were as follows:

WASHINGTON, JANUARY 6, 1877.

To Trustees:

We are pressing direct route persistently, and will probably defeat bill. It will not be conceded. Compromise bill allows national or state railroads to connect on equal conditions. The San Gorgonio line would be so much towards Union Pacific line from Salt Lake, which would have right to connect at San Gorgonio. We are losing friends in Committee by our persistence and cannot count our present strength hereafter for any other move. By yielding we may get guaranteed bonds subsidy for whole line; and if Huntington does not build San Gorgonio line you will have the direct route, under the bill, by the time the through line is completed. The Committee concede that the direct line must follow soon under any conditions. All rights and privileges conceded and secured, except direct route. The Southern section (of the House) which fully understands the situation, believes this the last chance for Government aid. They comprehend the benefits of the direct route; but think you should make concessions to get a railroad on (less) favorite route. At this time shortness of route is not so important as results in developing Arizona and getting connections that will increase your commercial importance and population and trade many fold in few years, which growth will enable you to build the direct route long before you will need it to cheapen freights. Why not help yourselves now, to strengthen yourselves hereafter? Unless this subsidy bill passes, there will be no road for you to meet.

SEDGWICK.

SAN DIEGO, JANUARY 6, 1877.

To Col. Sedgwick:

It is the deliberate and unchangeable conviction of San Diego, that the proposed connection north of here, in the hands of the Southern Pacific Company, would be an injury instead of a benefit to us, because:

1. It places in control of one corporation for all time every approach to our harbor.

2. Trade and population would be taken away from, instead of brought here, while the road is building. It is *now* moving from the northern part of the county to Colton.

3. By occupying the only passes it would prevent extension of Utah Southern road and connection with Union Pacific.

4. It would supersede construction of direct line from Anaheim, increasing our distance from San Francisco to 650 miles.

5. It would increase the distance from Yuma by 60 miles.

6. Experience has taught us that the strongest promises in a bill do not protect us against subsequent amendments at the desire of the corporations. Legislation that fails to require immediate beginning at this end, and construction of

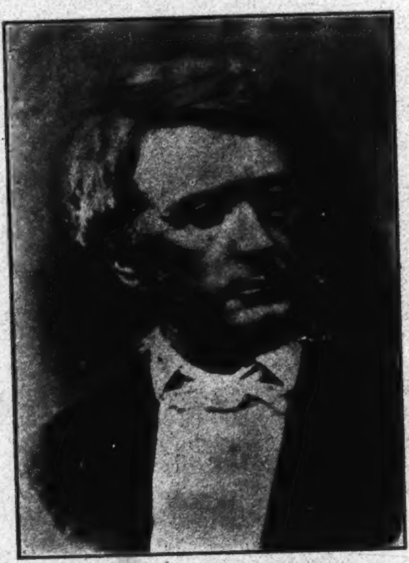
> so much road before next session of Congress as to remove the temptation to amend bill, is worse than worthless.
>
> 7. Whatever supposed guarantees may be put in bill making the road a "highway" it is well known by all engineers that the Company building the road holds *in fact* control of it; and no other company can have equal use, or will build parallel road.
>
> 8. Southern Pacific Coompany one year ago agreed to build on direct line, provided San Diego would consent that it should have the western end.
>
> So far from a San Diego standpoint: But we hold no petty local view; we supplicate no favors. The interest of San Diego is here bound up with the National interest. We submit to impartial statesmen the conceded truth that the proposed compromise diverts the Nation's bounty from the original purpose of the Southern transcontinental legislation; deprives all the millions east of San Diego of direct access to their nearest Pacific harbor; and destroys competition for all time. San Diego's natural advantages are such, that in asking the Nation's aid for the construction of a railroad to her port, she asks it upon a line, and upon terms that will contribute to the Nation's support and wealth for all time to come; while the compromise plan will be an intolerable and interminable national burden. For these reasons San Diego prefers NO bill, rather than the San Gorgonio branch. Read again both our dispatches to Lamar.
>
> Signed by Board of Trustees.

The Board of Trustees at this time consisted of J. M. Boyd, D. O. McCarthy, D. W. Briant, W. A. Begole, and Patrick O'Neill. Boyd was president and S. Statler clerk.

Events have singularly borne out the judgment of the trustees concerning the effect upon San Diego, at least, of building the road through the San Gorgonio Pass instead of by the direct eastern route. Nor was Los Angeles indifferent to what she had at stake in the choice of routes. Later, when Scott's efforts to secure legislation had come to naught and the Southern Pacific was beating him in the race to California, Los Angeles gave $400,000 to make sure that the road should use the San Gorgonio Pass, and no other. It was the turning point for Los Angeles, and it involved long and bitter disappointment to San Diego.

In September, 1877, an agreement was made with Colonel J. U. Crawford to survey the route by way of Warner's Pass as a means of demonstrating once more the utter falsity of the claim that the direct route was impracticable. Crawford and Felsenheld went to Washington early in 1878, together with Captain Mathew Sherman, to make one final effort in behalf of the enterprise, but it came to nothing.

Thus ended the dream of the Texas and Pacific system with its western terminus on the shores of San Diego Bay. The result was in no wise due to the people of San Diego. They were wide awake to their opportunity; they contributed with prodigal generosity to the subsidy; they fought long and stubbornly to protect and to enforce the contract. Failure was due, in the first instance, to the panic of 1873; then, to the sledgehammer blows which Huntington rained upon his rival, Scott, until he had beaten him alike at Washington and in California. So Scott's star went out of the Pacific sky, and Huntington's rose resplendent, to shine with ever increasing luster while he lived.



THOMAS A. SCOTT

The great railroad magnate who undertook to extend the Texas & Pacific to San Diego and whose failure to accomplish it, exerted a profound influence on the history of San Diego and of Southern California for many years

There were times when San Diego hoped that Huntington would build his line to the port of San Diego and thus create the desired eastern connection. There is no evidence that he ever seriously contemplated the project. He visited San Diego with Crocker and others in August, 1875, and met a committee of citizens. The best account of what occurred at the interview appears in the following statement by E. W. Morse:

I was on the railroad committee when Huntington and his associates were here to negotiate with us. I think Huntington never intended to build to San Diego, but that he only came for political effect. They never made us a proposition. We met on a Sunday. Huntington said he was not then prepared to make a proposition. I told them about General Rosecrans's trip to Jacumba Pass and what he said about the route. Mr. Huntington objected that that would take them down in Mexico, which he thought would make undesirable complications. I suggested that he could probably make such an arrangement with Mexico as the Grand Trunk had, which crosses the line into the United States twice. Huntington said, "Well, I don't know but that would be well." General Rosecrans said several times on his trip that he never saw a better route for a railroad; "it looks like it was made purposely for a railroad." They talked very pleasantly with us and finally said that one of their directors was traveling in Europe, and "as soon as he returns we will make you a proposition giving the terms on which we will build a railroad into San Diego." I have memoranda which I made at the time of that interview. We kept on asking them to make a proposition after that, but they never got ready to do it. He said we could depend they would be the first railroad to build into San Diego, and when the time was ripe they would build.

I don't believe Huntington ever showed a spirit of vindictiveness toward San Diego, as has been reported. In all the correspondence with him which I have seen, he was very friendly. Mrs. Burton, widow of General H. S. Burton, was once dining with him, and said to him she did wish he would build a railroad into San Diego, that she had some property there which would increase in value and it would make her a rich woman. "Well," he said, "it is not to our interests to build in there, at present." He talked very pleasantly about it and gave as one of their reasons for not building that if they should touch the Coast at San Diego, they would come in competition with water transportation. I think they were influenced largely by the consideration of getting the long haul clear into San Francisco, which they get now, while if they had built in here, they would have had to divide with a steamship company at this port. This party was entertained at the Horton House and was treated well.

SAN DIEGO IN 1872

CHAPTER IV

SAN DIEGO'S FIRST BOOM

SAN DIEGO'S first considerable impulse toward growth was due to a combination of the energies of the indefatigable Horton and the opportune rise of the Texas and Pacific Railroad excitement. When the building of the road appeared to be a certainty, others beside Horton became able to appreciate the advantages of bay, climate, and his well-located, smoothly sloping "Addition." Thus the fame of the new city spread far and wide.

> Two years ago, wrote Major Ben C. Truman, in 1869, San Diego seemed to be among the things that were. Only two families were living here and but three houses were left standing. About that time a Mr. A. E. Horton came this way and purchased from the city three quarter-sections of land adjoining the plot known as New Town; and, having it surveyed, called it Horton's Addition. A few months after, a . . . wiry, rusty-looking man might have been seen upon the streets of San Francisco with a long tin horn in his hand, containing New San Diego and Horton's Addition—on paper—purchased by the gentleman for the sum of $220. Lots of people laughed at the rusty-looking proprietor of the long tin horn and said he was a fool who had thrown away his money, and many a quarter-section had the trustees to sell to all such real estate spooneys. . . . Two years have passed away, and the contents of that tin horn describe, in point of site, facilities for living, climate, etc., the most comfortable and one of the most flourishing towns in Southern California, if not in the State. . . .
>
> I saw Mr. Horton yesterday. He looks just as he did two years ago. I should judge that he had on the same suit of clothes now as then. But he no longer packs about that long tin horn. He rides behind a good horse and resides in an elegant mansion, with a garden adjoining containing all kinds of vegetables and flowers, and all kinds of young fruit and ornamental trees and shrubs. There are 226 blocks in Horton's Addition, each containing twelve lots 50x100 feet. Early in the history of this town, Mr. Horton gave away some twenty odd blocks and sold twice that number for a few hundred dollars a block. During the past year he has sold over $100,000 worth of blocks and lots at large figures. He has been very generous and has helped many a poor man to get along, pro-

> vided he seemed inclined to help himself. He has given each of the religious denominations a piece of ground upon which to erect a church and has subscribed toward the putting up of a pretentious edifice.

The means which Horton used to encourage building in his town and to stimulate the sale of real estate have been described. His success was phenomenal, from the beginning. The first number of the *Union*, October 3, 1868, contains the following notes of the progress of improvements in the new town:

THE FIRST BUILDING IN HORTON'S ADDITION

It is still standing on Sixth Street below J, and was first used by Mr. Horton as his office

> Culverwell's wharf has reached into the bay about 150 feet since we were on it last. It was covered with freight, landed from the schooner *John Hunter*, through the assistance of a lighter. We noticed a large amount of feed, household and kitchen furniture, agricultural implements, etc., . . . also a great number of doors and window frames for the large hotel Mr. Dunnells is about erecting on the corner of Fifth and F streets—also some fine lumber for Judge Hyde, who is about erecting two or more fine buildings, . . . one of which is to be built opposite the site of Dunnell's hotel; also a large lot of lime, lumber, and other merchandise for Messrs.

> Mannasse & Co., who are now engaged in building two frame sheds near the wharf. . . . Near the wharf Mr. Elliott has about completed a new building. . . . A little further back stands a building belonging to a Mr. Hooper, which has recently been opened as a billiard saloon. Mr. Nash had added twenty feet to his store, which gives it a fine appearance and makes one of the largest store rooms in San Diego. Passing around to Mr. Horton's wharf, we observed families of emigrants, who had just arrived, camping out upon the ground they had cleared for future homes. Horton's wharf now reaches out into the bay 500 feet and the piles have been driven . . . some eighty or ninety feet beyond. We discovered some twenty new buildings in the course of construction.
>
> On November 21st, the *Union* found that "the evidences of improvement, progress and prosperity are visible on every side. . . . Buildings are in process of erection in all directions. Lots are being cleared rapidly in the Horton Extension. . . . Mr. Horton is selling from $600 to $1000 worth of lots every day. Restaurants, bakeries, livery stables, furniture stores, blacksmith shops, hotels, doctors' offices, wholesale and retail storerooms, saloons and residences are going up—while the wharves are only lagging for the want of the necessary material."

The Sherman Addition was laid out and placed on the market in this year, and the Frary Addition in June, 1869. In May, 1869, the Episcopalian Society erected the first house of religious worship in new San Diego, at the northeast corner of Sixth and C Streets. The Baptists followed with a building on Seventh Street, below F, in October. The Methodists were third, with a church on the corner of Fourth and D, which was dedicated February 13, 1870. Each of these societies received a gift of two lots each from Horton.

The hotel kept by Captain Dunnells soon proved inadequate to support the traffic, and late in 1868 Mr. Case began the construction of the hotel on the corner of Fifth and F Streets known as the Bay View Hotel—the second hotel erected in new San Diego and the first in Horton's Addition. By December, 1869, the newspapers were complaining of inadequate hotel accommodations, and on the 18th the *Bulletin* was able to make this proud announcement: "The great need of this town is about to be supplied by A. E. Horton, Esq., who will immediately erect, on the northwest corner of Fourth and D Streets, a palatial brick edifice, for hotel purposes. It is to contain a hundred rooms and to be fitted up with elegant furniture and all modern improvements." The Horton House, the best hotel of San Diego for many years, was opened October 10, 1870.

Late in 1869, the paper says that "people are coming here by the hundreds—by steamer, by stage, and by private conveyance.'' And, ''from a place of no importance, the home of the squirrel a few months back, we now have a city of three thousand inhabitants. Houses and buildings are going up in every direction. The most substantial improvements are being made. . . . Every steamer from San Francisco averages two hundred newcomers, who are to make their permanent home here. One wharf has not been able to accommodate all the shipping, so another one is in course of construction. The government has decided to make this point headquarters for Lower California and Arizona, and troops are filling the barracks. Fortifications will be built at the entrance to our harbor. The Memphis and El Paso Company will soon have their road open to Arizona, and San Diego will be the natural depot for that country. A branch mint to work out the products of that section, together with our own, will have to be built at San Diego.'' In this year David Felsenheld built the first brick building, at the northwest corner of Sixth and F Streets.

In November it is recorded that more than a dozen buildings were erected between the two issues of the newspapers (weekly); and a workingman writes to complain of the scarcity of houses and the high rents, which ''eat dreadfully into the earnings and wages of mechanics.'' At the close of the year there were 439 buildings, and the volume of business transacted in December was over $300,000.

The year 1870 opened with business brisk and real estate active. In March, four weeks' sales aggregated over $50,000. One of the most encouraging features was the opening of telegraphic communications with the outside world. The need for this convenience had been debated in the newspapers for some months. In the spring, the agents of the Western Union Telegraph Company came and raised by canvass a subscription of $8,000, the amount of the subsidy required. The largest givers were Horton, Morse, *San Diego Union*, and J. S. Mannasse & Co. The whole sum was given by twenty-three individuals and firms. Work was begun upon the line immediately. The poles were distributed from a steamer, being floated from the vessel to the shore—a dangerous service, performed by Captain S. S. Dunnells. The line was completed and the first dispatches sent on August 19, 1870. The event caused much rejoicing.

Many other important enterprises were undertaken and much progress made. The Julian mines were discovered in February, and soon assumed importance. The first gas works were constructed and began operations early in the summer. A daily mail between San Diego and Los Angeles was established in December. School buildings were erected and a high school building talked about. In June the first bank, the Bank of San

Diego, was organized. A long list of substantial buildings, including Horton's Hall and the really remarkable Horton House, were completed. The assessed valuation of the town's real estate rose to $2,282,000, and its personal property to $141,252, all of which had been brought in, or created, in a period of three years. The national census taken in this year showed that the town had a population of 2,301 and 915 occupied houses.

THE HORTON HOUSE, 1870-1905

For more than a generation, the famous hotel of San Diego and one of the most notable in Southern California. It was demolished to make room for the U. S. Grant Hotel

Nevertheless, the year as a whole was considered a discouraging one, and closed in gloom. The boomlet soon reached its limit and within a few short weeks was cruelly nipped in the bud. The collapse of the Memphis, El Paso & Pacific project, which occurred early in the year, was a blow which it could not withstand. Besides, there was a drought, which added to the discouragement. By May, the *Bulletin* acknowledged editorially that "times are hard and money scarce," and many men were out of employment. In August, the *Union* took a philosophical view of the situation: "In spite of the failure of the railroad bill this year, our real estate holds its own, and sales are made at very little reduction (sic) from the rates which have ruled for months past."

In the spring of 1871, there was a slight revival of real estate activity following the passage of the Texas & Pacific Railroad bill, but delays ensued, and it was short-lived. In one week we read of Horton selling $3,000 worth of land, and in another $10,000 worth. A good many settlers came, and on June 20th a large party of excursionists arrived from Chicago—the first organized party of real estate excursionists to visit San Diego. Mannasse & Schiller's wharf was built during the summer, the first planing mill established in September, and the first skating rink in October. The total number of buildings erected in the year was 51, which included a court house, the Presbyterian church, and a number of business blocks. The drought of the preceding year continued and materially affected conditions. The population was estimated at 2,500, and the number of business buildings was 69.

The year 1872 may be characterized as the Year of the Awakening. The effects of Colonel Scott's activities were felt in its closing months, and confidence in his transcontinental project began to grow in the far-off Pacific port. In August, "property is buoyant." In November, Horton's block on the southwest corner of Third and D Streets, for the use of the Texas & Pacific as an office building, was under way, and real estate began to be in brisk demand.

At the close of the year, the business houses in San Diego were as follows: Two commission houses; two wholesale liquor houses; two millinery stores; seven hotels; three fancy goods stores; two saddlery stores; three dry goods stores; three lumber yards; two furniture stores; four drug stores; two tinware stores, two book stores, five livery stables, two fruit stores; one bank; twenty-three saloons ("they dispense," says the *World*, "an excellent article of whiskey"); one boot and shoe store; one sash, door, and building furnisher; two Chinese stores; two jewelry stores; four restaurants; two breweries; one foundry; twenty general merchandise stores; two steam planing, turning, and scroll saw mills; and one steam flour mill.

Concerning the prevailing prices of real estate, the *Union* says: "Real estate during the last few months has been steadily appreciating in value. Lots situated on the city front within a couple of blocks on each side of the Pacific Mail Company's wharf have a market value of $500 to $2,500 per lot measuring 100x50 feet. On Fifth Street, the main business street of the city, lots range in value from $1,200 to $2,000; on Seventh Street from $800 to $1,200. Residence lots within the boundaries of Horton's Addition are valued and selling at from $225 to $800 per lot. Outside of Horton's Addition, but within a mile and a quarter of the business center of the city, lots vary in value from $50 to $100 each. One and one-half miles out lands are now selling at $150 per acre. Lands situated two and a quarter miles from the heart of the city can be purchased at $30 an acre." The sales of real estate during the year amounted to $466,404.

By the opening of 1873, the rising tide of excitement was running strong. The newspapers urged the people to build more houses at once, saying the population had been increasing steadily for five months and that there was a scarcity of houses.

A list of Horton's enterprises, complete and pending, made in April, showed the following:

The Horton House was erected by him at a cost of $125,000. Built present residence of Thomas L. Nesmith at cost of $8,000 or $9,000. Building corner Sixth and G, containing present hall, cost about $8,000. Present residence corner A and Sixth, cost $4,500. Block bounded Second and Third, A and B, improved at cost of about $3,500. Lot corner Second and B, improved, $3,000. Lot J, same block, fronting on Third Street, $800. Lot J, on First between C and D, $1,500. Horton's Hall, Sixth and F, cost $10,000. Building corner Ninth and H, $1,500. Wharf now owned by Pacific Mail Company, $40,000. Two buildings on First Street between H and I, and a number of other smaller ones. Bank building now under way, $40,000 to $50,000.

On May 22d, the *Union* published the following review of building operations:

The list includes new residence of Mr. Horton, residence of Captain A. H. Wilcox; Mr. Gerichten's residence; new brick store for McDonald & Company; Backesto's brick building on Fifth Street; Hiscock's brick building on south side of Horton House square, corner of Third Street; brick building of Veazie & Shuler, northwest corner D and Third, now occupied by Commercial Bank; Bayly's San Diego Foundry and Machine shop, corner Eighth and M Streets; Hanlon & Fulkerson's steam planing mill; Dievendorf's new store on Sixth Street; brick addition to store of J. Nash; D. Cleveland's new office on Sixth Street; addition to Young's furniture factory corner Third and G Streets; residence of Mr. Josse, beyond Bay View Hotel; new Market House fronting on Fifth and Sixth Streets; Horton's iron and brick bank building, corner Third and D Streets; large brick addition to S. W. Craigue's wholesale liquor house; Veazie and Russell's large double house, residence building on Third Street; residence of L. B. Willson; residence of Mr. G. Geddes on C Street; Mr. Phipp's residence in Chollas Valley; Mumford's building on Fifth Street; Captain Knapp's residence on First Street; residence of D. O. McCarthy on Spring Avenue;

VIEW OF SAN DIEGO IN 1873, SIX YEARS AFTER HORTON CAME

From a lithograph drawn by A. L. Mathews, published by A. L. Bancroft & Co., San Francisco and new residence building on Eighth Street—twenty-five buildings in all, total cost about $147,000.

Notwithstanding the anxiety and suspicion due to delay in the building of the Texas & Pacific Railroad, yet within the year Colonel Scott held his famous meeting in San Diego, the surveys were made, the old San Diego & Gila subsidy lands were transferred to his company, and work was actually commenced on the construction of the road. The failure of Jay Cooke & Company occurred early in December, as well as Scott's failure in Europe, and the new year in San Diego begun in gloom, but considerable progress had been made.

"In 1867," says the *Union*, whistling cheerfully to keep up courage, "less than 100 people lived here, and there were not more than a dozen houses. Today, it is a city of nearly a thousand houses and a population of over 4,000." A total of 4,050 passengers had arrived by sea and land, and 2,381 departed, giving a net gain of 1,669 in the population. The agricultural development was quite remarkable, the total acreage of farm lands assessed being 825,263, and the total valuation $1,263,542. But the rapid growth of both city and country was sharply checked by the Scott failure, population declined, and doubt, uncertainty, and discouragement prevailed. Mr. L. A. Wright says, in a newspaper sketch:

> The population of San Diego had grown until it was quite a busy city, but Scott's failure stopped almost every enterprise and the population dwindled down to about 2500. Many poor people had purchased land of Mr. Horton, having made a payment of one-fourth or one-third down, the rest to be paid by installments. Of this class a great many were thrown out of employment and were compelled to leave town. They met Mr. Horton on the street every day and offered to let him keep the money already paid if he would only release their contracts so that they could get away. Every man who thus approached the founder of the town was whirled into Mr. Horton's office, his contract surrendered, and every cent paid upon the contract was returned, dollar for dollar.

An old citizen, referring to this period, says: "Following this, there were eight or ten quiet years here, years of real enjoyment for the people who had come here for their health and wanted to live here. The business men had no competition, there were no political bosses; the people were generally united and there was very little wrangling. The town grew slowly, but there was no boom."

That the years were quiet, the historian, from an examination of the records, can testify. A year's file of the newspapers scarcely furnishes a single item for this chapter. At times great despondency prevailed. The county was prosperous in 1876.

A few events of commercial importance occurred. In March, 1873, the Commercial Bank, the second bank in San Diego, was opened for business. The Julian mines continued to prosper. The San Diego River was permanently turned back into False Bay, and the destruction of San Diego's harbor by it stopped, in 1877.

Douglas Gunn writes:

> The prospects of the harbor as a railroad terminus constituted the leading stimulus to the growth of the new city; but the people soon began to give attention to the development of the resources of the country; and when it was found that patience must be exercised under delay in railroad affairs, the people were prepared to exercise that virtue. No community has ever exhibited greater courage and stronger faith than that of San Diego. . . . The commerce of the port has steadily increased; roads have been built to the interior; farms and orchards have been cultivated; mines have been opened; and in spite of "hard times," the county has continually grown in population and wealth.

CHAPTER V

SOME ASPECTS OF LOCAL LIFE

THE first hotel of the Horton period was known as "New San Diego Hotel" and was kept by Captain S. S. Dunnells. It was located in one of the ready-framed buildings of 1850, and still stands on the northeast corner of State and F Streets. Mrs. Dunnells says of the town at the time of their arrival:

"The only water in the place was in a well near where the court house now stands. The soldiers' burying ground was back of where the Horton House was afterwards built. The bodies were later moved to the military cemetery. Some Indians had their huts on what is now Florence Heights. Mrs. Mathew Sherman was our only neighbor; she lived near her present residence. There was also a German in charge of Mannasse & Schiller's lumber yards. One day Mrs. Horton took me out to show me the great improvements that were being made. It was a party of two men, cutting brush up near where the Horton House stood in later days."

The first school was taught by Mrs. H. H. Dougherty, in the old government barracks building. The first religious service was also held in the same place, in 1868, by Rev. Sidney Wilbur. A number of the early comers lived in this old building for a short time after their arrival, until accommodations could be provided for them elsewhere.

The "Exposition Circus Company," which arrived January 19, 1869, gave the first exhibition of the kind at new San Diego. They pitched their tent on State Street, near the New San Diego Hotel.

Joseph Nash opened the first general store in new San Diego, in a building still standing on the southeast corner of State and G Streets, now occupied by H. Kerber. The first drug store was also in this building. Mr. Nash, on his opening day, gave each lady in new San Diego a dress pattern. Among his clerks were Charles S. Hamilton, George W. Marston, and A. B. McKean. He continued in business at San Diego many years, and is well remembered by old inhabitants. He is supposed to be still living, in San Francisco.

The first building erected in Horton's Addition was the one-story frame building still standing on the east side of Sixth Street below J, numbered 357. It was first used by Mr. Horton as an office, and is now used as a Chinese laundry.

The postoffice at Horton's Addition was established in May, 1869, and Dr. Jacob Allen was the first postmaster. The postoffice was a one-story frame building, on Fifth below F. It was officially known as "South San Diego" for several years. The change to plain San Diego was due to John G. Capron, who personally saw the assistant postmaster-general at Washington, and the manager of the express company, at New York, and had the change made, and at the same time changed Old San Diego to "North San Diego." The people were surprised when these changes were made, and it was a long time before it was known how they were brought about.

FIFTH AND B STREETS IN 1875

The large building shown in the picture stood on the northwest corner and faced south on B Street

The first public gathering of importance in new San Diego was the celebration of the Fourth of July, in 1869. This was an occasion long remembered by the inhabitants. The celebration was kept up for three days and nights, and "commenced on Saturday last at South San Diego and terminated in dancing and merrymaking at Monument City and Old Town on Monday night, or rather, on Tuesday morning. From the commencement to the close there has been, so far as we could hear, but one idea prevailing—to express genuine feelings of patriotism and have a good time. We believe the people of this city have given more time and had more real pleasure the past three days than has ever been known here before."

The celebration at South San Diego was held in the large warerooms of Mr. Horton. Cannon were fired and there was a procession. G. W. B. McDonald was president of the day, Rev. Sidney Wilbur offered the prayer, the Declaration of Independence was read by Captain Mathew Sherman, and the oration was by Daniel Cleveland. The *Union* says:

> The oration of Mr. Cleveland was at once calm, dispassionate, thoughtful, and scholarly. Rapidly reviewing the history of the country from its first settlement to the war for independence, and thence on up to the present time, he clearly stated the lessons taught us in the birth agonies and fearful life struggles from time to time of our noble war-scarred Republic; and in setting forth Patriotism, Love of Country, and fidelity to her constituted authorities, as a *religious* duty, imposed by God himself, and from which no earthly power can free us, he struck a chord which met with an answering response in every true patriot's heart.

NORTH SIDE OF K STREET

Between Fifth and Sixth in the early '70's

In April, 1870, there were ten stores in new San Diego: Joseph Nash, J. S. Mannasse & Co., McDonald & Co., A. Pauly & Sons, Bush & Hinds, Lowenstein & Co., J. Connell, Whaley & Crosthwaite, Steiner & Klauber, and A. B. McKean & Co.

In May of this year occurred the opening of Horton's Hall as a theater. In the following July, Rosario Hall was opened, with a ball.

On April 27, 1871, the *Union* says:

> We are called upon to chronicle this week the first wreck which has ever occurred in San Diego Bay. During the gale on Sunday afternoon, the "Cosay" bath house broke from its moorings at Horton's wharf and drifted out to deep water, where it foundered and went to pieces in a very few moments.

In October, 1871, the city cemetery, Mount Hope, so named by Mrs. Sherman, was set aside for its use by the trustees. The tract contains about 200 acres, and is on the mesa east of the end of M Street.

In this month occurred the first murder in the history of new San Diego. Alexander J. Fenwick shot and killed Charles Wilson, in Mannasse's lumber yard. Wilson had an Indian wife whom he accused of infidelity with Fenwick. The murderer was tried, and found guilty; the case was appealed, and early in 1873 the Supreme Court affirmed the decision. Fenwick found means to secure poison, which he took, and died in the jail March 24, 1873—the day set for his execution. Mrs. Wilson also killed herself with poison.

In February, 1872, the assessor's books showed the following list of substantial citizens:

A. E. Horton was assessed for	$124,971
John Forster	87,681
Kimball Bros.	52,849
Sublett, Felsenheld & Co	42,156
San Diego & Gila R. R. Co	41,899
Heirs of Miguel de Pedrorena, deceased	36,766
Louis Rose	36,330
P. W. Smith	35,700
J. S. Mannasse & Co	38,566
Cave J. Couts	26,122
Bank of San Diego	20,000
A. F. Hinchman	16,195
Joseph Nash	15,720
Refugio Olivera (Santa María rancho)	15,374
E. W. Morse	14,840
John Wolfskill	14,559
Levi Chase	14,100
Hawthorn & Wilcox	13,465
Estate of José Antonio Aguirre, deceased	21,500
Robert Allison	13,238
Estate of James Hill, deceased	11,616
S. S. Culverwell	11,113
McDonald & Co	10,165
Juan Salazar	10,000
Louis Hauck	9,099

As an interesting picture of conditions at the time, the following list of business men advertising in the *World* in its first number (July 25, 1872), has been preserved:

R. R. Morrison, watchmaker and jeweler.
E. D. Switzer, dealer in watches, etc.
J. A. Shepherd, Notary Public and Insurance Agent.
A. P. Frary, proprietor of Frary's Addition to New San Diego.
John H. Richardson, painter and carpet upholsterer.
A. E. Horton, proprietor of Horton's extension of New Town.
Briant & Lowell, feed and sale stables.
J. A. Allen & Son, pioneer drug store.
J. M. Matthias, general merchandise and commission.
C. P. Fessenden, photographs.

VIEW TAKEN FROM THE CORNER OF SEVENTH AND A STREETS IN 1875

The one-story building in the foreground at the left is still standing. The present site of the B Street School adjoins it on the south

The Horton House.
Steiner & Klauber, general merchandise.
Dr. D. B. Hoffman, has resumed full practice.
J. C. Hayes & Co., real estate agents.
Hathaway & Foster, dealers in house builders goods.
Smith & Craigue, wholesale wines, liquors and cigars.
Linforth, Kellogg & Co., San Francisco, hardware & machinery.
Collins, Wheaton & Luhrs, San Francisco, provisions.
Marshall & Haight, San Francisco, provisions.
Murphy, Grant & Co., San Francisco, dry goods.

J. W. Gale, general merchandise.
United States Restaurant.
J. Nash, general merchandise.
Culverwell & Jorres, commission, feed and grain.
E. W. Morse, insurance agent.
Era House, Wm. Townsley, proprietor.
Luckett's Station on the Julian Road; George Kendall, prop.
Allen's Lung Balsam; Redington, Hostetter & Co., agents San Francisco.

LOOKING UP FIFTH STREET FROM K ABOUT 1875

This very interesting picture is a good representation of the main thoroughfare as it appeared some thirty years ago. It also shows that part of the business section of the city east of Fifth Street, as it then appeared

Gordon & Hazzard, general merchandise, National City.
A. Pauly & Sons, general merchandise.
A. J. Chase, real estate.
Clark & Harbison, bees.
Pacific Mail Steamship Co., C. P. Taggart, agent.
N. P. Transportation Co., Culverwell & Jorres, agents.
Smith & Craigue, wines and liquors.
The Florence Sewing Machine, Samuel Hill, agent, San Francisco.
Grover & Baker's Sewing Machine, H. B. Hirschey, agent for San Diego.

Major Ben. C. Truman, writing in the *World,* states a number of matters humorously, thus:

> The bulk of our population are invalids; the rest realize Burke's description of the French revolutionists. He characterized these worthies as "calculators, sophists, and economists." The phrase "sophisters" may be justly elided, because our people have all come here with a sagacious provision of the future.
>
> Apropos of coming here, pretty much everybody has come to San Diego some time or other. In the innocence of your heart, you mention some illustrious or notorious name to a San Diegan; and, instantly, he begins, "When so-and-so lived here," etc. The stranger is astonished at the range of this inventory of famous people. It includes such names as those of Sherman, Thomas, Rosecrans, Kearny, Magruder, and an endless list of other military celebrities. Wm. H. Seward has hobnobbed with our citizens, and Old Town is still redolent of the jokes of the brightest spirits that have lived in the land, from "John Phoenix" to J. Bankhead Magruder and his corporal, Johnny Murray. . . . We have the old time people, who used to sit 'round with John Phoenix and crack royal quips. Many of these old stagers don't believe in their souls that we shall ever have a railroad. They play "pitch" and "seven-up" and look pityingly upon the poor dupes who expect to ever see a railroad approach our bay. They have seen so many fizzles that they really believe that the mighty Railroad King is as big a "Jeremy Diddler" as John Charles Frémont. They have all obeyed the injunction to "laugh and grow fat," and they are all repositories of the juiciest stories ever told on earth. On the whole, San Diego has a good, strong, humorous, cultivated, and devil-may-care population, which is worthy of the best fortune can do for them, and can sustain the worst.

Probably the genial Major was thinking, at the time he wrote this, of a few of the more convivial residents of Old Town, who were somewhat noted for their ability to drink long and deep.

Mrs. F. L. Nash wrote concerning her experience in San Diego, during the "Tom Scott" boom:

> A more congenial, delightful class of people would be hard to find. Out-of-door excursions were even more common than at present, and the picnic basket was always within easy reach, ready to be filled at a moment's notice. Point Loma, Coronado, La Jolla, Rose Canyon, and El Cajon were just as popular resorts as at present.

Early in December, 1875, a gang of Sonorran bandits made a raid on the town of Campo and tried to plunder the store of the Gaskill brothers. A bloody fight ensued, in which the Gaskills killed one of the robbers, wounded three others, and were themselves badly wounded. (Bancroft says that Luman H.

Gaskill was killed; as a matter of fact, he is alive and well, today.) The citizens of Campo hanged two of the captured bandits. This attack was so bold and in such force, that considerable excitement was caused throughout San Diego County. A public meeting was held in San Diego, and a guard sent for the protection of the settlers at Campo. A few days later, General Scofield sent a company of cavalry there, and the trouble blew over.

In February, 1876, little Grace Frary, daughter of Captain A. P. Frary, became lost while the family were moving, and remained out wandering about all night. The next day she was found by a company of cavalry which had been ordered out to aid in the search, asleep at the foot of the bluffs, near the salt works.

The Chinese came to San Diego in considerable numbers, at an early day. From the early 70's, they were practically the only help employed in the hotels, and, as is their custom, they soon built up a "Chinatown." At the time of the anti-Chinese riots in other parts of the state in 1877, an effort was made to provoke an attack upon the Chinese quarters in San Diego. A written agreement pledging the signers to assist in ridding the town of the Chinese was circulated, and persons refusing to sign were threatened and even assaulted. The better class of citizens, becoming aware of this, took prompt action. A meeting was held, addresses made, a committee of public safety enrolled, and a watch kept. General McDowell ordered that this committee should have the use of any government arms they might need. These energetic measures entirely squelched the threatened riot.

One of the earliest elements in the rivalry between old and new San Diego was the question of the removal of the county seat, and the seat of the city government, to the new town. This agitation began early in 1869. On June 23d, the *Union*, which was then published at Old Town, said that "the county is $90,000 in debt and there is not a decent public building in it." There was a general agreement that new public buildings were needed, but the question was, where should they be built? The contest grew hot. On the one side were the residents and property owners of Old Town, who felt that such a change meant ruin for them, and on the other, the ambitious newcomers to Horton's Addition, who soon began to outnumber their opponents. On July 9, 1870, the board of supervisors ordered the removal of the county records from the old town to the new. Judge Morrison, of the district court, immediately required the clerk to make all writs issued from his court returnable in Old Town. County Judge Thomas H. Bush issued an order directing the sheriff to use force, if necessary, to prevent the removal of the records, and a posse of citizens was summoned to aid the sheriff, a cannon planted and guard mounted in front of the jail. The *Union* put it that Old Town had seceded, and that "Lieut.-Gen. Bush, in command of the artillery, threw up earthworks in front of the jail and placed the field piece in position, . . . and now the immortal Bush, seated astride of the plaza cannon, his soul glowing with heroic emotion, exclaims: 'This rock shall fly from its firm base as soon as I!' "

The supervisors at the time were Joseph C. Riley, E. D. French, and G. W. B. McDonald. In September, 1870, Judge Bush removed them from office and appointed Charles Thomas, J. S. Mannasse, and William E. Flynn in their places. Suit was brought to restrain the old supervisors from acting, and an appeal taken to the supreme court, the case being entitled Heuck *vs.* French, *et al.* On January 27, 1871, the supreme court decided that Judge Bush had no power to remove the old supervisors or appoint new ones. In the meantime, George A. Pendleton, the old county clerk and recorder, who had been most active in trying to prevent the removal of the county seat and records, failed in health, and died March 3rd, and Judge Morrison died about the same time. The supervisors immediately appointed Chalmers Scott to the vacant position, and Scott lost no time in moving the records. With a party of two or three friends, he went to Old Town one evening, loaded the records into express wagons, carried them to Horton's Addition,

VIEW TAKEN FROM FIRST AND C STREETS ABOUT 1875

At the left of the picture is shown the old Court House as it appeared at its reconstruction and the following morning (April 1, 1871) was ready for business at the new place. The supervisors had rented the brick building on the northwest corner of Sixth and G Streets, now occupied by Vermillion's grocery, and this was used as a court house until a new building was constructed and ready for occupancy. This was the end of the court controversy and the end of the predominance of Old San Diego in the political affairs of the community.

Contracts were quickly let for the construction of a new court house, on a block donated by Mr. Horton. The ceremonies of laying the cornerstone took place on August 12, 1871. The speakers were Hon. Horace Maynard of Ohio and Judge W. T. McNealy. The structure was completed and turned over to the county early in June, 1872, and dedicated with a grand ball on the evening of the 4th of that month, as befitted the first public building in new San Diego. The building was 60 feet wide, 100 feet deep, and 48 feet high, and had twelve rooms, including the jail. It was of brick, finished with plaster. The contractor was William Jorres. The cost was $55,000, paid in 20 year 7 per cent bonds.

GORDON & HAZZARD'S STORE

On the southwest corner of Sixth and H Streets, the present site of the Steele Block

The old building having been outgrown, its enlargement and reconstruction were begun on July 19, 1888. It was practically two years under construction, being turned over to the supervisors on July 7, 1890. It is built of brick in the Italian Renaissance style and is a substantial building. The cost was $200,000. It has a frontage of 106½ feet and a depth, including the jail, of 110 feet. The height, from base to dome, is 126 feet. It houses comfortably the two superior courts and all the county officials and records and is surrounded by a large, well-kept yard.

The source of San Diego's title to its pueblo or city lands is very unusual. Upon the organization of the town in 1835, it became entitled, under the Spanish and Mexican laws, to a grant of four square leagues of land. The formalities necessary to secure this grant were not completed, however, until ten years later, when Captain Henry D. Fitch surveyed the boundaries of the lands claimed and made a map. This map was submitted to and approved by Santiago Argüello, the sub-prefect of San Diego, and by Governor Pio Pico, and thereupon the lands shown on this map became the common property of the citizens of the pueblo, and the officials acquired power to make grants and did make many.

As this method of acquiring title was unusual, however, there was much misunderstanding, after the American occupation, and the validity of the city's title was frequently called in question. Steps were therefore taken to have it confirmed by every possible court and authority, which extended over more than twenty years, and resulted in the issuance of the patent in 1874 which settled the question forever. An extract from the report of the commissioner of the General Land Office, in the case of the contested survey of the pueblo lands of San Diego, dated December 17, 1870, will make this clearer.

> The presidio of San Diego was established in May, 1769, and the pueblo organized in 1835, but no official survey of the pueblo lands appears to have been made until 1845, such survey having been then executed by the proper authorities, assisted by citizens, among the latter being Captain Henry D. Fitch, who prepared the map of the survey. This map was approved by the prefect, who ordered and supervised the survey, and was also subsequently approved by the governor, and countersigned by the secretary of the state government of the department.
>
> On the 14th of February, 1853, the president and board of trustees of the city of San Diego filed with the board of land commissioners their petition for confirmation of the claim of said city to the aforesaid pueblo lands as delineated and described on the map prepared by Henry D. Fitch, which map accompanied the said petition, the opinion and decree of the board being as follows: "It is admitted by stipulation in this case that the present petitioners were created a body-corporate, with the above name and style, by the legislature of the State of California, on the 28th of April, 1852, and as such succeeded to all the right and claim which the city or pueblo of San Diego may have had to lands formerly belonging to the said pueblo of San Diego. A traced copy of

> an *espediente* from the archives in the custody of the United States Surveyor General, duly certified by that officer, is filed in the case, from which it appears that by order of the territorial government of California, the ancient presidio of San Diego was erected into a pueblo, with a regular municipal government, in the latter part of the year 1834 and the commencement of 1835. It is also in proof that said town continued its existence as an organized corporation until the 7th day of July, 1846, when the Americans took possession of the country. It appears further, from the depositions of Santiago Argüello and José Matias Moreno, that in the year 1845 the boundaries of the lands assigned to said pueblo were surveyed and marked out under the superintendence of the former, who then filled the office of sub-prefect, and the two alcaldes of the town. That the lands were surveyed and a map of them made by Captain Henry D. Fitch, since deceased, which map was submitted to Governor Pio Pico, and duly approved by him. . . .
>
> Upon the claim coming before the United States district court, for the Southern District of California, at its June term, 1857, the appeal taken by the United States, in conformity with the requirements of law, was dismissed and the decree of the board of commissioners rendered final. . . . A survey was made of the pueblo lands of San Diego by John C. Hays, in July, 1858, under instructions from the United States Surveyor General of California, said survey containing 48,556.69 acres, or nearly eleven square leagues, and being based upon the map prepared by Henry D. Fitch . . . resembling the same in its inclusion of the more prominent landmarks, but not covering so large an area as the said map is shown to include by the position of said landmarks thereon and the scale laid down on its margin. This survey was approved by the surveyor general under date of Dec. 4, 1858, was advertised in supposed conformity with the act of June 14, 1860, re-advertised under the act of July 1, 1864, in view of the ruling of the Department in similar cases and the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case of the United States *vs.* Sepulveda, and now comes before this office for examination and decision upon objections thereto filed. . . .
>
> It is the opinion of this office that . . . said survey, after having been amended, should receive the final approval of the Department.

The amendment suggested related to the exclusion of the military reservation on Point Loma. The scope of this decision was merely to define the correct boundaries of the lands to which the city was entitled. The Secretary of the Interior soon after rendered a final decision affirming the city's title to eleven square leagues of land, and on April 1, 1874, the United States issued a patent accordingly, since which there has never been any serious question raised as to the validity of the title. It is based upon the title of the Mexican government, which passed to the United States by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, subject to the following provision:

> Mexicans now established in territories previously belonging to Mexico, and which remain for the future within the limits of the United States shall . . . retain the property which they possess . . . or disposing thereof, remove the proceeds wherever they please, without being subjected to any contribution, tax, or charge whatever.

PART FOURTH

Period of "The Great Boom"

CHAPTER I

COMING OF THE SANTA FE

WHEN the first through train arrived in San Diego, November 21, 1885, the railroad dream which had filled the imagination of enterprising citizens for more than thirty years came true. The event was the most potent influence in the creation of "the great boom" and the largest single factor in making the city what it is today, yet it is difficult to relate the circumstances which preceded and followed the coming of the Santa Fé without indulging in bitter denunciation of the frenzied financiers who greedily took all that San Diego had to give and never fulfilled the promises upon the strength of which it was given.

San Diego wanted a direct route to the East, and if it could not be direct across the mountains to the Colorado River, it wanted a route as nearly direct as it was possible to build to a connection with the Atlantic & Pacific in the Mojave River region. This was essential, because it was desired to build a city at the incomparable seaport, rather than at the spot where the great city of Los Angeles now stands. San Diego and National City wanted a real terminal on the Bay "where rail and tide meet" as the basis of future commerce with the world of the Pacific.

In order to secure these advantages, San Diego and National City raised a magnificent subsidy, a part of which was sold for not less than $3,000,000 in cash, and the remainder of which has been appraised by its owners at $7,000,000. This subsidy was sufficient to defray, twice over, the entire cost of building the road from National City to Barstow, and yet the communities which contributed so generously of their substance to get a railroad never owned a share of its stock, nor had the slightest voice in directing its policy. It was not expected, of course, that the subscribers to the subsidy would own or control the railroad, but it was expected that the road should be built and permanently maintained by way of the Temécula Canyon, a fairly direct route from the seaport to the East, and it was expected that the grand terminal of the Santa Fé system should be established on San Diego Bay, and that the railroad would co-operate in good faith in the development of ocean commerce.

These reasonable hopes were disappointed. After a very few years, the Santa Fé moved its shops to San Bernardino, and a little later to Los Angeles; engaged joyously in booming the City of the Angels; finally got entrance to San Francisco, its present real terminus; and consistently conspired with rival interests to deprive San Diego of commerce by sea and railroad competition by land.

These circumstances detract nothing from the credit of those who organized the successful effort to bring the railroad to the shores of the Bay. They clearly comprehended the urgent need of transportation facilities and proceeded to meet it in what was doubtless the only possible way at that time. Nearly everybody of weight in the community co-operated in the effort and gave generously to the subsidy, in proportion to the interest they had at stake. A number of public-spirited citizens dedicated their time and energies to the undertaking and persisted through all obstacles until the result was accomplished. But there is one man whose service was so conspicuous and valuable as to require special acknowledgment. This is Frank A. Kimball, of National City, who conceived the undertaking, who initiated it with the aid of a small group of citizens, who went to Boston and secured a contract with the highest officials in the Santa Fé system, who went again to renew the contract after the first one had failed, and who, with his brother, Warren Kimball, was by far the largest contributor to the subsidy.

Mr. Kimball had been trying to interest railroad promoters as far back as 1869, when he dealt with the representative of General John C. Frémont, president of the Memphis & El Paso, which was a mere fruitless project. In 1878, he corresponded with Commodore Vanderbilt, who answered that he would not "build a mile of railroad any faster than pushed to it by competition," and with Jay Gould, who said: "I don't build railroads; I buy them." After six months of futile correspondence with the railroad kings, Mr. Kimball called a secret meeting at the residence of E. W. Morse on Tenth Street in the spring of 1879. He and Elizur Steele represented National City, while Mr. Morse and J. S. Gordon represented San Diego. John G. Capron joined the secret committee at an early stage of the movement. It was decided that a vigorous effort should be made to induce one of the railroads then building across the continent to come to San Diego Bay. Mr. Kimball was selected to represent the committee in the East and started on his mission about the first of June, 1879. The sum of $450 had been raised in San Diego and National City toward the expense of his trip, and he raised the balance by putting a mortgage on his house. He took with him the endorsement of the city authorities and of the Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Kimball went first to Philadelphia, where he soon concluded that there was no hope of doing anything with the Texas & Pacific. In New York he learned what he could of the intentions of Stanford and Huntington and came to the conclusion that the best hope of success lay with the Santa Fé, which was determined to strike the Pacific Ocean somewhere and which, as he soon learned, was most favorably disposed to Guaymas, in Mexico.

Mr. Kimball remained in Boston about three months and his correspondence with the railroad committee during that period is an interesting picture of the times, as well as a fascinating record of the fluctuating hopes and fears of this lone emissary from the southwestern corner of the Republic. He dealt, chiefly, with Thomas Nickerson, president of the Santa Fé system, but also frequently met other officials and had some conferences with the full board of directors. Mr. Kimball's severest critics admit that he was "a terrible single-handed talker in those days," and he certainly had a big thing to talk about and big men with whom to talk. The situation was one which called for the utmost tact, shrewdness, and patience, combined with the sort of enthusiasm which not only awakens interest, but carries conviction, as well. When the railroad hopes of later days are recalled, and when it is remembered how much less the friends of San Diego had to offer in 1879 in comparison with their present claims upon the attention of railroad builders, no one can fail to appreciate the size of the task which Mr. Kimball undertook. On September 5, 1879, he telegraphed E. W. Morse as follows: "All right; leave tonight. Be ready to act on arrival."

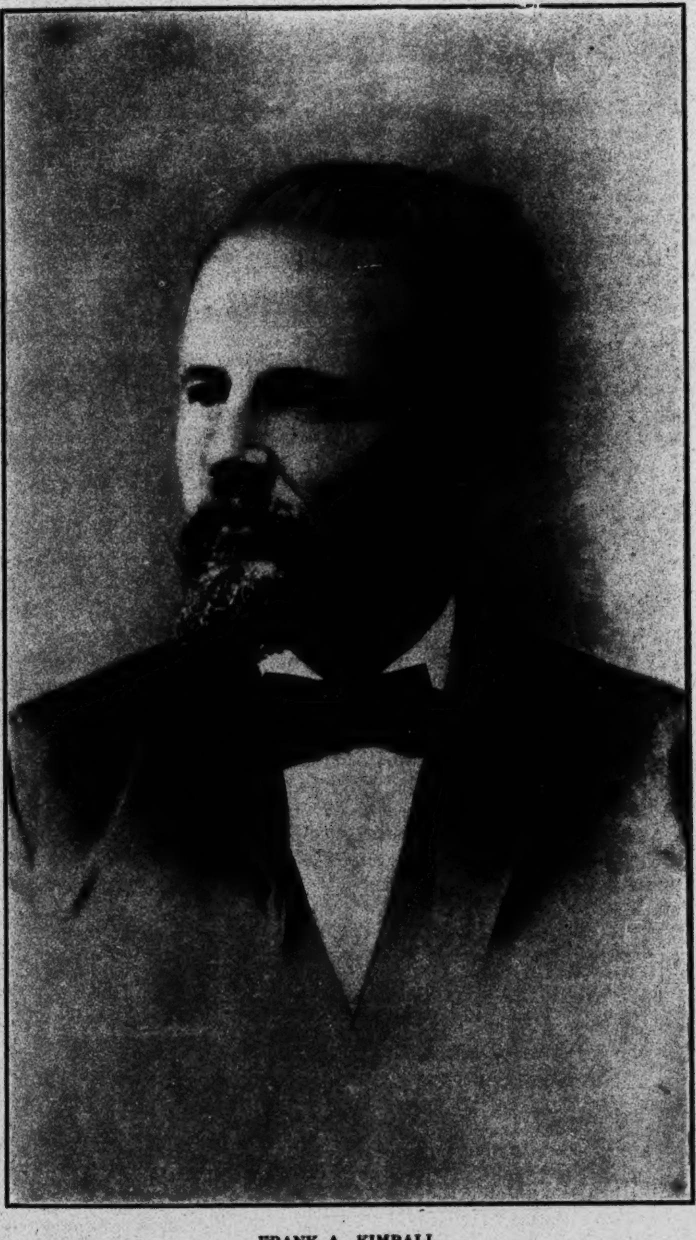
He had succeeded in getting a contract which provided for the building of a railroad within eight months forty miles "eastward from San Diego." He had agreed to raise $10,000 in cash to pay for the right of way, to give 10,000 acres of land from the National Rancho, to get as much additional subsidy as possible, and to telegraph definitely what could be done by the people of San Diego and National City within twelve days of his arrival home. The details of this first subsidy are of no real interest, since it was never paid, owing to a radical change in the policy of the Santa Fé. It is important to note, however, that the expectation at that time was that the road would be built directly east to the Colorado River, and that surveys were actually begun to that end.

This preliminary work gained added importance from the presence of three representatives of the railroad, who arrived October 8, 1879. They were George B. Wilbur and Lucius G. Pratt, and W. R. Morley, chief engineer. These gentlemen remained in San Diego six weeks, making a thorough investigation. In their work of obtaining exact information about everything pertaining to the railroad and its prospects of business, their chief reliance appears to have been E. W. Morse, who worked indefatigably. Mr. Morse was a very modest man, and claimed no credit for himself, but it is the universal testimony that he rendered services of the utmost value.

The favorable report of Messrs. Wilbur and Pratt was quickly followed by the beginning of actual work on the part of the company's engineers. It looked as if the last obstacle had been successfully passed, but such was not the case. Within two months all work was stopped by peremptory orders from Boston. A fateful change of policy had been determined upon without consulting the people of San Diego. Instead of building by the Southern route, the Santa Fé had suddenly decided to join hands with the Atlantic & Pacific in order to share in its great land subsidy, and to this end it would cross the Colorado River at the Needles. The question then arose as to whether San Francisco, rather than San Diego, should not be the terminus of the road. At any rate, it was decided to build to the Needles first, and to consider extensions later.

Naturally, San Diego was plunged in the deepest gloom. Times were hard, money scarce, and prospects dubious in every direction. Still, the members of the railroad committee, having been so near the realization of their hopes, were not inclined to give up. They wanted Mr. Kimball to make another trip to Boston and endeavor to renew the contract with the Santa Fé, even if the road must come by way of the Needles. John G. Capron was especially insistent, and it was finally arranged that $1,000 should be borrowed at a local bank to pay the expenses of the trip. A note for this amount was signed by Frank A. Kimball, John G. Capron, E. W. Morse, J. S. Gordon, E. Steele, James McCoy, O. S. Witherby, A. Overbaugh, J. A. Fairchild, and J. Russ & Company. Thus Mr. Kimball went back to Boston. He says he was not cordially received by President Nickerson, but finally succeeded in getting an audience with the directors. He further relates:

> I went over the whole ground with them. I offered to renew our subsidy of 10,000 acres of land. They said they wanted to organize a syndicate to handle the land. I said I would put in 6000 acres of land as a nucleus for the Land & Town Company, and 10,000 acres to the railroad, and that they



FRANK A. KIMBALL

The man to whose efforts and generosity San Diego is chiefly indebted for the construction of the Santa Fe railroad to this port. His brother, Warren C. Kimball, shares with him the honor of making the largest contribution to the railroad subsidy and also of founding National City

> could then sell the railroad land to the Land & Town Company, in accordance with the suggestion of Mr. Frank Peabody. In addition to the land to be given by my brother and myself, I told them I thought I could raise a land subsidy of 10,000 acres. Thus we (the Kimballs) gave 16,000 acres. Then we sold them 9000 acres for $100,000 in cash. I told them we owed more than $60,000 and asked them where my brother and I would come in. Their answer was that they would give us one-sixth interest in all they owned (the subsidy) and this we accepted.

He succeeded in organizing a syndicate of the officers and directors of the Santa Fé system, consisting of: Thomas Nickerson, the president of the company; Kidder, Peabody & Company; George B. Wilbur, B. P. Cheney, and Lucius G. Pratt, the gentlemen being directors of the Santa Fé. The provisions of the public contract were similar to the former one, except that the road was to be run by way of Colton and form a connection with the Atlantic & Pacific.

Mr. Kimball's contract provided for the establishment of the grand terminal of the railroad at National City. This was not known to the people of San Diego at the time. The terms of the subsidy merely provided that the terminal should be "on the Bay of San Diego," and it was expected that the railroad authorities would select whatever spot they deemed best suited to their purpose. As National City was a very heavy contributor to the subsidy, it certainly had the same right to consideration as San Diego, but since the terms of the agreement were not generally understood to discriminate between the two locations it is not strange that Mr. Kimball was sharply criticised by San Diego subscribers. On Mr. Kimball's return from his second successful trip to Boston, the railroad committee appealed to the public for subscriptions. Their work was phenomenally successful. They raised a subsidy in cash, notes and land as follows:

		Acres	Lots
Allison, Jos. A. and J. M.	$ 300		
Arnold, C. M	50		
Aylworth, E.		65	
Backesto, Dr. J. P.	100		
Bank of San Diego	1000		
Barnes, G. W	50		1
Bass, John D	50		
Baugh, W. A	100		
Begole, W. A	50		1
Bemis, Marco	25		
Bennett, T.		10	
Benton, W. W	25		
Bernard, Charles		50	
Bidwell, James	50		
Birdsall, J. D	250		

		Acres	Lots
Bowers, W. W	200		
Bowers, M.		30	
Boyd, J. B	100		
Bradt & Sons	50		
Bratton, S. H	50		
Britton, W. & L.		65	
Brown, H. H	50		
Brown, J. R	100		
Buell, E. J	50		
Callaghan, John	100		
Campbell, B. P	100		
Campbell, J. N	100		
Cantlin, Martin	50		
Capron, John G	750		
Carroll, F. M	100		
Carver, J. J			36
Cassidy, Andrew		50	
Castle, F. A. and A. Klauber		50	
Cave, D.			2
Chase, Chas. A	75		
Chase, A. J		10	
Christensen, J. P	50		
Choate, D.	400		
Church, C. C	25		
Clark, George T	50		
Clark, John	25		
Clark, M. L			1
Cleveland, Daniel			27
Cohn, J. A	50		
Cole, A. A		55	1
Commercial Bank			46
Conklin, N. H			23
Cook, Henry	50		
Corbett, Elizabeth	100		
Cowles, Alfred			2
Cowles, F. H		20	
Coyne, Joseph	100		
Crowell, Mrs. F. M	25		
Culver, C. B	100		
Dannals, Geo. M	50		
Desmond, John			1
Dievendorff, C. A	200		
Dobler, C.	150		
Dodge, Rev. R. V	400		
Dougherty, H. H	25		
Downey, John G			2
Doyle, John T		20	
Dranga, N. G. O	100		
Dunham, Mrs. C			1
Dunn, W. B		20	
Eaton, A. N. and E. D		20	
Emory, Gen. Wm. H			13
Evans, A. E		40	
Fairchild, J. A	200		

		Acres	Lots
Faivre Joseph		10	
Farrell, Thomas	25		
Felsenheld, David			12
Fenn, Dr. C. M	100		
Fischer, John	100		
Folger & Schuman			1
Forster, John	250		
Forster, M. A	100		
Fox, C. J	100		
Francisco, C. F	100		
Frisbie, J. C		40	
Frisbie, J. O	200		
Gassen, A. G		300	
Geddes, George		20	
Gerichten, C. P	250	40	
Ginn, Mrs. Mary S	250		6
Gordon & Hazzard	500		
Gordon & Hazzard, Morse & Steele		80	
Goss, Thomas	230		
Gruendike, Jacob		500	
Guiou, D.	100		
Gunn, Douglas	100	40	
Hall, E. B	100		
Hamilton, Chas. S	500		
Hamilton, Fred M	100		
Hamilton, M. D	150		
Hammer, M. B		80	
Hanke, Carl T	50		
Harbison, J. S	150		1
Hatleberg, J. O		¾	
Henarie, D. V. B	250		
Hendrick, E. W	25		
Herman, D. C	250		
Herrander, John	50		
Hicks, John J	100		
Higgins, H. M		40	
High, John E		80	
High, William E		80	
Hinchman, A. F			48
Hinton, J. B		160	
Hitchcock, G. N	100		
Hoffman, John C	25		
Hollister, D. A	100		
Holm, Julius	50		
Horton, A. E	250		
Howard, Bryant	500		
Hubbell, Charles		30	
Hyde, George	600	20	
Ihlstrom, L. J	100		
Johnson, Robert			1
Jones, E. L	50		
Jones, S. P	300		
Jones, T. S	300		
Jorres, William	100		

		Acres	Lots
Josse, L. M	50		
Journeay, George	150		
Julian, A. H	75		
Julian J. M	100		
Kelly, Robert	150	20	
Kimball Bros.		10,000	
Knowles, A. P	100		
Knowles, Anna Scheper	100		
Koster, P.	300		
Lankershim, I.			4 2-3
Larson & Wescott	400		
Leach, Wallace	200		
Lehman, Theodore	100		
Levi, S.	100		1
Littlefield, Sheldon	100		
Littlefield, S. and E. Stanwood			6
Llewellyn, William		20	
Lockling, L. L			1
Louis, Isidor			1
Lowell, Fred B	50		
Luce, M. A	100	100	
Mabury, H. and W			12
Mannasse and Schiller			1
Marston, George W	300		
Marston, Harriet			12
Maxcy, A. E	150		
May, Chas. E	50		
McCarthy, M. J	50		
McClain, J. W	25		
McCool, W.		20	
McCoy, James	250	40	
McDonald, G. W. B		80	
McIntosh, F.			2
McRae, Daniel	100		
Menke, A.	25		
Minear, W. L	50		
Morrow, Richard		5	
Morse, E. W	750		
Mumford, J. V	50		
Neale, George	50		
Noell, Chas. P			18
Norris, W. B	50		
Nottage, E. W	25		
O'Leary, Edmund	25		
Overbaugh, A.	500		12
Owens, Edward		15	
Page, Mrs. A. C	50		
Paine, J. O. W	50		
Palmer, Oscar	100		
Pearson, A. B	25		
Pearson, J. L	100		
Perigo, Wm.	50		
Perry, Mrs. C. L	50		
Perry, H. A	50		

		Acres	Lots
Peyser, M.			2
Pidgeon, Geo. S.	100		
Pierce, James M.	500		
Poser, H. von	50		
Raffi, G.	100		
Reed, Arabella	25		
Reed, D. C.	150		
Remondino, P. C.	200		2
Rennie, Gilbert	150		
Reupsche, William	25		
Rice, H. B.	100		
Richardson, John H.	25		
Richter, Hulda			1
Rogers, E. O.	100		
Rose, Louis	250		
Russell, James	50		
Rouland, N. P.			6
San Diego, City of		4500	124
Schneider, Arnold	200		
Schuyler, D.			6
Seeley, A. L.	100		
Selwyn, G. A.		80	
Shelby, J. T.			2
Shellenberger, Amos	50		
Sheriff, J. A.	250		
Simpson, J. H.	150		
Slade, Samuel	100		
Smith, P. N.		10	
Smith, Will M.	150		
Snyder, J. H.	200		
Stanwood, Elizabeth	100		
Steiner & Klauber		40	
Stewart, D.	20		
Stewart, W. W.	200		
Stockton, Dr. T. C.			12
Stone, Francis		15	
Stone, George M.	100		
Story, Joseph	100		
Stow, John P.	25		
Strauss, Kohnstrom & Blum			1
Surbeck, G.	25		
Swain, W. H.	100		
Tallman, E. H.	100		
Terry, W. W.	125		
Thompson, J. W.	100		
Todd, James	50		
Trask, P. H.	25		
Trask, Roswell	25		
Treat, John			2
Utt, Lee H.		10	2
Wadham, J. F.	100		
Wallach, D.	100		4
Walsh, W. J.		15	
Walter, Otto	100		

		Acres	Lots
Ware, K. J.	40		
Watkins, N. and E. B.		40	
Wentscher, A.	250		
Wescott, J. W.	50		
Wetmore, Chas. A.	250		6
Whaley, Thomas	100		
Whear, R. S.	100		
Wheeler, M. G.	100		
Whitmore, S.	100		
Wilcox, A. H.	1000	80	
Willey, H. I.	150		
Williams, W. E.	50		
Williams, W. L.	500		
Winter, L. & Bro.	200		
Witherby, O. S.		120	19
Witfield, G.		10	
Wright, Ralph L.	25		
Wright, W. W.	100		
Wolfskill, J. W.	120		
Yepawine, Samuel		20	
Young, James M.	25		
Young, John N.	100		
Young & Gray		80	
	$25,410	17,355¾	485 2-3

In connection with this new subsidy, the successful effort to recover lands given to the Texas & Pacific in consideration of benefits never received, is a matter of much historical interest. The movement began in 1876 with a suit brought by W. Jeff. Gatewood and A. B. Hotchkiss in the name of Thomas H. Bush, a taxpayer, against James A. Evans, the resident engineer, and Colonel Thos. A. Scott, president of the Texas & Pacific. The suit aimed to annul deeds made in 1872 by the city to Evans, the land having been afterward conveyed to the railroad. The ground of the suit was, of course, failure of consideration.

The suit was begun on April 10, 1876, in the district court of San Diego County. On January 20, 1879, Wallace Leach was admitted as one of the attorneys for the plaintiff. Evans and Scott had, in the meantime, disclaimed any interest in the lands in controversy, and in November, 1879, the action was dismissed as to them. This left the railroad company as the sole defendant. Though the suit was unpopular at first, the city of San Diego filed its intervention as plaintiff on January 6, 1877, and thereafter the suit was prosecuted in its name. Mr. Daniel Cleveland, as counsel for the Texas & Pacific, asked for the removal of the cause from the state to the United States Court, but the petition was denied.

This was the situation when the negotiations with the Santa Fé officials reached a hopeful stage. It was said, and generally believed, that if the city had at its disposal the lands, or even one-half of the lands, given to Scott in 1872 the railroad could be secured. With this idea in mind, President McCarthy of the city trustees sent the following telegram:

San Diego, California, Dec. 18, 1879.

Thomas A. Scott,
President of Texas & Pacific Railway Company,
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

D. O. McCARTHY

President of the Board of Trustees at the time settlement was made with Thomas A. Scott in regard to the City's contribution to the Texas & Pacific subsidy

With a view to amicable future relations, to avoid expensive litigation and in the interests of immediate development and enhancement of all values here, thereby saving many of our best citizens from absolute ruin, are you willing to deed unconditionally, to the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railway Company, pueblo lots 1158, west half of 1163, and fractional lots 1164, you keeping 1159, 1162, and east half of 1163; all of the balance of the land in litigation to be equally divided and the pending suit to be discontinued and amicably settled? Answer unreservedly, with understanding that in the event of failure of negotiations the despatches be not used to affect the rights of either party.

D. O. McCarthy,
President Board Trustees.

Very promptly, Scott replied as follows:

Philadelphia, Dec. 19, 1879.

D. O. McCarthy,
President Trustees, San Diego, California:

Your despatch of the 18th received. Our desire has always been to do the best possible for the interests of San Diego. We will do what you desire, provided all pending suits are settled in such a way that no future annoyance or litigation can arise out of the lands that were deeded to our company, either by entering judgment on present suit so as to cover the basis of the present settlement or in such other form as our legal officers may approve, so that no possible cloud may rest upon the lands retained by our company. Answer if this is satisfactory.

Thomas A. Scott.

M. A. LUCE

Attorney and Vice-President Southern California Railroad, at the time the Santa Fe Railroad was built. Judge of County Court 1875-80, when Superior Court was established; postmaster, 1898-02; classmate of President McKinley at Albany law school. President Board of Trustees of Unitarian Society since 1898; First Commanderof Heintzelman Post, G. A. R.

Mr. McCarthy answered:

San Diego, dec. 20, 1879

Thomas A. Scott,
Philadelphia:

Satisfactory. Will arrange details with your counsel. Please instruct them.

D. O. McCarthy,
President Board City Trustees.

It would appear that there should have been no delay whatever in closing the transaction, yet two anxious months intervened before it was consummated. There was considerable sentiment in the community against the acceptance of a compromise which gave the Texas & Pacific the right to retain any of the land which had been given in consideration of its unfulfilled promises to the people of San Diego, and many citizens urged the trustees to push the litigation to the bitter end, notwithstanding the exchange of telegrams which, as we study them now, seem to have had the binding force of a contract. Some affected to believe that Scott was not acting in good faith, and it is said that the legal advisers of the city trustees strongly urged them to continue the litigation. On the other hand, a large element of the public realized the urgency of a settlement in view of the pending negotiations with the Santa Fé and became daily more impatient in their demand for action. The committee of the Boston syndicate, Messrs. Wilbur and Pratt, were in San Diego at the time and threw their influence into the situation. When public interest in the matter had risen to a state of actual excitement, E. W. Morse and other citizens appealed to the trustees to end the delay. This appeal was successful, and commissioners were named to apportion the lands in controversy.

Finally, on February 16, 1880, the suit was set for trial. On the 24th of the same month, the appointed day, the court-room was packed with citizens, and there was much suppressed excitement. Wilbur and Pratt were present. Judgment agreed upon by the parties was entered, awarding to the defendant one-half of all the lands in controversy, and awarding the other half to Charles S. Hamilton as trustee for the public, with the understanding that he would hold and convey these lands for railroad uses, as he afterwards did.

The progress of the new railroad was now rapid. The California Southern Railroad was chartered October 12, 1880, for the construction of a railroad from National City to San Bernardino. The officers were: President, Benjamin Kimball, of Boston; vice-president, M. A. Luce, of San Diego; directors, George B. Wilbur, Lucius G. Pratt, John A. Fairchild, Frank

A. Kimball; attorney, M. A. Luce. In November the delivery of the *escrow* notes began, and construction work proceeded rapidly. By March, 1881, the grading was completed between San Diego and National City, and there was a gap of sixty miles between the two grading camps north of San Diego.

The first rail was laid at National City in June, 1881, and on July 27th the first train, a "special," left that place. On November 2, 1882, a circular of the railroad company announced the completion and opening of the road to Colton, and stated that the directors had decided to extend it to San Bernardino. It was opened to the latter point on September 13, 1883.

Thus far, all appeared to be going well, but there was more trouble in store for San Diego and its railroad hopes. In February, 1884, a series of violent storms descended and literally destroyed the section of the railroad through Temécula Canyon, carrying out thirty miles of track. Between Oceanside and Temécula there was scarcely a hundred yards of track left, and the timbers were seen one hundred miles at sea. The road had been built too low by eastern engineers who did not understand the action of torrential streams in a bare and rocky soil.

For nine long months San Diego was without rail communication with the rest of the world after its brief taste of that luxury. Many feared that the road would never be rebuilt, and left the city in consequence. The company was without funds, and the amount needed to repair the damage was about $250,000. At length, funds were raised by means of a second mortgage and the location through Temécula Canyon was improved, but only to be abandoned. A new line was built up the coast to San Juan Capistrano and Santa Ana and the direct route by way of Temécula Canyon permanently abandoned. From that time forward the Santa Fé Railroad ceased to serve the purpose which the people of San Diego had in mind when they contributed their subsidy—the purpose of developing a seaport as the direct outlet of a true transcontinental railway—but this was not fully appreciated at the time.

Aside from the disastrous flood, there was another serious condition which arose to mar the prospects of a through line. This was the fact that the Southern Pacific had acquired some degree of control in the Atlantic & Pacific and proceeded to construct a road from Mojave to Needles. For a time, this looked like a death blow to the California Southern, thus apparently deprived of all hope of an Eastern connection and compelled to build an expensive connecting link, 300 miles long, over a mountainous and desert country from San Bernardino, even to connect with a semi-hostile road at Barstow. This difficulty was finally dissolved when the Santa Fé regained control of the Atlantic &

Pacific and compelled the Southern Pacific to relinquish the road from Needles to Barstow by threatening to parallel the track if they tried to keep them out any longer.

Confidence now revived, the work was completed, and the first through train left San Diego November 15, 1885. It consisted of one passenger coach, with an engine, mail and express car. The engineer was A. D. Xander; the fireman, E. W. Boyd; conductor, Clarence Henderson; baggage agent, Mr. Schuman; express messenger, E. A. Harvey, and mail clerk, A. A. Robinson. About a hundred people were at the depot to see the train off. The first through train arrived November 21, 1885, in a pouring rain. It brought about sixty passengers, all but fifteen of whom were for San Diego. This train was received at San Bernardino with fireworks and at Colton by a large number of citizens and a brass band. It consisted of two coaches, with mail and baggage cars.

The people of San Diego now felt that, at last, their cup of joy was full, and proceeded to celebrate. Douglas Gunn, on behalf of the Chamber of Commerce, issued the following invitations:

> San Diego, Cal., October, 1885.
>
> Dear Sir:
>
> You are respectfully requested to be present at the celebration of the opening of the through railway line of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé system to the Pacific Ocean, at the port of San Diego, to be held in this city on Wednesday, November 18, 1885.
>
> The completion of this line, establishing a fourth great highway between oceans in the United States, is an event whose importance, not alone to this city, but to the State and coast, cannot be overestimated.
>
> The people of San Diego, with persistent energy and steadfast faith, have for a long period of years looked forward to the day that is now so close at hand. They will cordially greet you at their jubilee.
>
> I am very respectfully,
>
> Douglas Gunn,
> Chairman Committee on Invitations.

This celebration is remembered as a very joyous occasion, and doubtless the hearts of the old campaigners who had been through the Texas & Pacific and Memphis & El Paso, if not through the San Diego & Gila, campaigns, melted within them as they recalled the hard-fought contests of the past and realized that, at last, victory had consented to perch upon their standards.

But alas! Fate had not yet done her worst. In the language of an amusing, if not classical, poet:

O fate, thou art a lobster, but not dead!
Silently dost thou grab, e'en as the cop
Nabs the poor hobo, sneaking from a shop
With some rich geezer's tile upon his head.
By thy fake propositions are we led
To get quite chesty, when it's biff! kerflop!
We take a tumble and the cog wheels stop,
Leaving the patient seeing stars in bed.

The utter bad faith of the Santa Fé as a corporation—not necessarily the bad faith of individuals, for individuals die, resign, or fall from power—was gradually demonstrated to the satisfaction of those of even the dullest understanding. First, the dream of steamships and Oriental commerce faded away. No steamships were provided and, in later years, when commerce came across the ocean to the city's gates, the Santa Fé Railroad drove it away by prohibitive rates. Next, the "grand terminal" for which much material had actually been assembled, melted away into thin air and it became apparent that no such terminal was intended to be established on the Bay of San Diego. At last, the shops and offices were removed to San Bernardino and Los Angeles. This last stroke was not inflicted brazenly, but with a show of good intentions which softened the blow, yet made no difference in the result. In the spring of 1889 the Chamber of Commerce was asked to meet officials of the Santa Fé to discuss an important matter. Judge M. A. Luce is authority for the following account of the affair:

> The meeting was addressed by the manager of the California Southern Railroad and Judge Brunson, the general counsel of the railroad. They wished to have the general offices of the company removed to Los Angeles, especially the general freight offices, which still remained in San Diego. They wished this done with the full approbation of the City of San Diego; and as an inducement to do this, they both alleged and promised that the railroad would immediately take steps to reduce the Sorrento and Del Mar Grade, either by tunnel or new line, so that freights could be carried from San Diego to Los Angeles, at cheaper rates. They also promised to extend their wharf facilities in the city, which to some extent, they have carried out. And it was stated that their object in changing the general freight office to Los Angeles was to encourage the commerce between the two cities, so that the San Diego harbor should be used for the freighting business of Los Angeles.

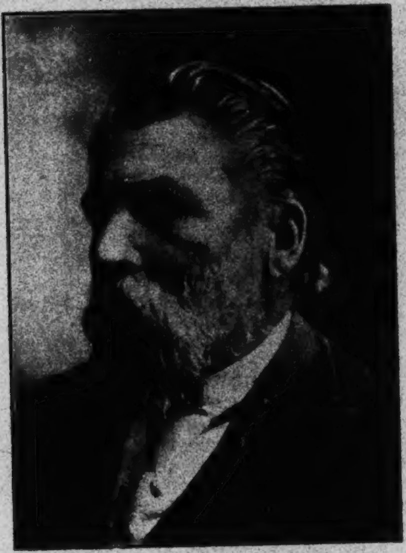
Of course, the people of San Diego consented; and, equally of course, the promises which induced them to do so were disregarded by the great corporation. There have been some feeble efforts to compel the railroad to do justice, and to fulfill the agreement by means of which the communities about the Bay were induced to present a rich subsidy to the frenzied financiers of Boston. These efforts came to nothing. The railroad has its way, promoting growth where it favors growth, compelling stagnation where its interest will be served by that condition, and making the interests of communities and the happiness of men conform to the rules of the game its masters are playing in distant financial marts.

Notwithstanding these untoward conditions, San Diego has grown and continues to grow, and the coming of the Santa Fé exerted a large influence on its fortunes. If the power of the railroad had been exerted on the side of the city, as the people had a right to suppose it would be when they subsidized it for twice its entire cost, this history would have been different in many respects.

The articles of agreement between Frank A. Kimball and the Boston syndicate seem well worthy of preservation, in view of the fact that the subsidy was paid and the railroad built—the only instance of the kind resulting from the many similar efforts in the history of the city, from 1845 to 1907. The following is the full text of the instrument:

> ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT made this twenty-third day of July A. D., 1880, by and between Frank A. Kimball, representing himself, the firm of Kimball Brothers, the Chamber of Commerce, the Board of City Trustees, and prominent citizens of the City of San Diego in the State of California, party of the first part and Kidder, Peabody & Co., B. P. Cheney, George B. Wilbur, Lucius G. Pratt, and Thomas Nickerson all of Boston, Massachusetts, party of the second part, witnesseth:
>
> That whereas the party of the first part desires to obtain railroad connection from the Bay of San Diego to the eastern part of the United States, and in and of the same, is able and willing to donate the lands, privileges and franchises hereinafter mentioned. And whereas the party of the second part is willing to furnish such connection and receive such donation.
>
> Now therefore, in consideration of the premises and their respective undertakings hereinafter set forth, and of one dollar to each paid by the other, receipt acknowledged, said parties mutually agree as follows:
>
> Article 1.—The party of the first part will convey or cause to be conveyed by good and sufficient deeds in fee simple, free from all incumbrances except taxes due on the first Monday in January, 1881, to Henry B. Williams of San Francisco, John A. Fairchild, and Warren C. Kimball, both of said San Diego and all of the State of California, trustees, the several parcels of land and the several privileges and franchises hereinafter set forth, namely:
>
> (a) In behalf of Kimball Brothers; ten thousand acres of land in Rancho de la Nacion made up and selected as follows:—Fractional quarter sections one hundred and seventy-five (175) and one hundred and seventy-six (176), according to

survey and patent of the United States now on file and of record in the county of San Diego, said fractional quarter sections giving one mile front upon the water of San Diego Bay, and all the land running back from said water front to such a distance as to embrace in all (exclusive of land heretofore sold which does not exceed twenty acres) two hundred acres, being the land heretofore bonded to a representative of the Texas Pacific Railroad Company together with such additional quantity of land south of National City, adjacent thereto, in such convenient shape as shall be required for workhouses, machine shops, warehouses, wharves and other appurtenances of the line of railroad hereinafter mentioned; and also together with all the riparian rights appertaining to the lands agreed to be conveyed and to any and every part thereof.



WARREN C. KIMBALL

Associated with his brother, Frank A. Kimball in his successful efforts toward bringing the Santa Fe road here, and in the founding and building of National City

One half equitably selected of all the unsold portions of National City, being from one hundred fifty (150) to one hundred seventy-five (175) blocks of two and one-half acres each measuring through the centers of the streets as laid down on the plan of said National City.

Also south of National City, quarter sections 174, 179 and 160, and so much of quarter sections 173, 180 and 161 as may be necessary in the judgment of the engineers of the party of the second part, to control the channel of Sweetwater River, and then selecting alternate half miles of water front, measuring on the base line, said Kimball Brothers making the first selection, until two miles of water front (as near as may be) have been taken south of National City (making about three miles of water front in all) and then starting from said water front and running back, selecting tracts alternate (as near as may be) exclusive of those parcels already conveyed to sundry persons, until the full complement of ten thousand acres, as aforesaid, has been completed. Together with all tide lands and riparian rights belonging to or in anywise appertaining thereunto and to any and every part thereof.

The selections above referred to shall be made by mutual agreement between said Frank A. Kimball, and the party of the second part, or in case of dispute, by three persons chosen one by each of the parties hereto, and one by the two thus chosen, and the decision of a majority of them shall be final.

(b) On behalf of A. Overbaugh, O. S. Witherby and L. C. Gunn, about forty-five hundred (4500) acres of land in San Diego, being the same tract conveyed to said Overbaugh, Witherby and Gunn, by Charles S. Hamilton by deed recorded with San Diego deeds, to which reference is had for more particular description.

(c) About three hundred scattered blocks and lots in the city of San Diego and about five thousand acres of land in and around the same, all of which now stand in the name of George B. Wilbur, as shown by sundry deeds in escrow in the hands of Bryant Howard and E. W. Morse of San Diego.

(d) The party of the first part also agrees to contribute the sum of ten thousand dollars to be used for the purchase of right-of-way and lands for depots, shops, water and other stations on the line which the party of the second part may adopt for the proposed railroad and for the general purposes of said railroad.

Article 2.—The party of the second part will form a company and will build a railroad of standard guage, four feet eight and one-half inches, from said Bay of San Diego to a connection with the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad in California.

And the party of the second part or the company to be formed as aforesaid shall begin work at the earliest practicable moment, and shall before January 1, 1881, construct twenty miles of said railway, starting from San Diego Bay, or shall perform an amount of work upon said proposed line and enter into contracts for said line in good faith, equivalent to the building of said twenty miles before said date; said work to be done and contracts made to be not less than two hundred and fifty thousand dollars in amount; and shall before January 1, 1882, construct not less than one hundred and sixteen (116) miles of said railway starting from said Bay of San Diego, and shall complete said connection with the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad as soon as practicable and at a date not later than the first day of January A. D. 1884. Provided, however, that before forming said company or beginning said work, the following things shall be done and the party of the second part notified thereof, namely:

First. The lands and appurtenances from said Kimball Brothers and from said Overbaugh, Witherby and Gunn shall be conveyed as aforesaid to said trustees.

Second. The grantors in the several deeds to George B. Wilbur now in escrow with said Howard and Morse shall in writing direct the said Howard and Morse and the said Howard and Morse shall in writing agree to deliver said deeds to said Wilbur on or before January 1, 1881, upon the completion of said twenty miles or its equivalent in the manner and terms aforesaid; said Wilbur hereby agreeing to quitclaim said lands to said party of the second part.

Third. The sum of not less than ten thousand dollars in cash or its equivalent, shall be deposited with said trustees to be paid to the order of the party of the second part from time to time for the purchase of right-of-way and lands as aforesaid and for the general purposes of said railway; and the party of the second part shall be notified as aforesaid on or before September 1, 1880.

Article 3.—Said trustees shall upon the demand of the party of the second part, after the completion of said twenty miles or its equivalent, as aforesaid convey to the party of the second part or said company one-half of all the lands hereinbefore described and conveyed to them as aforesaid; and upon the completion of said one hundred and sixteen miles, said trustees shall upon the demand of the party of the second part convey to said party or to said company all the remainder of said lands and appurtenances, free and discharged of all trusts.

Article 4.—If the party of the second part or said company does not construct at least twenty miles or perform an equivalent amount of work, coupled with the purchase of materials as aforesaid before January 1, 1881, or does not construct one hundred and sixteen miles before January 1, 1882, unless prevented by unforeseen causes or causes which could not have been prevented by the use of ordinary forethought, or unless prevented by perils and delays of navigation, then upon due proof thereof, and upon demand by the party of the first part, or the majority of the persons in interest represented by said party, said trustees shall thereafter hold all said lands and things not theretofore conveyed by them under the terms of this agreement, in trust for the equitable benefit of the original grantors, their heirs and assigns, and shall distribute and dispose of the same as any Court of competent jurisdiction, upon the petition of any person interested and upon full hearing shall direct. Provided, however, that any default may be waived by the party of the first part or by a majority of the persons represented by said party; and the same shall be deemed to be waived if the party of the first part or the majority of the persons represented by the party of the first part do not make demand as aforesaid within sixty days after the happening of any default as aforesaid; but the waiver of any default shall not be considered the waiver of any default subsequently made. And provided that such default and distribution shall not release the party of the second part from the obligations of this contract or from any lawful claim for damages for the non-fulfillment thereof.

Article 5. The trustees shall not be liable for the default or misconduct of each other, nor for the default or misconduct of any agent or attorney selected by them in good faith in the discharge of their trust.

And the Purchaser at any sale made by them of any of the lands aforesaid shall not be liable for the application of the purchase money and shall not be under any necessity of inquiring into the expediency or legality of any such sale.

Upon the death, resignation, or incapacity, or refusal to act of any of said trustees, the remaining trustee or trustees may fill such vacancy or vacancies, or without filling the same shall act with the same power as the original trustees could have done if their number had remained undiminished.

Upon the filling of any vacancy the title to all the lands and things remaining unconveyed shall vest in the trustees thus constituted without the necessity of any formal conveyance, but each trustee shall bind himself, his heirs, executors and administrators to execute such deed for the continuance of the trust as Counsel learned in the law may reasonably advise or require; and the original conveyances to said trustees shall be made accordingly.

In witness whereof the parties aforesaid have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year first above written.

Frank A. Kimball. (Seal)
Kidder, Peabody & Co. (Seal)
B. P. Cheney. (Seal)
Geo. B. Wilbur. (Seal)
Lucius G. Pratt. (Seal)
Thos. Nickerson. (Seal)

Recorded at the request of Frank A. Kimball, October 27, 1880, at 35 min. past 10 o'clock A. M.

Gilbert Rennie,
County Recorder.

CHAPTER II

PHENOMENA OF THE GREAT BOOM

LIKE all western cities of consequence, San Diego has experienced a series of booms and boomlets, interspersed by periods of depression and temporary decline; but when "The Great Boom" is spoken of it is the phenomenal and sensational boom of 1886-88, which is referred to. This was epochal and serves to divide the past from the present, just as the Civil War does with the people of the South. As Southerners refer to events which happened "before the war," or "after the war," so San Diegans speak of things "before the boom," and "after the boom."

As we have seen in previous chapters, many things conspired to increase the growth of San Diego during the eighties. The completion of the Santa Fé Railroad system was doubtless the largest factor, but this was contemporaneous with the development of water systems and other public utilities, and with the inauguration of the most aggressive enterprise in connection with Coronado. There were many lesser factors working to the same end, and it would have been strange indeed if San Diego real estate had not responded to these influences. Furthermore, there were national and even world-wide conditions which fostered the movement. This decade witnessed an enormous expansion on the part of western railways and was marked by daring speculation in many different parts of the globe.

But when all these material influences have been mentioned there remains another which was far more powerful and which supplies the only explanation of the extraordinary lengths to which the boom was carried. This latter influence was psychological rather than material, but it was none the less effective on that account. The people were hypnotized, intoxicated, plunged into emotional insanity by the fact that they had unanimously and simultaneously discovered the ineffable charm of the San Diego climate. Climate was not all—there was the bay, the ocean, the rugged shores, the mountains—but the irresistible attractions were the climate and the joy of life which it implied.

If someone should suddenly discover the kingdom of heaven, of which the race has dreamed these thousands of years, and should then proceed to offer corner lots at the intersection of golden streets, there would naturally be a rush for eligible locations, and this sudden and enormous demand would create a tremendous boom. It happens that San Diego is the nearest thing on earth to the kingdom of heaven, so far as climate is concerned. This fact was suddenly discovered and men acted accordingly. The economy of heaven is a factor which has never been much dwelt upon, and economic considerations were sadly neglected by those who went wild over real estate in the height of the boom. It was forgotten, for the moment, that men cannot eat climate, nor weave it into cloth to cover their nakedness, nor erect it as a shelter against the storm and the night. Such a reminder would have seemed puerile at the time. The only vital question was: Can we find land enough between Los Angeles and Mexico to accommodate the people who are coming, and can we get it platted into additions fast enough to meet the demand? If this question could be answered affirmatively, it was enough. Obviously, the people would continue to come, prices would continue to soar, and everybody would get rich at the expense of his neighbor, living happy forever after.

Now, there was reason in this logic, if it had only been tempered with common sense. It is absolutely true that the climate of San Diego is a commodity of commercial value. Almost everybody would prefer to live here if they could afford the luxury. The mistake was in failing to create conditions which would make it possible for them to do so. This involved the prosaic matter of making a livelihood by some other means than exchanging real estate every few days at a profit. That process did not create wealth, but only exhausted it. What San Diego wanted in boom days, and wants now, is a means of producing new wealth to sustain that large element of its population which is not yet able to retire upon a competency, together with new population of the same kind that would like to come.

Probably no one could draw a true picture of the boom unless he lived through those joyous days and had a part in what went on. Fortunately, San Diego possessed a citizen peculiarly equipped for the work of observing and recording the phenomena of the times—a man who could see both the strength and the weakness of the situation, who united shrewdness with a sense of humor, and was also gifted as a writer. This citizen was Theodore S. Van Dyke, author, hunter, engineer, farmer, lawyer, and various other things. Above all he was—Theodore S. Van Dyke. Speaking of the class of people who came, saw, and bought, thereby making the boom, he says:

> It was plain that they were in fact buying comfort, immunity from snow and slush, from piercing winds and sleet-

clad streets, from sultry days and sleepless nights, from thunder-storms, cyclones, malaria, mosquitoes and bed-bugs. All of which, in plain language, means that they were buying climate, a business that has been going on now for fifteen years and reached a stage of progress which the world has never seen before and of which no wisdom can foresee the end. The proportion of invalids among these settlers was very great, at first; but the numbers of those in no sense invalids but merely sick of bad weather, determined to endure no more of it, and able to pay for good weather, increased so fast that by 1880 not one in twenty of the new settlers could be called an invalid. They were simply rich refugees.

THEODORE S. VAN DYKE

A noted author who did much to make the advantages of San Diego known to the world. His book, "Millionaires of a Day," dealt with the great boom. He was one of the originators of the San Diego flume enterprise

In 1880 the rich refugee had become such a feature in the land and increasing so fast in numbers that Los Angeles and San Bernardino counties began to feel a decided "boom." From 1880 to 1885 Los Angeles City grew from about twelve thousand to thirty thousand, and both counties more than doubled their population. But all this time San Diego was about as completely fenced out by a system of misrepresentation as it was by its isolation before the building of the railroad. Much of this misrepresentation was simply well-meaning ignorance; but the most of it was pure straight lying so universal from the editor to the brakeman on the cars and the bootblack on the street that it seemed to be a regularly organized plan. So thorough was its effect that at the opening of 1885 San Diego had scarcely felt any of the great prosperity under full headway only a few hundred miles north.

But when the extension of the railroad to Barstow was begun and recognized as a movement of the Santa Fé railway system to make its terminus on San Diego Bay, the rich refugee determined to come down and see whether a great railroad was foolish enough to cross hundreds of miles of desert for the sake of making a terminus in another desert. He came and found that though the country along the coast in its unirrigated state was not as inviting as the irrigated lands of Los Angeles and San Bernardino, there was yet plenty of water in the interior that could be brought upon it. He found there was plenty of "back country" as rich as any around Los Angeles, only it was more out of sight behind hills and table-lands, and less concentrated than in the two counties above. He found a large and beautiful bay surrounded by thousands and thousands of acres of fine rich slopes and table-lands abounding in the most picturesque building sites on earth. He found a climate made, by its more southern latitude and inward sweep of the coast, far superior to that of a hundred miles north, and far better adapted to the lemon, orange, and other fine fruits. He found the only harbor on the Pacific Coast south of San Francisco; a harbor to which the proud Los Angeles herself would soon look for most of her supplies by sea; one which shortens by several hundred miles the distance from the lands of the setting sun to New York; a harbor which the largest merchant vessels can enter in the heaviest storm and lie at rest without dragging an anchor or chafing paint on a wharf.

The growth of San Diego now began in earnest, and by the end of 1885 its future was plainly assured. A very few who predicted a population of fifty thousand in five years were looked upon as wild, even by those who believed most firmly in its future. Even those who best knew the amount of land behind it and the great water resources of its high mountains in the interior believed that twenty-five thousand in five years would be doing well enough. Its growth since that time has exceeded fondest hopes. It is in truth a surprise to all and no one can truthfully pride himself upon superior sagacity, however well founded his expectations for the future may be. At the close of 1885 it had probably about five thousand people. At the close of 1887, the time of writing this sketch, it has fully thirty thousand with a more rapid rate of increase than ever. New stores, hotels, and dwellings are arising on every hand from the center to the farthest outskirts in more bewildering numbers than before, and people are pouring in at double the rate they did but six months ago. It is now impossible to keep track of its progress. No one seems any longer to know or care who is putting up the big buildings,

W. MIFFLIN SMITH

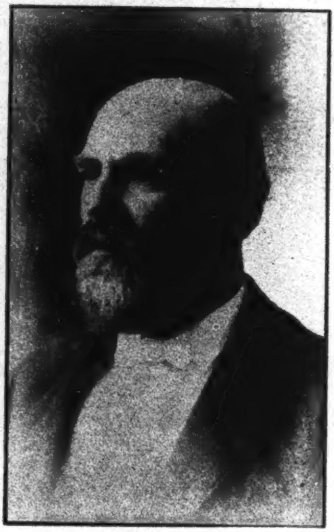
A pioneer of San Diego, and one of the oldest members of the Order of Elks in the United States; also one of the original members of the "Jolly Corks."

FRANK S. BANKS

Past Exalted Ruler of San Diego Lodge B. P. O. E. 168, and prime mover in securing the erection of the beautiful Elks Building.

REV. DR. G. H. HARTUPEE

For fifty-one years a minister and educator of the M. E. Church in connection with the North Ohio and Southern California conferences and for eleven years a resident of San Diego.



GEORGE N. HITCHCOCK

Native of Boston. Prominent in educational and humane work in San Diego for forty years.

J. W. WILLIAMS
Junior member of the firm of Nason and Company.

CHARLES H. BARTHOLEMEW
Postmaster of San Diego.

BISHOP J. EDMONDS
Cashier Peoples State Bank.

E. O. HODGE
Cashier Southern Trust & Savings Bank.

> and it is becoming difficult to find a familiar face in the crowd or at the hotels.

This was written at the height of the boom. A more conservative note was sounded by Mr. Harrison Gray Otis, who was here in May, 1886, for the purpose of "writing up" Coronado Beach, and incidentally expressed some opinions upon San Diego and its new boom:

> She has got it and is holding on to it with the tenacity of death and the tax collector. Values are "away up" and movements in real estate active. I hear of a score of men who have made their "pile" within a twelvemonth, and I know that a score more are pursuing the eagle on Uncle Sam's twenties with a fierceness of energy that causes the bird o' freedom to scream a wild and despairing scream, that may be heard far across the border of the cactus Republic. This is peculiarly a San Diego pursuit; you never see anything of the sort in Los Angeles, where the populace take care of the noble bird and encourage him to increase and multiply greatly. The Angeleños understand the national chicken business, you see.
>
> The boom in lots and blocks is by no means confined to the business center, but has spread far up the sage-shrouded hills where the view is magnificent, but water scarce. While

HOTEL DEL CORONADO DURING CONSTRUCTION

The building of this great hostelry and the accompanying development of Coronado was one of the important events of boom days

> there are not lacking evidences of solidity in the movement of real estate in the more central portions of the town, I cannot avoid the conviction that the excessive inflation of outside lands is unhealthy, unsound, and destined to bring disappointment to the inflaters, if I may coin a word. When unimproved blocks on the highlands, far from the center, and even from the outer edges of business, that a short time ago could be bought for $600, have been boosted in price to as many thousands there is afforded an excellent opportunity for the cautious investor to stand from under, lest the mushroom-like structure fall down and "squash" itself right before his face.
>
> But San Diego is going ahead, and is bound to be an important place one of these good days. She is partaking of the general and splendid prosperity of the whole southern coast, and will continue to prosper according to her deserts. (No reference to sand.) Only it is regretful to see men who have already had more than their share of disappointment and weary waiting for the "good time coming"—to see these men, some of whom still live here, planting financial seed that cannot sprout and spring until another long decade. What I mean specifically, is that unproductive outside lands at fancy prices are not a safe investment in San Diego. So, at least, it seems to a man up a sagebrush.

Mr. Van Dyke wrote a *Story of the Boom*, in January, 1889, in which he said:

> The great boom has had probably no sequel on earth. Cities had indeed grown faster and prices had advanced more rapidly than here. Greater crowds of people may have rushed here and there, and far wilder excitement over lots and lands has been seen a thousand times. But the California boom lasted nearly three years, although the wild part of it lasted only about two years. It covered an area of many thousand miles and raged in both town and country. And above all it was started and kept up by a class of immigrants such as has never before been seen in any part of the world, immigrants in palace cars with heavy drafts or certified checks in their pockets, a fat balance in bank behind them, and plenty of property left to convert into cash. Nearly $100,000,000 were by this class invested in Southern California, and the permanent increase of population has been nearly 200,000 in the last four years.
>
> Some of the facts: First: There is scarcely an instance of anyone building for his own use a house costing $5000 or more in which the owner is not living today, or if he has sold it is living in another one. In other words, the people of means who settled here are almost to a man here today.
>
> Second: That whenever a man, whether rich or poor, has bought a piece of land and settled down to make it produce something, he is there today contented and doing well. In some places too many good houses have been built for sale only—a foolish thing generally, because the man who wants to pay over $2000 for a house usually wants to follow his own

tastes about it—its style and location. The good houses that stand empty after being once occupied by the owner, you may almost count on your fingers, while a piece of land abandoned after occupancy it is next to impossible to find.

Third: That the country outside the cities and towns is settling today faster than three years ago, and that even the towns are growing, the floating population being steadily replaced by a permanent one. The new register, the school enrollment and average attendance list, the postoffice receipts, and all other means of comparison show a larger population today in every city of Southern California than there was a year ago, when every building was overflowing with strangers.

The true "boom" period extends from the summer of 1886 to about February, 1888—about eighteen months in all—and this was precipitated by the repetition of what in 1885 had surprised everyone—the increase of travel in summer, instead of its diminution, as has always been the case. In the summer of 1886 people came faster than ever, and it became very natural to ask where is all this going to end? Nearly every one of them bought something, nearly one-half of them became immediate settlers, and the majority of the remainder declared their intention of returning in the winter to build and remain. Such a state of affairs would have turned the heads of almost any people, but still the Californians kept quite cool. It required the professional boomer to touch off the magazine.

In the summer of 1886 the professional boomer came. The business of this class is to follow up all lines of rapid settlement, chop up good farming land into town lots 25 or 30 years ahead of the time they are needed, and sell off in the excitement enough to pay for the land and have a handsome profit left over. The boomer came from Kansas City, Wichita, Chicago, Minnesota, New York, Seattle and everywhere, and with the aid of a brass band and free lunch (which had a marvelous influence on the human pocket) he began his work. Most of them were in Los Angeles county, but a few found their way to San Diego, enough to leaven the whole lump. By the Californians generally the boomer was pronounced a fool, and his 25-foot lots, brass band, free lunch, clown exhibitions, etc., laughed at. But it soon became the boomer's turn to laugh.

A boom is a boom the world over, he said. In such times a lot is a lot. You can sell a 25-foot lot for $100 a great deal more easily than you can sell a 50-foot lot for $150. When the world gets a crazy fit, work it while it lasts for all there is in it.

His reasoning quickly proved itself correct. He captured the tourist and the tenderfoot by the thousand, took in scores of old conservative capitalists from the East, who could talk as sensibly as anyone about "intrinsic value" and "business basis," etc., but who lost their heads as surely as they listened to the dulcet strains of the brass band and the silver tongue of the auctioneer. Rich old bankers, successful stock and grain operators, and smart folks of all kinds, who thought that they were the shrewdest of the shrewd, fell easy victims to the arts of the boomer. Few things were more amusing

PIERCE-MORSE BLOCK

This was the most notable structure of boom days, and at the time of its erection it was generally thought that it had fixed the business center of the city at Sixth and F Streets. Its architecture is typical of its period and differs much from present standards than to see the price of a lot doubled and quadrupled upon these wise old chaps by a few cappers acting in well-trained concert with the auctioneer. The most of the old boys thus taken in were exactly of the same class as those that have been lying around San Diego anxious to buy something, but afraid to examine it. Then they were fighting for a chance to pay $2.00 apiece for brass dollars. Now when offered a sack of gold dollars for 50 cents apiece, they dare not open the sack to look at them.

The natives could not look on such scenes as these without being infected, and it was not long before they became entangled in the whirl. They not only laid out additions and townsites, but bought lots of others; not with any expectation of using them, but with the same idea that all the others had—to turn them over to someone else in sixty days at an advance of at least double or triple the amount of the first payment.

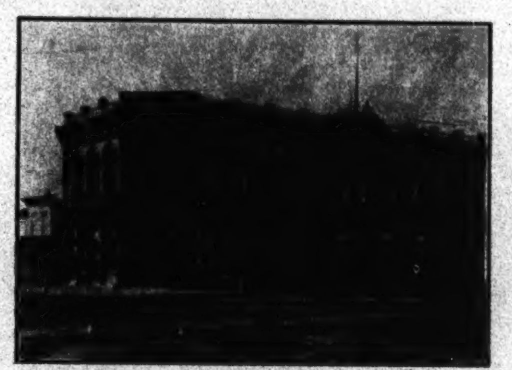
A necessary result of the folly was to raise the price of good business property beyond what business could afford to pay. Farming property, in too many instances, was raised too high in price, though nothing in comparison with city property.

It would be idle to recount the many fools that met the incredible prices offered and refused, the monstrous prices paid by the lot for land that was worth only $50 or $100 per acre, and could not in any event be worth more than $100 a lot in ten years. The enormous supply was forgotten, and folks acted as if there were but a few hundred lots left upon this favored corner of creation, toward which all were so eagerly rushing. The fact was, that if every train for the next ten years were loaded down with actual settlers, not more than half the lots laid out could be settled.

So it went on for 18 months with prices constantly rising; people coming faster than ever, and acting more crazy than ever. It soon became quite unnecessary to show property. It was greedily bought from the map in town by people with no idea of even the points of the compass. . . . Most of the speculators had no need to resort to the banks. Coin was abundant everywhere. A man offering to loan money on mortgage would have been laughed at as a fool. As a matter of course, too many people bought diamonds and squandered the money in various forms of extravagance, instead of paying up and keeping even as they went along. But thousands more kept out of debt, and though disposed to take a hand in the game, played it cautiously.

The hammer and saw rang all day long on every hand and improvements of every kind went on rapidly under the influence of abundance of money. The worst feature of this, however, was that in Los Angeles, and especially in San Diego county, little of it went into true development of resources. In San Bernardino county, most of it went into new waterworks and other things to develop productive power. But in other counties, especially our county, conveniences for tourists and people yet to come absorbed the most of it. . . . A very few aided such things, but fully ninety per cent. of

> San Diego thought that bay and climate alone would build a great city, and many declared upon the street that they "didn't care if you could not raise a bean within forty miles of San Diego." The beautiful and fertile country back of it was of no moment whatever, and a railroad into it, such as is now building, wasn't worth talking of for an instant. The great flume went ahead, notwithstanding, and the country settled up without their knowing it. The necessity for a railroad to Warner's Ranch, at least, became so apparent that Governor Waterman and a few others got it started. Once started, its extension to the East would follow as a matter of course. The great majority of San Diego people had never been two miles east of town and didn't know that they had any back country and didn't care, thinking bay and climate all sufficient.



HORTON BUILDING, FACING PLAZA AT THIRD AND D

Erected in 1872 and designed to house the offices of the Texas & Pacific Railroad, which never occupied it. It served for many years as City Hall and was purchased in October, 1901, by John D. Spreckels, who used it as the office of the Union, and later, of the Tribune. Demolished in 1906 to make room for the Union Building

Of the literature of the boom, it would be embarrassing to even attempt to describe it in all its richness and variety. The best writers in the land were brought to San Diego and gave their talents to the service of the real estate dealers. One of the ablest of these writers was Thomas L. Fitch, known as "the silver-tongued orator." Mr. Fitch easily outdid and outdistanced his fellow scribes in the glowing fervor of his panegyrics upon bay and climate. To this day, the old San Diegans break into sunny smiles when you speak of Fitch and his boom literature. Let us take a single sample, and allow the reader to judge for himself. This was an advertisement written for the firm of Howard & Lyons, and was No. 12 (there were many more):

Special No. 12.

We knew it would rain, for all day long
A spirit with slender ropes of mist,
Was dipping the silvery buckets down
Into the vapory amethyst.

We also knew it, because the wound which our uncle received in his back at the first battle of Bull Run (he was in Canada when the second battle of Bull Run was fought), throbbed all day Saturday. Now, if Saturday night's and Sunday night's rain shall be followed by one or more showers of equal volume, we will see our blear mesas covered with the vernal and succulent alfileria and all the streams will be running bank-full. Then there will be—

STORE AT FIFTH AND F STREETS

Occupied by George W. Marston for many years prior to October, 1906, when he moved to the present building at Fifth and C Streets

Sweet fields arrayed in living green
And rivers of delight.

Then the slopes of the arroyos will be flecked with the purple violets and pink anemones and white star flowers, and over all the wind-blown heights the scarlet poppies and the big yellow buttercups will wave in the breeze like the plumes and banners of an elfin army. And when you behold the earth covered with fragrant children, born of her marriage to the clouds, and when you know that this charming effect of a few showers can be increased and perpetuated the year round with a little water from the mains and a little labor with hoe and rake, you will be thankful to us for having called your attention in time to the Middletown Heights' lots.

A NON-RESIDENT who invested during the Tom Scott boom, and who has failed to sell since, for the same reason that induced the teamster not to jump off the wagon tongue, astride which he fell when the runaway horses started—because it was all he could do to hold on—a non-resident has sent us the title deeds for several blocks of the Middletown Heights' lots, with directions to close them out. Our motto is: Obey orders if you break owners, and the lots are therefore for sale at one-fourth their present and one-twentieth their future value.

Call at our office, and our assistant will take you in the buggy and show you these lots. Two blocks of them are situated not more than three hundreds yards from the track of the California Southern Railroad Company, and a hundred yards further from the shore of the bay, and within a mile of the passenger depot. These blocks front India avenue and are in the slope at the base of the hill, just high enough to give you a good view of the bay and the sea. The Electric Motor Road will go up India avenue, and will pass in front of these lots. They will be worth $1000 each within a year. You can buy them this week for $125 each. It is a great chance—don't lose it.

Marcellus—Who comes here?
Horatio—Friends to this ground.

What matters it, dear friends, who it is that writes these Specials. Howard says it is Lyons, and Lyons says damfino. Whichever of the firm it is, or whoever else it may be, the writer is doing a good work for San Diego, for these Specials are being copied in the Eastern press and are possibly inducing both people and capital to come here. We append here a copy of a specimen letter received by us yesterday from a flourishing New England city:

........................JAN. 26, 1887.

Messrs. Howard & Lyons, Gentlemen: I am well acquainted with the wonderful growth of your beautiful section of country, receiving as I do papers, pamphlets and letters from widely separated portions. In the *San Diego Union* I read your Specials concerning Oceanside and San Diego. I enclose check for $100, which please invest for me to the best of your judgment in a lot, as I have full faith that you will make good use of the money. Please give me a location with good view of the ocean. Very truly,

....

We shall reward this gentleman's confidence and good judgment by sending him a deed for a lot that will grow rapidly in value before next Christmas.

Our efforts, at considerable labor and some cash, to direct the attention of immigrants and investors this way, must benefit all San Diegans—even the other real estate men. Wherefore, beloved, begrudge not the writer of these Specials his incognito, nor seek to strip his mask from him lest you force him to seek security from curiosity in silence. Don't quote scraps from these writings to the individual you suspect of being their author, and then wink at him. If the song of the nightingale please you, listen, and don't throw stones into the canebrake in order to get a glimpse of the beak of the singer. If the dish is palatable, eat, and be content not to know the complexion and genealogy of the cook.

Still, if you must know who we really are, we will tell you in strict confidence, only don't give it away. We are author of the *Bread Winners* and *The Beautiful Snow*. We composed the music of the great grasshopper song, *There's Wheat By and By*, and the hieroglyphs of our being, "S. T. 1860, X," are painted in white and black letters on the summits of the eternal hills.

We came to this earthly Paradise for our health; we concluded to go into the real estate business, and then we determined to lift advertising out of its dull grooves and start it in new directions. In the latter determination we have succeeded, for people read these Specials who usually skip the advertisements, and some have been known to peruse them who do not always read all the editorials.

COUNTY COURT HOUSE AS IT ORIGINALLY APPEARED

If you would know more, come with us at nightfall upon the summit of yonder hill. The way is not long, though for a few dozen rods it is a little steep. Here we will halt. Here upon block 42, Middletown Addition, we are surrounded by a grander view than can be seen anywhere else, even in this favored land. Loma to our right, with brow of purple and feet of foam outlined against a sky of crimson. Far down the southern horizon towers Table mountain, outlined against the gathering dusk. The electric lights glint across the bay to sleeping Coronado, and San Diego buzzes and hums at our feet. Would you know our secret? Gold alone will cause its revealment. Buy these four lots on one of which we stand, pay us five hundred dollars in money for them—it will be an

> **enchanting site for a home, and an investment which will return you thousands. We are—lend your ear—we are either Howard or Lyons. You pays your money and you takes your choice.**

Walter Gifford Smith, in his *Story of San Diego*, draws the following picture of the boom at its height:

> **San Diego's growth was a phenomenon. The newly-built houses following the curves of the bay in their onward march of construction, occupied four linear miles and spread a mile from shore, covering the lower levels and climbing the barren hills. The business district traversed three miles of streets, and the population, at the close of 1887, numbered 35,000. At one time 50,000 people, from every State and Territory of the Union and from many foreign lands, were in the bay country, trying to get rich in a week.**

STEAMER SANTA ROSA

Which plied between San Francisco and San Diego for eighteen years, beginning in boom days and ending in July, 1907, and made a total of 910 trips between the two great seaports of California

> **Land advanced daily in selling price, and fortunes were made on margins. A $5000 sale was quickly followed by a**

$10,000 transfer of the same property, and in three months a price of $50,000 was reached. Excitement became a kind of lunacy, and business men persuaded themselves that San Diego would soon cover an area which, soberly measured, was seen to be larger than that of London. Business property that had been selling by the lot at $500, passed through the market at from $1000 to $2500 per front foot. Small corners, on the rim of the commercial center, sold for $40,000, and for the choicest holdings the price was prohibitive. Rents correspondingly swelled. An Italian fruit vender, who used a few feet of space on the walk beside a corner store, paid $150 per month for the privilege. The store itself, 25 by 50 in size, rented for $400 per month. A small cottage, shabbily built, with "cloth and paper" partitions, was competed for in the market at $60 per month. So general was the demand for homes and business quarters that the appearance of a load of lumber on vacant ground drew a knot of people who wanted to lease the structure in advance. Then the lessees camped out near by, waiting a chance to move in.

CAPTAIN E. ALEXANDER

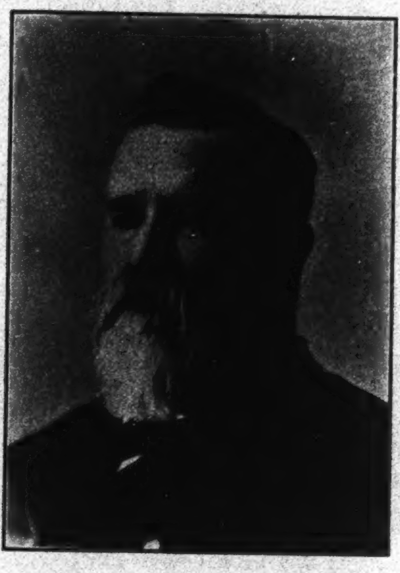
Who commanded the Santa Rosa in her long service between San Francisco and San Diego

Labor shared the common prosperity. A dirt-shoveler got from $2 to $3 per day, according to the demand. The per

> diem of carpenters and brick-layers was $5 and $6. Compositors on the morning press earned from $50 to $60 per week. A barber asked 25 cents for a shave and 40 cents for a bath. Liverymen demanded $2.50 per hour for the use of a horse and buggy. The time of real estate agents was measured by dollars instead of minutes. In the common phrase of the Rialto, "everything went," and he who had aught to sell, whether of labor, commodity, skill, or time, could dispose of it for cash at thrice its value.
>
> Naturally a population drawn together from the adventurous classes of the world, imbued as it was with excitement and far from conventional trammels, contained and developed a store of profligacy and vice, much of which found its way into official; business, and social life. Gambling was open and flagrant; games of chance were carried on at the curb-stones; painted women paraded the town in carriages and sent out engraved cards summoning men to their receptions and "high teas;" the desecration of Sunday was complete, with all drinking and gambling houses open, and with picnics, excursions, fiestas and bullfights, the latter at the Mexican line, to attract men, women, and boys from religious influence. Theft, murder, incendiarism, carousals, fights, highway robbery, and licentiousness gave to the passing show in boomtide San Diego many of the characteristics of the frontier camp. Society retired to cover before the invasion of questionable people, and what came to be known as "society" in the newspapers, was, with honorable exceptions here and there, a spectacle of vulgar display and the arrogant parade of reputations which, in Eastern States, had secured for their owners the opportunity and the need of "going West."
>
> Speculation in city lots, which soon went beyond the scope of moderate resources in money and skill, found avenues to the country; and for twenty miles about the town the mesas and valleys were checkered with this or that man's "Addition to San Diego." Numberless new townsites were nearly inaccessible; one was at the bottom of a river; two extended into the bay. Some of the best had graded streets and young trees. All were sustained in the market by the promise of future hotels, sanitariums, operahouses, soldiers' homes, or motor lines to be built at specified dates. Few people visited these additions to see what they were asked to invest in, but under the stimulus of band music and a free lunch, they bought from the auctioneer's map and made large payments down. In this way at least a quarter of a million dollars were thrown away upon alkali wastes, cobble-stone tracts, sand overflowed lands and cactus, the poorest land being usually put down on the townsite market.

It should be added that the Chamber of Commerce exerted itself to expose and defeat these fraudulent schemes, generally with success. Most of the frauds were hatched in places other than San Diego.

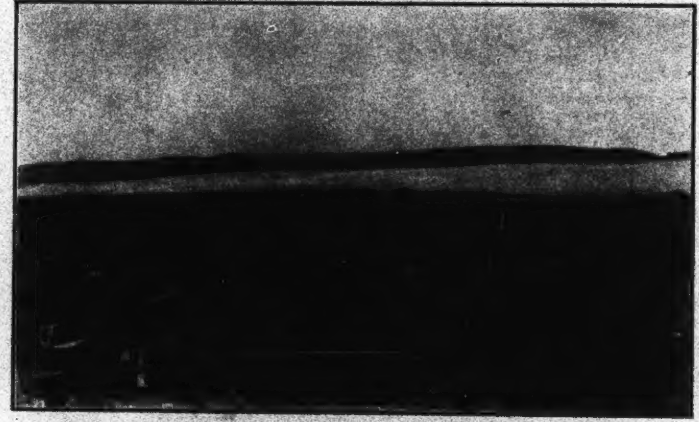
Those who participated in these events and still live here, look back upon them with varying emotions. To some the memory is painful. "The boom," says one; "well, that was the strangest thing you can imagine. There seems no way to account for it now, except as a sort of insanity. All you had to do was to put up some kind of a scheme and the people who came here would put their money into it by the barrel." Another tells with glee of a sea-captain whom he drove about the city on his first visit, about the year 1875; and after seeing it all, said: "A very pretty little town, and the houses, they look just like toy houses!" "Near the same time," says Captain J. H. Simpson, "General Crittenden, who had been instrumental in getting a one-inch plank sidewalk laid on the east side of Fourth Street to the Florence Hotel, then recently built, stopped Mr. Edwin Goodall, of the Pacific Coast Steamship Company, on this notable walk, one day, and said to him: 'This is going to be a great city. We are going to have electric street railways, motor roads to National City and Pacific Beach, a ferry across



ROBERT W. WATERMAN

Bought Stonewall mine 1886 and developed it on large scale. In 1888 with others, began construction of San Diego, Cuyamaca & Eastern Railway, and shortly afterward purchased same. Came here to locate, December, 1890, immediately after retiring from Governor's chair, and died April 12, 1891 the bay, a big hotel on the peninsula, and many other things.' And then, pointing with pride to the sidewalk, he exclaimed: 'And we have this sidewalk!' "

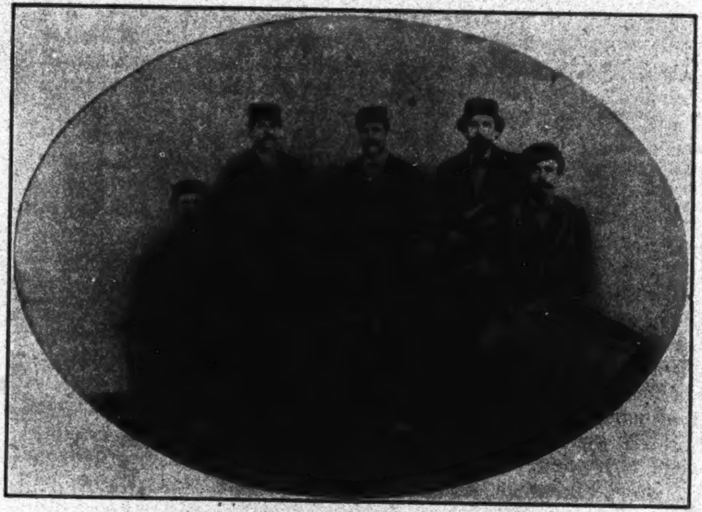
> It must be admitted, says Captain Simpson, that the boom was not an unmixed blessing. Evil as well as good resulted, and too many remember it with sorrow and anguish; yet the net gain to the city can scarcely be realized. I think it is twenty years in advance of what it would have been without it. . . . The progress made in these two years (1886-88) was wonderful. The two great water systems were started and the bonds for the sewer system voted. Streets were graded and miles of sidewalks laid, wharf facilities increased, work commenced and nearly two million dollars worth of property sold on Coronado Beach and the great hotel planned, motor roads built, streets graded, and substantial improvements started in every direction.



VIEW OF THE CITY FROM EIGHTH AND A STREETS IN 1888

Within this time, too, the city schools were systematized and several good schoolhouses built. The fire department grew in size and efficiency. And in brief the foundations of the present city were laid broad and deep.

One steamer in October, 1885, brought 80 new residents. Up to August, 306 buildings were completed in Horton's Addition in 1886, and the following month 200 new houses in course of construction in the city were counted. During this year there arrived 26,281, and departed 13,938 people, net gain in population 12,343. The total cost of the buildings constructed in the year was $2,000,000. The aggregate of real estate transactions was over $7,000,000. In the first six months of 1887, the lumber imported by sea measured 14,780,000 feet. In August, 1887, the transfers of property in Horton's Addition for one week amounted to $223,513, and for the other additions, $53,735. The week prior, the total transfers amounted to $500,951. In 1886 the number of business firms, professional men, etc., was 340; in 1887 they numbered 957. The population increased in the same period from 8,000 to 21,000.



FIRST BAND IN SAN DIEGO, ORGANIZED IN 1878

In the assessment roll for the year 1887, it appeared that 217 citizens were worth over $10,000. The total valuation of city property jumped from $4,582,213, to $13,182,171. In February, 1888, the total value of buildings under construction was $2,000,000. In the next month, 19,667,000 feet of lumber were imported by sea, and in April the total was 18,000,000 feet. A review of five months' property sales made in June, 1888, showed an aggregate of $9,713,742.

The custom house collections rose from $5,739, in 1885, to $10,717 in 1886; to $29,845 in 1887, and to $311,935 in 1888. The exports in 1887 were $165,909, in 1888 $371,360, and in 1889 $376,799. The vessels arriving and clearing showed a similar record.

The great register of voters of San Diego County, dated September, 1888, contained 9,921 names. Directories and newspapers of the time show that there were 7 places of amusement; 20 architects; 3 expert accountants; 4 abstractors of title; 4 dealers in agricultural implements; 2 dealers in artists' materials; 3 teachers of art; 2 exhibitions of works of art; 1 assayer; 9 artists; 63 attorneys-at-law; 6 awning, tent, and sail makers; 6 auctioneers; 5 manufacturers of artificial stone; 20 shoemakers; 11 shoe dealers; 9 banks; 2 bands; 37 barbers; 15 blacksmiths; 12 bakers; 2 boat houses; 6 booksellers; 9 bath houses; 5 wholesale butchers; 2 bookbinders; 3 beer bottlers; 6 brewers' agents; 7 brick companies; 5 billiard halls; 2 building and loan associations; 6 carriage and wagon dealers; 10 carriage and wagon makers; 1 carriage trimmer; 11 country produce dealers; 17 commission merchants; 10 civil engineers and surveyors; 9 capitalists; 5 cabinet makers; 3 foreign consuls; 5 collecting agencies; 3 cornice works; 11 clothiers; 3 custom house brokers; 18 confectioners; 3 carpet dealers; 2 carpet cleaners; 4 dealers in Chinese and Japanese goods; 4 dealers in curiosities; 11 dealers in crockery and glassware; 5 coal and wood dealers; 87 carpenters; 13 wholesale dealers in cigars and tobacco; 4 cigar manufacturers; 46 cigar dealers; 5 general contractors; 14 contractors and builders; 20 members of the builder's exchange; 37 dressmakers; 11 dentists; 8 dyers and cleaners; 4 sash, door, and blind factories; 13 druggists; 15 dealers in dry goods; 1 firm of wood engravers; 6 employment agencies; 9 express, truck and transfer companies; 5 dealers in fish, game, and poultry; 13 dealers in men's furnishing goods; 3 dealers in firearms; 9 dealers in furniture; 3 wholesale grocers; 64 retail grocers; 39 hotels; 2 hair stores; 4 dealers in gas and lamp fixtures; 1 manufacturer of gas and electric light; 7 dealers in hardware; 7 dealers in hay, grain and feed; 1 housemover; 4 dealers in harness and saddlery; 3 ice and cold storage companies; 2 iron works; 1 dealer in iron and steel; 18 insurance agents; 20 jewelers; 1 junk store; 4 lumber dealers; 3 libraries; 24 livery, feed, and sales stables; 75 lodging houses; 12 wholesale liquor dealers; 2 dealers in lime, hair, and cement; 3 laundries; 2 locksmiths and bell-hangers; 6 dealers in musical merchandise; 3 mortgage and loan brokers; 5 music teachers; 17 meat markets; 2 grain mills; 1 marble and granite works; 3 manufacturers of mantels; 15 newspapers and periodicals; 2 dealers in mineral water; 10 milliners; 2 midwives; 3 nurseries; 16 notaries public; 5 news dealers; 3 oculists and aurists; 7 photographers; 4 planing mills; 10 plumbers and gasfitters; 4 pilots; 3 pawnbrokers; 1 manufacturer of pottery; 1 firm of plasterers; 3 dealers in pianos and organs; 73 physicians and surgeons; 14 book and job printers; 6 dealers in paints and oils; 18 house painters; 238 dealers in real estate; 57 restaurants; 2 railroad ticket brokers; 1 rubber stamp factory; 1 stereotyper; 2 shirt makers; 2 ship chandlers; 2 agencies for safe companies; 2 soap factories; 3 stair builders; 9 stationers; 5 second-hand stores; 3 sewing machine agencies; 8 stenographers; 71 saloons; 5 dealers in stoves and tinware; 5 tinners; 2 typewriters; 16 merchant tailors; 3 undertakers; 3 veterinarians; 4 water companies; 7 dealers in wall paper; 5 wharves; 19 miscellaneous enterprises; 12 public buildings and offices; 2 public parks; 3 cemeteries; 13 schools and colleges; 17 churches and 36 societies.

The increase in the number of business firms, professional men, etc., in 1887 over 1886 was about 600.

These figures represent high water mark of the boom period, and in many respects have never been equaled since.

The great boom collapsed in 1888, the first symptom of stringency in the money market coming early in that year. Those who were speculating in margins threw their holdings upon the market, first at a small discount, then at any price, and before the close of the month of January, there was a wild scramble and confidence was gone. The establishment of a new bank in March did not have any immediate effect in restoring confidence. "Save yourself" was the sole thought of those who had been foremost in the gamble for the "unearned increment." During the spring and summer, all the floating population and much that ought to have been permanent, had faded away—some 10,000 of them. Not less than $2,000,000 of deposits were withdrawn from the banks, which were no longer able to make loans on real estate, and were struggling to keep themselves from enforced liquidation. All works of public and private improvement were stopped, and there was much distress among working people. Thus the spring and summer passed in deepest gloom and foreboding, and actual suffering among those who had lost all. In the fall, a better feeling began to prevail. The banks weathered the storm, for the time being, and the citizens began to hope for a steady and healthful growth for the future.

What were the net results of the great boom? To a few individuals, pecuniary profit; to many more individuals, loss and disappointment; to the real estate market, years of stagnation; but to San Diego as a community, a large gain in permanent population and the most valuable permanent improvements—

such a gain as certainly could not have been had in the same space of time by any other means.

It is a common saying that what a town needs is not a boom, but steady growth. Undoubtedly, steady growth is the healthful condition and the one which ministers most to the comfort and prosperity of individuals. On the other hand, one of the most striking lessons in all human history is found in the fact that individuals are often sacrificed to the good of the community, or, as the philosophers put it, "to the welfare of the social organism." This was true of San Diego in the period of the great boom. It is probably no exaggeration to say, as Captain Simpson did, that the city "is twenty years in advance of what it would have been without it." It is due to the truth of history that this should be said, yet it is also true that those who have the best interests of San Diego at heart—those who regard its best progress and highest welfare as something not necessarily synonymous with rapid advances in real estate values—pray that there may never be a repetition of the wild orgy of speculation, and that never again may the future be discounted as it was when the frenzy reached its height.

CHAPTER III

GROWTH OF PUBLIC UTILITIES

VERY early in the Horton period, the citizens of San Diego began to realize the future importance of various public utilities and to plan ways and means for meeting the need. Water, sewerage, light, facilities for transportation—these things must be provided if a city of consequence were destined to rise upon the shores of the Bay. Although the boom of 1886-88 gave the greatest impetus to the growth of public utilities, the beginnings of several of them went farther back.

In the spring of 1870, Wm. H. Perry and others undertook to provide San Diego with gas. Machinery was brought by steamer and installed, in June. The venture was not a success, however.

In March, 1881, the matter was again taken up by a number of citizens. The San Diego Gas Company was organized in that month, and in April, articles of incorporation filed. The incorporators were: O. S. Witherby, George A. Cowles, Dr. R. M. Powers, E. W. Morse, Gordon & Hazzard, Bryant Howard, and M. G. Elmore. The capital stock was $100,000, and works costing $30,000 were erected immediately, on the present site of the gas works—Tenth and M Streets. The fires were lighted for the first time on June 2, 1881. The fuel used was petroleum. Elmore, who held one-fourth of the stock, was a representative of the Petroleum Gas Company. The plant was thought to be sufficient for a city of 20,000. The number of subscribers at the start was 89.

The use of petroleum gas proved unsatisfactory, however, and after an experience of two years, the company made the necessary alterations in its plant and began to use coal, instead. The first use of coal was on April 19, 1883. From this time on, the gas works have grown with the city, enlarging their plant and extending their pipes as business required.

The subject of electric lighting came up in March, 1885, when the city trustees appointed a committee of three to prepare a contract for electric lighting. The Horton House was the first building in the city to be lighted by electricity. The first lights were furnished by the Jenney Electric Lighting Company, of Indianapolis, which entered into a five-year contract for lighting the city by the mast system. Their machinery was set in motion on March 16, 1886, and that evening the city was illuminated by electric light for the first time. In May the trustees discussed a proposition for the city to purchase the plant, but decided adversely. After the system had been in operation about six months, it was purchased by E. S. Babcock, Jr., and L. M. Vance, for $30,000. Mr. Vance had been the manager for the Eastern concern, and remained in charge. In March, 1887, the San Diego Gas, Fuel & Electric Light Company was organized, and bought the franchises of the San Diego Gas Company and of the San Diego & Coronado Gas & Electric Light Company. The new company had a capital stock of $500,000, and it undertook to furnish gas and electric light for San Diego and Coronado.

In April, 1905, the San Diego Consolidated Gas and Electric Company became the owner of the works and franchises of the old gas and electric companies of San Diego and has since supplied the city with all its gas and electric light and power. During 1906, this company rebuilt the entire gas and electric plants, at an expense of about $750,000. New machinery and apparatus were being installed, including steam turbines for generating electricity, a new 500,000 foot gas holder, and additional 800,000 foot gas generating set. The company owns and operates about 50 miles of poles and 80 miles of gas mains. It serves some 2,000 consumers of electric light and 4,000 consumers of gas. There are 224 arc lamps furnished to the city of San Diego and 12 to National City, for street lighting. Both the gas and electricity used in National City are supplied from the plant in San Diego.

The first public exhibition of the telephone in San Diego was made by Lieutenant Reade, U. S. Weather Officer, on December 5, 1877. It was not until March 23, 1881, that the newspapers state: "It is currently reported that ere many weeks we will have a telephone exchange in San Diego." The San Diego Telephone Company was organized and began work in May, 1882. The officers were: President and treasurer, J. W. Thompson; secretary, Douglas Gunn; directors, A. Wentscher, J. A. Fairchild, and Simon Levi. The first use of the lines was on June 11, and there were 13 subscribers to the first exchange.

In 1887, the number of subscribers was 284. The San Diego Telephone Company was not incorporated, but was operated as a mutual affair, as the telephone business was thought to be in an experimental stage. The lines were extended to several outside points, however; to Julian in September, 1885, to Oceanside in May, 1886, and in 1887 to Escondido, Poway, Campo, Tia Juana, Oneonta, Coronado, La Jolla, Pacific Beach, Ocean

Beach, and soon after to El Cajon, Lakeside, Alpine, Cuyamaca, Sweetwater Dam, Chula Vista, Otay, and Del Mar. In December, 1890, the Sunset Telphone and Telegraph Company purchased the plant and took control. Mr. Thompson continued as manager until March 8, 1895, when he was succeeded by R. L. Lewis, who still continues in the position. At the time Mr. Lewis took charge, there were 360 telephones in use in San Diego, and the number of employes was 9. In November, 1897, the company completed the construction of a long distance line from Santa Ana, which connected San Diego with over 700 cities and towns in California. The number of telephones now in use in the city is nearly 3,200, and the long distance system has been greatly extended and improved.

The Home Telephone Company secured its city franchise in November, 1903, and a county franchise on June 5, 1905. Service was commenced in February, 1905. It was organized and built largely by local subscriptions. The automatic system is used. The number of city subscribers is about 2,500 and long distance wires have been extended to 19 interior exchanges in San Diego County. The first manager was Roscoe Howard, who served until July 1, 1905. The company has a substantial building of its own.

In the matter of street improvements, the people of San Diego seem to have taken little interest until the time of the great boom. Indeed, the conditions of soil and climate are such that nowhere are the streets so easily kept in good condition, and nowhere are apathy and indifference so prone to prevail.

In November, 1869, a proposition was made to license saloons and teamsters for the purpose of raising funds for the improvement of the streets. This proposition was voted down, however. The first official action for the establishment of street grades was in October, 1872, when the city engineer was instructed to make surveys for that purpose, from A Street south and Thirteenth Street west, to the Bay.

Fifth Street was the first street extended out upon the mesa, and long remained the only avenue to what is now one of the most attractive residence districts in the city. This work was done early in 1880.

The first important street grading work began in January, 1886. There was considerable agitation for this and other classes of improvements in 1886-7, culminating in a public meeting at the Louis Opera House in August, 1887, when Mr. Holabird, Judges Works, Puterbaugh and others spoke. It was thought the trustees were not showing proper zeal, and the needs of the city far outran their accomplishment.

The largest single undertaking in the way of street improvements was the construction of the sewer system. The movement for this work began in May, 1882, when a committee of the city council was appointed and made a report on the city's needs. Nothing was done at the time, but there was considerable discussion, and by the spring of 1886 the trustees were fairly forced by the growth of the city to take some action. General Thomas Sedgwick appeared before the board by invitation and gave his views. On June 25th, he explained his views further at a meeting held in Horton's Hall, and steps were thereupon taken to secure the services of Colonel George E. Waring, Jr., of Newport, Rhode Island. Colonel Waring made his report in December, providing for a complete system of sewerage for the city, having a total length of 211,560 feet and constructed on the most approved lines. The proposition to issue bonds in the sum of $400,000 for the construction of the system was voted on in the spring of 1887, and carried by a large majority. These bonds were sold to the Pacific Bank, of San Francisco, in June, and work began the following month. At the close of that year over 38 miles of main pipes had been laid and in July, 1888, the system was practically completed. This was an immense undertaking for a city the size of San Diego, and had the bursting of the boom been foreseen, it is likely the citizens would scarcely have had the courage to undertake it. However, the "Waring System" still serves efficiently the needs of San Diego, a model of engineering skill and of public spirit.

The newspapers of San Diego began to agitate for street railways in March, 1881, but it was not until 1886 that their desire was gratified. The first franchise granted was to Dr. John McCoy, of Pasadena, October 18, 1885. The ordinance provided that no road should be built on any street until it had been graded by the city. Complications arose out of this unfortunate provision, upon the observance of which McCoy insisted. He did not build any street railways.

The next franchises granted (two at one meeting) were to Messrs. Santee, Evans, Mathus, Babcock, Gruendike, and Story, and to Reed, Choate and others, in March, 1886. April 15, 1886, articles of incorporation of the San Diego Street Car Company were filed. In August, the trustees gave a franchise to George Neal and James McCoy for a railroad between Old and New San Diego.

The first car (a horse car) was run on Fifth Street, July 4, 1886. This line was two miles long. The second line was built on D Street, and had a length of 1¼ miles. The third was the H Street line, 3½ miles; and the next was the First Street line, ¾ of a mile in length. From this on, construction was rapid.

On January 1, 1888, there were 36 4-5 miles of street railroads running and in course of construction and about ten miles more being surveyed. The San Diego & Old Town Motor Railroad was opened November 21, 1887, and reached Pacific Beach April 1, 1888. Its officers were: President, J. R. Thomas; secretary and manager, A. G. Gassen; directors, J. R. Thomas, A. G. Gassen, R. A. Thomas, E. W. Morse, T. Metcalf, D. B. Hale, and O. S. Hubbell. It was extended to La Jolla in 1889.

The articles of incorporation of the National City and Otay Railroad Company (motor) were filed in December, 1886. The capital stock was $100,000, later increased to $1,300,000, and the Land & Town Company was a very large stockholder. The road was opened for business on January 1, 1887. It has branch lines to Chula Vista and other points. It has recently been acquired by the Spreckels system, and is being converted into a trolley line.

The Coronado Belt Line was one of the earliest railroads begun. It was constructed by the Coronado Beach Company in connection with the development of the hotel property. The line extends from the Coronado Ferry wharf to the foot of Fifth Street, San Diego, following the shore of the Bay, and is 21.29 miles long.

On January 1, 1888, the names of the steam motor companies, and mileage of their tracks, were as follows:

	Miles
National City & Otay Railway Co	40
Coronado Railway	1½
Coronado Belt Railway	21¼
San Diego, Old Town & Pacific Beach	12
City & University Heights Railway	
Pacific Coast Steamship Co.'s Railway	1-3
Ocean Beach Railway	3½
Roseville & Old Town Railway	1
La Jolla Park Railway	

The following were the electric and horse railways:

	Miles
San Diego Electric Street Railway	4½
San Diego Street Railway System (horse)	9
National City & Otay Railway (7th St.)	¾
National City Street Railway	2½

The single electric line in operation at that time was owned and operated by the Electric Rapid Transit Street Car Company of San Diego, of which George D. Copeland was president. The first piece of road which it constructed was from the foot of D Street in a northerly direction along the Bay shore, for four miles, to Old Town. This line began operation in November, 1887. The next electric road constructed was that from the

Pacific Coast Steamship Company's wharf to University Heights, four miles. The total cost of these lines, up to the same date, was as follows:

Horse car lines	$ 315,000
Motor car lines	1,006,000
Electric car lines	100,000
	$1,421,000

WALDO S. WATERMAN

Located, 1886; manager Stonewall mine, 1886-93. General manager San Diego, Cuyamaca & Eastern Railway from 1891 to date of his untimely death, February 24, 1903. Director and Vice President Chamber of Commerce, 1902-03. Prominent in politics. Son of Gov. Waterman

The new roads projected at that time were estimated to cost a half million more, but few, if any, of them were ever built.

The San Diego Cable Car Company was incorporated and began work in August, 1889. Its line extended from the foot of Sixth Street, to C, thence to Fourth, and up Fourth to Spruce. The enterprise was started by George D. Copeland, and incorporated by John C. Fisher, D. D. Dare, J. W. Collins, George B. Hensley, and H. F. Norcross. The power house was built in 1889, at a cost of $30,000, and was placed at the head of the canyon on Fourth and Spruce Streets, where some remains of the cement foundations may still be seen. The line was formally opened on June 7, 1890. It was at that time thought that this development meant a great deal for San Diego. Electric railways were then in their infancy and many people thought the cable system preferable. The failure of the California National Bank, its principal backer, with the long-continued depression which followed, caused the failure of the road. After being for some time in the hands of a receiver, its property and franchise were sold to an electric railway company, in January, 1892. Such, in brief, is the history of San Diego's first and only cable car line.

With the collapse of the boom, a reaction from the too-rapid building of street car lines was to be expected. A number of the weak companies failed and were absorbed by the stronger ones. All the motor roads went out of business or were converted into electric lines, except the National City & Otay and the San Diego, Old Town & Pacific Beach Railways. On January 30, 1892, the entire property of the San Diego Street Car Company passed into the hands of A. B. Spreckels, for the sum of $115,000. This purchase included practically all the live trackage in the city, and, with the lines since acquired, comprises all the older lines in the city. Mr. Spreckels immediately incorporated the San Diego Electric Railway Company, to operate his lines, with the following officers: A. B. Spreckels, president; E. S. Babcock, vice-president; Joseph A. Flint, secretary, treasurer, and general manager; directors, A. B. Spreckels, John D. Spreckels, Charles T. Hinde, E. S. Babcock, and Joseph A. Flint.

The transformation of all the lines to electric power began in May, 1892, and was carried vigorously to completion. At the present time, the company operates 25 miles of track in the city and has 10 miles more under construction. Early in 1907, it will begin operating 10 miles of interurban track between San Diego and Chula Vista.

The motor line to La Jolla, of which the old San Diego, Old Town & Pacific Beach Railway formed a portion, now belongs to the Los Angeles & San Diego Beach Railway Company, of which E. S. Babcock is president and E. A. Hornbeck general manager. The road is now being converted into a trolley line. The company has also recently constructed and is operating an electric street railway to connect with its La Jolla line, running up C Street to Sixth, south on Sixth to its foot, and thence southeasterly to the Cuyamaca depot.

The South Park and East Side Railway, an enterprise growing out of the operations of the Bartlett estate under the presidency of E. Bartlett Webster, began active construction in March, 1906. Its first line ran from Twenty-fifth and D to Thirtieth and Amherst Streets, a distance of a mile and a half, the power house being located at the terminal. During the early months of 1907 the line was extended to Twenty-fifth and F, down F to Fourth, and up Fourth to C, thus reaching the heart of the business district. This line, which has become a strong factor in local transportation and the development of the residence district on the east side, is reaching out toward the bay in one direction, and toward the back country in the other. At this writing, the company has pending applications for franchises up Fourth Street to B, and down B Street to the bay; also, along La Mesa Boulevard to La Mesa Springs, while El Cajon Valley is looking to it hopefully for rapid transit in the early future.

CHAPTER IV

WATER DEVELOPMENT

THE question of an adequate supply of water for San Diego always has been one of the most vital problems in the life of the place. During the short life of "Davis's Folly," or "Graytown," and for some time after Horton came, the inhabitants depended upon water hauled from the San Diego River. The early settlers still remember paying Tasker & Hoke twenty-five cents a pail for this water. After that, they were for some time dependent upon a few wells. An effort to find an artesian supply began in 1871. A well was sunk by Calloway & Co. in which some water was found at a depth of 250 feet. They asked for city aid to enable them to continue boring, but the proposition to issue $10,000 city bonds to carry on the work was defeated at an election held in July, 1872 The well in the court house yard furnished a good supply, which was used to some extent for irrigation. In 1873 a well was completed at the Horton House, which gave great satisfaction and was thought to demonstrate that "an inexhaustible supply of good water exists at but a comparatively trifling depth, which can be reached with little expense." The well which Captain Sherman sank in the western part of his new addition, was also an important factor.

The town soon outgrew the possibility of dependence upon wells, early in its first boom, and in 1872 San Diego's first water company was organized. This was the San Diego Water Company, incorporated January 20, 1873. The principal stockholders were: H. M. Covert and Jacob Gruendike; the incorporators were these two and D. W. Briant, D. O. McCarthy, Wm. K. Gardner, B. F. Nudd, and Return Roberts. The capital stock was $90,000, divided into 900 shares of $100 each. The term of the incorporation was fifty years from February 1, 1873. H. M. Covert was the first president.

The first works of this company were artesian wells and reservoirs. They bored a well in Pound Canyon, near the southeast corner of the Park, and found water, but at a depth of 300 feet the drill entered a large cavern and work had to be abandoned. The water rose to within 60 feet of the surface and remained stationary. They then sank a well 12 feet in diameter around the first pipe, to a depth of 170 feet, and from the bottom of this second boring put down a pipe to tap the subterranean stream. The large well was then bricked up and cemented. It had a capacity of 54,000 gallons per hour. Two small reservoirs were also constructed, one at 117 feet above tide water, with a capacity of 70,000 gallons, and the other more than 200 feet above the tide, with a capacity of 100,000 gallons. The water was pumped from the 12-foot well into these two reservoirs. Such were San Diego's first waterworks. In March, 1874, the *Union* said with pride:

> About 18,000 feet of pipe will be put down for the present. Pipe now extends from the smaller reservoir down Eleventh and D, along D to Fifth, down Fifth to K, along K to Eleventh, and will also run through Ninth from D to K and from Fifth along J to Second. The supply from this well will be sufficient for 30,000 population and is seemingly inexhaustible.

But notwithstanding this confidence, in a few years the water supply in Pound Canyon was found to be inadequate, and it was determined to bring water from the river. In the summer of 1875 the company increased its capital stock to $250,000 for the purpose of making this improvement. A reservoir was built at the head of the Sandrock Grade, on University Heights. The water had to be lifted several hundred feet from the river to the reservoir, and this pumping was expensive. In order to avoid this expense and improve the service, the company drove a tunnel through the hills, beginning at a point in Mission Valley below the new County Hospital and coming out on University Avenue near George P. Hall's place. The water was piped through this tunnel, which is still in a fair state of preservation. A new reservoir was built at the southwest corner of Fifth and Hawthorne Streets; and these works constituted the San Diego water system until the pumping plant and reservoir at Old Town were constructed. This old reservoir gave sufficient pressure for the time being, and it was not then believed the high mesa lands would ever be built upon.

In the fall of 1879 the papers note that the water mains had been extended down K Street as far as the flour mill and thence up Twelfth to the Bay View Hotel. Early in 1886 the long delayed work on the river system, near Old Town, was resumed. From numerous wells in the river bed, the water was pumped into the large reservoir on the hill. At this time the company also made many extensions and laid new pipes for almost the entire system. The pumps installed had a capacity of 6,600,000 gallons per twenty-four hours. There are four covered reservoirs with a total capacity of 4,206,000 gallons. A standpipe was placed on Spreckels Heights, 136 feet high and 36 inches in diameter. The top of this standpipe was 401 feet above tide, and it regulated the pressure all over the city. According to the engineer's statement, about 30,000,000 gallons were pumped during each month of the year 1888. The pipe lines, in January, 1890, exceeded 60 miles and had cost $800,000. There were 185 fire hydrants connected, for which the company received $100 each per annum.

The next large undertaking in the way of water development was that of the San Diego Flume Company. This project originated with Theodore S. Van Dyke and W. E. Robinson, who worked upon it for some time before they succeeded in interesting anyone else. Then General S. H. Marlette became interested and these three associates secured the water rights needed for the development. In 1885, they planned to form a corporation, to be called the San Diego Irrigating Company, but for some reason the plan failed. The promoters continued to work indefatigably, however, and finally succeeded in enlisting the interest of George D. Copeland, A. W. Hawley, and a few others, and soon were in a position to incorporate. The articles of incorporation were filed in May, 1886. Besides those mentioned, the following were incorporators: Milton Santee, R. H. Stretch, George W. Marston, General T. T. Crittenden, Robert Allison, J. M. Luco, and E. W. Morse.

Sufficient money was paid in to start the work. Copeland became President, Robinson Vice-President, and Stretch Engineer. Captain Stretch served about six months and did some of the preliminary work. He was succeeded by Lew B. Harris, who served about a year, and then J. H. Graham became the engineer and remained until the work was completed. The capital stock was $1,000,000, divided into 10,000 shares of $100 each.

The difficulties encountered were many. There was an inefficient contractor whose men the company was compelled to pay. It was asserted that the flume encroached upon an Indian reservation, and there was frequently a lack of funds. Their means becoming exhausted, some of the original incorporators were obliged to step out. Copeland became manager in place of Robinson, and Morse president in place of Copeland. Later, Bryant Howard became president and W. H. Ferry superintendent, and these two men saw the work completed.

This great pioneer undertaking was organized and carried out by far-seeing, courageous men, for the purpose of irrigating the rich lands of El Cajon Valley and also of bringing a supply of water to San Diego. Incidentally, but quite as important, they were aware that they were making a demonstration of the agricultural possibilities of San Diego's derided back country.

There were a few citizens who understood the importance of the undertaking and watched the course of events with almost breathless interest. But the majority were too busy with real estate speculations to be much concerned—at least, this was true of the floating population of newcomers. Van Dyke writes pointedly: "The writer and his associates who were struggling to get the San Diego River water out of the mountains to give the city an abundant supply, and reclaim the beautiful tablelands about it, were mere fools 'monkeying' with an impracticable scheme, and of no consequence anyhow."

On February 22, 1889, the completion of the flume was celebrated in San Diego, most impressively. There was a street parade over a mile long, and a display of the new water. A stream from a 1¾ inch nozzle was thrown 125 feet into the air, at the corner of Fifth and Beech Streets, and at the corner of Fifth and Ivy, another one 150 feet high, to the admiration of the citizens. There were 19 honorary presidents of the day on the grand stand. Bryant Howard, M. A. Luce, George Puterbaugh, Hon. John Brennan of Sioux City, Iowa, D. C. Reed, and Colonel W. G. Dickinson spoke, and letters and telegrams from absent notables were read.

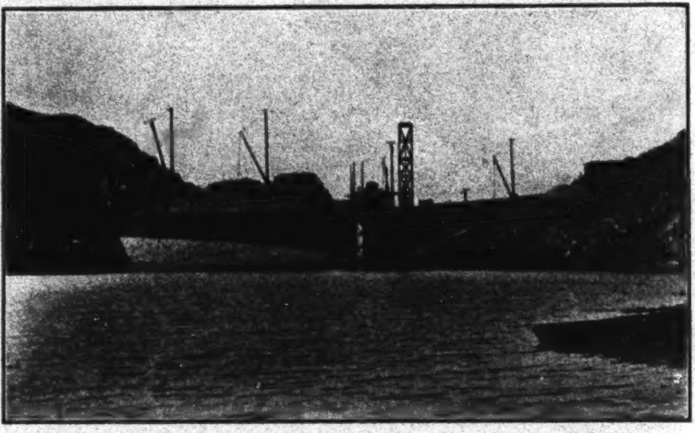
It is really a pity to have to spoil the story of the celebration of such an achievement, with a joke, but—the truth is, the water in the pipes at the time was not the Flume Company's water, at all. The Flume Company had placed no valves in their pipes, and, consequently, when they turned the water on, it was airbound and the water advanced very slowly. When the day for the celebration came, the water being still several miles away, the officers of the San Diego Water Company quietly turned their own water into the pipes, and had a good laugh in their sleeves while listening to the praises the people lavished on the fine qualities of the "new water." The Flume Company's water arrived three weeks later.

The flume emerges from the San Diego River a short distance below the mouth of Boulder Creek, and proceeds thence down the Capitan Grande Valley to El Cajon Valley, about 250 feet from the Monte. From this point the flume curves to the east and south of El Cajon, at a considerable elevation. From El Cajon, the flume is brought to the city by the general route of the Mesa road. The total length of the flume proper is 35.6 miles. The reservoir is an artificial lake on the side of Cuyamaca Mountain, about fifty miles from San Diego, at an elevation of about 5,000 feet. Its capacity is nearly 4,000,000,000 gallons. It is formed by a breastwork of clay and cement, built across the mouth of a valley, forming a natural basin.

DEDICATION OF THE SAN DIEGO FLUME

The man at the extreme right is Governor Waterman. The man in the second row wearing a straw hat, is W. E. Robinson, one of the originators of the enterprise

The construction of this flume exerted a very important influence in bringing on and sustaining the great boom, although it was not completed until after the close of that episode. The officers at the time of its completion were: Bryant Howard, president; W. H. Ferry, vice-president and manager; L. F. Doolittle, secretary; Bryant Howard, W. H. Ferry, M. A. Luce, E. W. Morse, and A. W. Hawley, directors. These men are entitled to the credit of being the first to carry to a successful conclusion a scheme of development of the water resources of San Diego County, upon a large scale.



SWEETWATER DAM IN COURSE OF CONSTRUCTION, 1887

The construction of the Sweetwater Dam was begun November, 1886, and completed March, 1888, under the well-known engineer, James D. Schuyler. The Dam alone cost $225,000 and the lands used for reservoir site I7..9,000 more. The original investment in the system of distribution exceeded half a million dollars. The reservoir stores 7,000,000,000 gallons and supplies National City Chula Vista, and a small area of land in Sweetwater Valley.

The Otay Water Company filed its articles of incorporation March 15, 1886, its declared object being to irrigate the Otay Valley lands and the adjacent mesa, and E. S. Babcock being the principal owner. In 1895 he sold a half interest to the Spreckels Brothers and the name of the corporation was changed

E. S. BABCOCK

Who came to San Diego in 1884 to hunt quail and remained to influence events more powerfully than anyone since Horton. A man of big conceptions and restless enterprise, he founded Coronado, engaged assiduously in water development, and was identified with numerous public utility corporations. Moreover, he it was who interested John D. Spreckels in local enterprises and thereby started a series of developments which is still unfolding, to the immense advantage of the city and region to the Southern California Mountain Water Company. Later, the Spreckelses became sole owners. This company has an important contract under which it now supplies the city with its entire water supply. Its storage dam is at Moreno and its pipe line was extended to the city reservoir and the delivery of water commenced in the summer of 1906.

The San Diego Water Company was incorporated in 1889, and in 1894 the Consolidated Water Company was formed for the purpose of uniting the San Diego Water Company and the San Diego Flume Company under one ownership. The Consolidated acquired by exchange of securities all the stock and bonds of both the water and the flume company. On July 21, 1901, the system of distribution within the city limits became the property of the municipality, a bond issue of $600,000 having been voted for its acquisition. The city obtained its supply from the pumping plant in Mission Valley until August, 1906, when its

C. S. ALVERSON

To whom the public and the government is largely indebted for exact knowledge concerning the water resources of the western slope of San Diego County, which he has studied for twenty years contract with the Southern California Mountain Water Company went into operation. Under the terms of this contract, the city obtains an abundant supply of water from mountain reservoirs at a price of four cents per thousand gallons, the water being delivered to its mains on University Heights.

The water question has been from the beginning a prolific source of controversy between the people and various corporations, and every important stage of its evolution, from the day of the earliest wells to the time when the great Spreckels system was sufficiently developed to meet the present demands, was was markd by acrimonious discussion and sharp divisions in the community. The Spreckels contract was not approved by public opinion until an unsuccessful effort had been made to increase the city's own supply by the purchase of water-bearing lands in El Cajon Valley and the establishment of a great pumping plant at that point. The municipal election of 1905 turned largely upon this issue. It resulted in the election of a mayor favorable to the El Cajon project, with a council opposed to it. A referendum on the subject revealed a curious state of the public mind. A majority favored the purchase of the lands, but opposed their development. The majority in favor of buying lands fell short of the necessary two-thirds, however, and the city government then turned to the Southern California Mountain Water Company as the only feasible means of creating a water supply to meet the needs of a rapidly growing city.

The mayor vetoed the contract with the Spreckels company when it first came to him from the council, urging that it be revised in such a way as to put its legality beyond all possible question (the contract was for a period of ten years, while the city attorney advised that it could legally be made for only one year at a time), and also to reserve the city's right to operate its pumping plant in Mission Valley sufficiently to keep it in condition to meet an emergency. The council promptly passed the contract over the mayor's veto, whereupon it was signed by the executive. The act was followed by the rapid completion of the pipe line to the city and the construction of an aerating plant on University Heights.

The consummation of this contract ended the long struggle for water and marked the beginning of a new epoch in the city's life. This fortunate result was not due to the fact that the contract was made with any particular company, nor to the fact that it brought water from any particular source. It was due to the fact that the people of San Diego had obtained a cheap and reliable water supply adequate to the needs of a city three or four times its present size. Water from El Cajon or from San Luis Rey would have served the same purpose and exerted the same happy influence on the growth of population and stability of values. Since the city had failed to adopt a project of its own, it was very fortunate to possess a capitalist able and willing to meet its needs upon reasonable terms at a crucial moment in its history.

PART FIFTH

The Last Two Decades

CHAPTER I

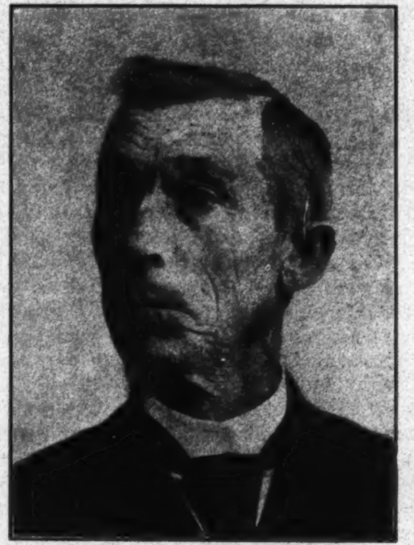
LOCAL ANNALS AFTER THE BOOM

THE collapse of the great boom, while it brought much individual suffering, did not cause a large number of failures. A few merchants and small tradesmen went out of business, owing to stagnation and decrease in population, but the banks weathered the storm, for the time being, and materially improved their condition. The California National Bank was opened in January, 1888, and the California Savings Bank, under the same management, a year later, and both adopted a liberal policy. Money became available for carrying out many improvements contracted for during the boom, which had been dropped at the time of the collapse. By fall it was felt that the worst was over and an era of steady growth was at hand.

Between the end of the boom and the summer of 1891, many of the most important public and private improvements in San Diego were completed. To this period belongs the completion and opening of the Hotel del Coronado, the construction of the Spreckels coal bunkers and wharves, the rebuilding of the court house, the laying of several miles of street pavement, the extension of the electric railway to University Heights, and the San Diego, Cuyamaca & Eastern Railway to El Cajon. The flume was also completed and began to deliver water for use in the city. Many school houses and churches were built. A competent authority has estimated that over $10,000,000 were invested in permanent improvements in this period. The population rose slowly but steadily, and by the census of 1890 was nearly 17,000.

These high hopes were destined to be again severely checked, however, at a time when trouble was least expected. In October, 1891, the California National Bank failed disastrously, and this failure effectually checked the growth of the city. None of the other banks failed at that time, but in the following summer, during the financial stringency which prevailed all over the country, several of them were obliged to give up the struggle, as related in the chapter on banking. These disasters, the culmination of a long series of misfortunes under which the city suffered, caused indescribable gloom and discouragement. Nevertheless, as on similar occasions in the past, the good sense and fortitude of the people soon asserted themselves. They set about the task of saving what they could out of the wreck and waited for better times. It is not designed to go minutely into the annals of these quiet years. A few things have been selected which it is hoped will prove of especial interest.

The first theater in San Diego was known as Leach's Opera House, which stood on D Street between First and Second. The building was erected about 1881 and first used as a gymnasium. Wallace Leach and W. F. McKee purchased it in 1883 and conducted it as a theater about five years. The Louis Opera House (now called the Grand), on Fifth Street between B and C, was opened March 1, 1887, by the Farini Opera Company. The Fisher Opera House (now the Isis) was opened January 12, 1892, by the Carleton Opera Company, in the comic opera,



D. CHOATE

Who next to Horton, had the distinction of being the largest operator in real estate in early days. He located here in 1869, purchased hundreds of acres of what is now the best outlying residence districts of the city and subdivided them. He laid out no less than ten different additions. Perhaps his most important achievement in San Diego was the founding of the College Hill Land Association. He was postmaster from 1875 to 1882

JESSE GILLMORE

H. C. GORDON

GEO. W. BOWLER

G. C. ARNOLD

VETERAN REAL ESTATE DEALERS

"Indigo." The house was built by John C. Fisher, who was also largely interested in the old cable railway. The total seating capacity of the theater is 1,400. The drop curtain was painted by Thomas G. Moses, of Chicago, and represents the "Piazzi d'Erbe," a market place in Verona.

One of the best remembered events was the celebration of the 350th anniversary of the discovery of San Diego by Cabrillo, which was held on the 28th, 29th and 30th days of September, 1892. This celebration was held at the suggestion of Walter Gifford Smith. A large number of visitors came to witness the event. Governor Markham was present with his staff; Admiral Gherardi with the *Baltimore* and *Charleston;* General Torres, of Lower California, and staff; and Generals McCook and Johnson of the U. S. Army, with their staffs. The streets and the shipping in the Bay, including the U. S. and foreign men of war, were handsomely decorated.

One of the most interesting features was the presence of a number of Luisanio and Dieguino Indians, both men and women, garbed and decorated in a manner which was practically historically correct. These people came from their homes at San Luis Rey and elsewhere, at the personal request of Father Ubach, and were by him drilled for their part in the ceremonies.

The Luisanio Indian men were naked above the waist and below the thighs, and their bodies were painted with white and black, the groundwork being laid on in broad horizontal bands. The Dieguenos wore red, black, and white paint in fantastic designs; the groundwork being red and the decorations black and white. Each wore on his head a dress of eagle feathers and a few had a single, tall, straight eagle plume. Their arms consisted of bows and arrows and a wooden weapon resembling a boomerang. The women were also painted and each wore on her head a wreath of tule. The Luisanios were under the command of Chief José Pachito and General Pedro Pablo and the Dieguenos under Chief La Chappa and General Cenon Duro. The latter was the last chief of the Mesa Grande Indians, and died in October, 1906.

At 9:30 on the 28th, the ship representing the *San Salvador,* flying the orange and red of Arragon and Castile, came up the channel and anchored. Emanuel Cabral, a fisherman of La Playa, chosen for his resemblance to Cabrillo, stood upon the deck dressed in black velvet, gold doublet, full short knee-breeches, black silk long hose, and broad Spanish hat with white plume. An hour later he was rowed ashore by a crew similarly attired and received by the Indian chiefs and their 150 followers. He unfurled the flag and took possession of the country in the name of the King of Spain; then, having read his declaration, he planted his sword in the sand before the flag, kissed the cross-hilt, and the Indians, at his request, followed his example.

After this there was a great procession in which the Indians and many other interesting features appeared. There were floats representing Cortés and other historic characters; a large band of Spanish *vaqueros,* led by Don Tomás Alvarado, Don Pancho Pico, Señor Argüello, and Don Manuel A. Ferrer; a company of Mexican *rurales* in buckskin and broad-brimmed hats; a company of American cowboys, etc. At the Plaza, Governor Markham presided and addresses were made by the Governor, by Hon. R. F. Del Valle, of Los Angeles, and by the Very Reverend Father J. Adam. Hon. R. M. Daggett read an original poem entitled *Cabrillo.*

On the 29th there was an Indian *fiesta,* at which they exhibited their native dances, and a *vaquero* tournament, which lasted two days. There was also a ball at the Hotel del Coronado, a reception on board the *Baltimore,* yacht races, and other amusements. A similar celebration was held the following year.

The case of the Chilean insurgent vessel *Itata* is a somewhat celebrated one. In the spring of 1891 there was an insurrection in progress in Chile, against the government of President Balmaceda. The revolutionary party finally triumphed, but at the time of the *Itata* incident, the revolution had not made much headway. The insurgents were in need of arms and ammunition and sent an agent to the United States to secure them. This agent, a man named Burke, had been in the employ of the Panama Railway Company and was familiar with conditions in South America. He went to New York and consulted attorneys who advised him that he might lawfully purchase and ship the supplies, but that the United States could not permit a vessel to outfit and clear from its ports with them on board—that this would be an act of unfriendliness to the Chilean government. His problem then was, how to get his purchases out of the country without getting into trouble.

Burke purchased a quantity of arms and ammunition and had them shipped to San Francisco, where they were put on board the schooner *Robert and Minnie* without molestation. The schooner sailed south, expecting to meet an insurgent vessel and transfer the cargo, at some island. Meanwhile, the steamer *Itata,* guarded by the insurgent man-of-war *Esmeralda,* was dispatched from Iquique to meet the *Robert and Minnie.* The *Itata* was obliged to put into the port of San Diego for coal and other supplies, before meeting the *Robert and Minnie.* Had it not been for this necessity, no such complications as arose would have ensued. The *Itata* had papers from Iquique which appeared regular, and she passed for a peaceful merchantman. She was an English-built steamer which had been in the South American trade. Her commander was Captain Manzden, a German. The crew was not unusually large, and no suspicion was excited by her visit.

Mr. Burke, however, proved somewhat indiscreet; in fact, he felt so sure of himself that he soon took the public into his confidence. At Port San Pedro he took the United States Customs Inspector on board the schooner, showed him his cargo, and told him what he expected to do with it. The inspector reported this to his superiors and asked for instructions, and the revenue officers there and at San Diego were thereupon instructed to watch the *Robert and Minnie* and the *Itata*. United States Marshal Gard, of Los Angeles, was also sent to San Diego to investigate, with power to seize the *Itata;* with him came also Harry Morse, of the Morse Detective Agency, San Francisco, who represented the Balmaceda government.

Upon his arrival, Marshal Gard seems to have acted on his own account and failed to take the San Diego collector, Colonel John R. Berry, into his confidence. Colonel Berry had started on a business trip to Corona and first heard of the trouble at Santa Ana. He immediately returned to San Diego, and relates that he came down on the same train with Gard and Morse and sat in the same seat with the former, who had not a word to say about the *Itata*. While they were in the act of leaving the train, Colonel Berry says, he remarked to Gard: "I suppose you are here on the *Itata* business?" and Gard denied it, point blank. After trying in vain to get the captain drunk, in the hope that he would betray himself, Gard seized the steamer and placed one man on board of her as a guard. He did not, however, disable her machinery.

It was soon ascertained that the *Robert and Minnie* was off the harbor and holding communication, through a pilot boat, with the *Itata*. The collector intercepted a letter which showed that a rendezvous had been appointed off San Clemente Island. On May 13th, while both the marshal and the collector were absent on separate expeditions in search of the *Robert and Minnie,* the *Itata* got up steam and boldly left the harbor. Captain Manzden had applied for clearance papers and been refused. He soon put the guard and the pilot on shore and disappeared, met the *Robert and Minnie* at San Clemente Island, took the munitions of war on board, and started for Iquique.

In San Diego, every kind of wild rumor filled the air. It was said that the *Itata's* decks had suddenly swarmed with men who had been lying concealed in her hold, that heavy guns were brought up and preparations made for a fight. In fact, the government's special agent reported that she left the harbor "a fully armed man-of-war." It was established on the trial in the United States court that these reports were much exaggerated. The steamer only carried a small armament of light rifles, which were old and greasy. She had no heavy guns, and was incapable of being transformed into a fighting craft. Another rumor was that "a long, low rakish craft" had been seen several times off the harbor. This report had reference to the *Esmeralda*, which soon after met the *Itata* off the Mexican coast near Acapulco. The two vessels had no sooner met and begun preparations for transferring the munitions, however, when the United States cruiser *Charleston*, which had been sent in pursuit, appeared in the distance. The *Itata* immediately steamed westward as fast as possible, while the *Esmeralda* cleared her decks for action. There was no fight, although there was considerable tension, and the officers and crew of the *Esmeralda* were able to derive considerable satisfaction subsequently from telling what they would have done to the Yankee ship, had they been given a chance. The *Charleston* soon passed onward to the south, leaving the *Esmeralda* struggling with the problem of securing a supply of coal at Acapulco, the Mexican officials having refused to allow her to take on a supply. She finally solved it by taking the coal by force. The *Charleston* met the *Itata* at Iquique, captured her without resistance, and brought her back to San Diego. In the suit which was brought against her and tried in the United States district court, in March, 1892, the government was beaten on every point and the vessel ordered released. The insurgents had, in the meantime, succeeded in overturning the Balmaceda administration and taking possession of the Chilean government. They hotly resented the seizure of the *Itata*, and this incident, with other alleged irregularities on the part of our navy, led to the assault on the sailors of the *Baltimore*, in the harbor of Valparaiso, which came so near involving the United States in war with Chile.

To pass from these exciting events to the story of a dog may seem a long step, but both belong to the annals of these peaceful years, and no careful historian can afford to ignore "Bum," San Diego's first and only town dog. He was a large, handsome, St. Bernard dog, born in San Francisco on July 3, 1886, and came to San Diego while young as a steamer stowaway. He was adopted by a kind-hearted Chinese named Ah Wo Sue, who provided a home and took good care of him, whenever Bum would allow him to do so. The dog had one peculiarity, however, which unfitted him for domestic life: he seemed to lack the gift of personal attachment which is supposed to belong to all dogs. He was, however, devoted to the larger life of the city and formed an important, even though humble, part of it all his life. It may be said of him that, if he was nobody's dog, he was so much the more everybody's dog.

On August 3, 1887, while engaged in a disgraceful fight with a bulldog near the Santa Fé depot, the two were run over by an engine. The bulldog was killed, and Bum lost his right fore-paw and part of his tail, and was otherwise severely bruised and cut. His neglected Chinese friend promptly came to the rescue, had his wounds dressed and treated by the best surgical skill, and carried him home and nursed him back to health. It is sad to have to add that Bum left his benefactor as soon as he was able to do so, and resumed his Bohemian life.

He was a public character and his habitation was the street. He slept or rested on the sidewalks, usually where traffic was thickest, and the good-natured people carefully walked around him. Restaurant keepers and butchers gladly fed him and he made a regular round of daily calls to supply his wants. He was a welcome visitor in every store and public place. He would go to the court house and mount the judge's chair, ride in the omnibuses to and from the depots, and march at the head of processions and funerals, but his especial delight was to run with the fire engines. As soon as the bell announced an alarm, he would start for the engine house, barking joyously. "Clear the track—Bum's coming!" would be the cry, and all stepped aside to let him pass. One year the dog licenses were headed by his picture, but the city fathers exempted him by a special order from the payment of taxes. A favorite diversion was to go on excursions, either alone or with a crowd. He visited all the nearby towns and went once to Los Angeles, returning voluntarily after two or three days.

When he was about four years old, some mischievous men forced him to drink liquor, and he became an habitual drunkard. He sank to the lowest depths of degradation, became dirty and mangy, and in every sense of the word, a "bum." Ah Wo Sue now came to the rescue once more, took him home and kept him shut up several weeks on a temperance diet, until he was cured and went forth a true dog once more. Did he show gratitude? Not he; his affections were entirely impersonal; he immediately resumed his free life and became once more the city's favorite.

It is of record that Bum once saved the life of a small dog by carrying him by the nape of his neck off the street car track. He had his weaknesses, one of which was a disposition to fight with other dogs now and then. His manner of fighting was to get his antagonist down and hammer him with his crippled leg. But as a rule he treated all other dogs with lofty contempt, looking through them as though he did not see them, and compelling respect by his dignified bearing. The pupils of the Sherman Heights School prepared a neat booklet telling the story of Bum's life and setting forth his good qualities. This pamphlet was dedicated to "Ah Wo Sue, who so kindly cared for and nursed our 'city dog,'" and several thousand copies of it were sold.

This noble citizen ended his life, as he had chosen to live it, at the public charge. Becoming crippled with rheumatism, he was given a home at the County Hospital, by order of the Board of Supervisors, and died there a few months after. It was surely a happy fate, and worthy the ambition of any dog, to be held in affectionate remembrance by so large a number of people as is San Diego's "Bum."

SAN DIEGO'S TOWN DOG, "BUM"

CHAPTER II

POLITICAL AFFAIRS AND MUNICIPAL CAMPAIGNS

AFTER the abolition of the city charter in 1852, the municipal affairs of San Diego were administered by a board of three trustees. Additional powers were conferred upon these trustees, and the boundaries of the city defined, in 1868 and 1870. At the general election in the fall of 1871, for the first time, the Republicans elected a number of their candidates, and the city and county have continued to be Republican, as a rule, ever since. An interesting feature of the election last mentioned was that Mr. Horton and James McCoy were opposing candidates for the state senate. Mr. Horton received a majority of fifty in his own county, and it was thought for a time that he was elected; but when the returns came in from San Bernardino County, McCoy had a majority.

In 1872, a new county government act was passed, which went into effect in March. The same act provided for the reincorporation of the city and increased the number of trustees to five. The first city election under the new charter was held on April 9, and resulted in the election of D. W. Briant, John M. Boyd, José G. Estudillo, E. G. Haight, and W. J. McCormick as trustees, A. G. Gassen, city marshal, and M. P. Shaffer, city assessor. At the fall election in this year, the county gave Grant and Wilson a majority of 152 and Houghton for Congress 235.

April 7, 1876, a new city charter was adopted. The administration of city affairs was continued in a board of five trustees.

In March, 1879, while the question of the adoption of the new constitution was up, there was a warm campaign. Dennis Kearney spoke at the skating rink and had a large audience. The *Union* led the friends of the new constitution. On April 4, it said:

> The *Union* hears that a vulgar and profane blatherskite named Wellock, who has achieved notoriety as a ranter at the sand lots of San Francisco, has announced his intention to stump Southern California in behalf of the New Constitution. We notice that San Diego is in the list of places to be visited by him. The people of San Diego don't want to hear him. They heard with patience Dennis Kearney's ignorant harangue, and that taste of sand lot oratory is sufficient, etc.

The new constitution went into effect in January, 1880, and it was at this time that the old district court went out of existence and was replaced by the Superior Court. The first term of the new court was held on January 5, 1880, by Judge McNealy.

In May, 1886, a new charter was adopted, which went into effect the next month, by which the town was organized as a city of the sixth class. A year later it became a city of the fourth class. In the fall of the latter year (1887) there was a warm contest between the Citizens' ticket, headed by D. C. Reed, and a Labor ticket, headed by W. J. Hunsaker. The latter won.

DOUGLAS GUNN

First Mayor under the charter of 1889, Editor of the *Union*, Historian and useful, devoted citizen for many years

On December 5, 1888, an election was held for the choice of fifteen freeholders to frame a new charter. Those selected were: Douglas Gunn, H. T. Christian, Edwin Parker, Charles Hubbell, W. A. Begole, N. H. Conklin, M. A. Luce, Philip Morse, G. W. Jorres, E. W. Morse, George M. Dannalls, George B. Hensley, R. M. Powers, D. Cave, and C. M. Fenn. The charter framed by these men was adopted by the people of San Diego March 2d, and approved by the legislature on March 16, 1889, and went into effect on the following 6th of May. This is the charter under which, with a few amendments, the administration of the city is still carried on.

It provided for a mayor, for the first time since 1852 (in the interval, the president of the board of trustees was called by courtesy the mayor, but there was no such official, properly speaking). The legislative branch was a common council, consisting of a board of aldermen elected at large, and a board of delegates, two of whom were chosen in each ward. The other officials provided for were: city attorney, auditor and assessor, treasurer and tax collector, city clerk, city engineer, superintendent of streets, superintendent of parks, superintendent of sewers, superintendent of schools, chief of police, chief of fire department, health officer, plumbing inspector, board of public works, board of education, board of library trustees, board of police

WILLIAM W. BOWERS

Located, 1869; California Assembly, 1873; Collector of the Port, 1874-82, and again, 1898-06; State Senator, 1887-91; Member of Congress, 1891-97. He designed and superintended building of Horton House in 1870; also designed Florence Hotel (now Robinson) and managed it for seven years commissioners, board of fire commissioners, board of health, police judge, and board of cemetery commissioners. Amendments were adopted February 3, 1895, and January 29, 1901, and on March 1, 1906, the legislative body was changed to a common council of nine members, one from each ward, the separate boards of aldermen and delegates being abolished. At the same time, provisions were inserted in the charter for the exercise of the initiative, the referendum, and the recall—regarded as important steps in the improvement of the city administration.

MATHEW SHERMAN

Mayor, 1891; owner of Sherman's Addition and prominent for many years in business and public affairs

The first city election under the present charter was held April 2, 1889. The campaign presented many features of interest. There were two tickets in the field, one called the Straight Republican, headed by John R. Berry, and the other called the Citizens' Non-Partisan ticket, headed by Douglas Gunn. Both these candidates were Republicans and there was no Democratic ticket. The real issue of the campaign was between "the Gallaghers,"—carpetbaggers from San Francisco who came during the boom and obtained control of the Republican organization in city and county—and the older citizens of San Diego. It was charged that these "Gallaghers" were for the most part Democrats before coming to San Diego. They had succeeded in electing a few of their candidates the year before, including the superior judge. The *Union* supported Berry, but other papers were for Gunn, and party lines were much broken up. The *Sun* (Democratic) of April 4th commented on the campaign as follows:

D. C. REED

Mayor, 1897; for thirty years in the forefront of real estate activity, with unfaltering faith in the city's destiny

> The campaign which has come to an end was not too short to present some interesting and remarkable features. It was marked by the almost total disappearance of the second great party in this city when the presence of a divided majority in the field would have given it success had it named a straight ticket of its own. Such a throwing away of political opportunity is almost without precedent. . . . Much of the op-

A. B. NUTT

D. L. WITHINGTON

M. L. WARD

L. A. WRIGHT

A GROUP OF STATE SENATORS

position originated in ancient grudges, dating back to the early days, and almost forgotten by those of the present day.

Senator W. W. Bowers was one of the leaders of the Republican organization, but in this campaign he wrote and spoke in favor of the Citizens' ticket. The city at the time was supposed to have a normal Republican majority of from 500 to 800, but at this election Gunn and most of the Citizens' candidates were elected. Gunn's majority was 428.

FRANK P. FRARY

Mayor, for two terms, from 1901 to 1905

Two years later, in April, 1891, the contest was between the regular party organizations. The Republican candidate for mayor was Captain Mathew Sherman and the Democratic J. W. Hughes. There were no particularly exciting events in the campaign and the result seemed to hinge on the party line-up and the number and zeal of the friends of the respective candidates. Sherman was elected by 48 votes, and was the first mayor elected on a straight party ticket.

The election of 1893 was a memorable one and presented some unusual features. Both the old parties made nominations, the Republicans naming Adolph G. Gassen for mayor and the Democrats A. E. Cochran. There was also a People's Party in the field, with John Kastle as its candidate for mayor. In addition to these, Captain James Edward Friend and William H. Carlson were independent candidates for mayor, making in all five aspirants for one office.

CAPTAIN JOHN L. SEHON

Chosen Mayor in 1905 by Democratic and Independent coalition

The three regular party nominees were substantial citizens in good standing. Gassen was one of the oldest residents and had held a number of city offices. Colonel Kastle was also an old resident and business man, and had been president of the Chamber of Commerce. Friend was a clever newspaper writer, with many friends, and Cochran was well supported by his party's strength. But when the votes were counted, it was found that Carlson, a comparative newcomer and novice in the city's politics, had twice as many votes as any other candidate.

The time has not yet come to write the story of the career of "Billy" Carlson in San Diego. He is now conducting a prosperous real estate and banking business in Los Angeles, and if he ever finds time, ought to write the story, himself. Although he entered the race for mayor last, he won out handsomely by dint of hard personal work and promises. If there was a voter in San Diego whom he did not personally interview, or a man who wanted anything that he did not promise to secure for him, neither have since come to light. As soon as "Billy" got into the mayor's chair, there were to be new electric car lines on every street equipped in an impossible manner, hotels fitted up *á la* Edward Bellamy, lines of steamships to every port on earth, transcontinental railroads galore, the park was to be improved at once, everybody was to have plenty of work at the highest wages, and, in short, the millennium was to come then and there. That he did not achieve all these things in his two terms is, perhaps, not due to any want of imagination on his part. There is a tradition that quite a number of ordinarily level-headed peo-

JOHN F. FORWARD

Who served in the recorder's office for nearly twenty years, during fourteen of which he held the chief place. Chosen in April, 1907, to serve as Mayor until May 1, 1909

ARCHIE F. CROWELL
City Engineer

CLAUDE WOOLMAN
City Treasurer

CHARLES KELLY
Councilman

F. J. GOLDKAMP
Councilman

A GROUP OF CITY OFFICIALS

ple were so much amused by his meteoric canvass that they voted for him "just to see what he would do."

The candidacy of Captain Friend deserves mention. There does not appear to have been any considerable popular demand that he should run, but with a happy-go-lucky optimism which was part of his nature, he conceived the idea of running independently. Everybody he asked signed his petition, on which there were about 1,100 names, but he received just 98 votes. He thereupon proceeded to write a book, containing an allegorical account of his campaign experiences, and called it *1,000 Liars*, implying that that number of his friends had promised to vote for him and failed to do so. In this book the characters are real, but masquerade under fictitious names. His own identity is concealed under the name of Captain James Edward Bings. The book is amusing and full of a cheerful philosophy; it is now out of print and quite scarce. Its dedication was "To the immortal ninety-eight" who had voted for him.

EUGENE E. SHAFFER

County Auditor for eighteen years; a leader in all movements for civic advancement

The election of 1895 resulted in the re-election of Mayor Carlson, running independently. The opposing candidates were:

JOHN H. PERRY
Recorder

LEWIS R. KIRBY
District Attorney

M. M. MOULTON
Assessor

W. H. FRANCIS
Clerk

A GROUP OF COUNTY OFFICIALS

W. A. Sloane, Republican; Charles S. Hamilton, Democratic; and Daniel Stone, People's Party. The *Union* of April 3d made the following comments on the result:

> The total vote polled yesterday, 3297, shows better than words how hotly the battle was fought, yet in spite of the many conflicting factions there was no special outward excitement, and at many of the polling places there were no hangers-on. The total vote of the city last November was 3327, while this year's vote on the municipal election only is but 30 behind. All sorts of reports were current as to what was to be expected, and bets were made on all subjects; but nothing was more clear than that everybody was at sea as to the result. The strength of the A. P. A. vote, the meteoric quality of the Carlson element, the water question, the civic federation movement, and personal considerations were some of the disturbing factors, and these left their mark on the result. Not any single party element can claim the victory and none is left entirely without something to show for its work.

In 1897, C. F. Holland was the Democratic and Non-Partisan choice for mayor, and D. C. Reed was the Republican candidate. The *Union*, however, which had heretofore supported the regular Republican nominees, refused to support Reed, giving as a reason his affiliation with the Municipal Ownership Club, which, it alleged, was backed by the San Diego Flume Company. The *Union* also opposed Mr. Holland, alleging that he was the original choice of the Flume Company and that the Non-Partisan organization was an outgrowth of the Municipal Ownership Club. It therefore gave its support to Major Henry Sweeney, an independent candidate. Carlson ran again and there was also a Populist ticket, headed by A. C. Mouser. In the result, Reed came in first, Holland second, and Carlson third. Mouser and Sweeney each received a few votes, also George D. Copeland.

An interesting question was raised in this campaign as to the eligibility of Major Sweeney, who was a retired army officer. It was claimed that for this reason he was ineligible, but the *Union* disputed this, alleging that the question had been raised and settled in other cases, and that there was no bar to his holding the office, if elected.

In the election of 1899, the question of municipal ownership of the water system cut considerable figure. The candidates for mayor were: D. C. Reed, Republican; Edwin M. Capps, Democratic; and John A. Helphingstine, Socialist Labor party. The battle was really between the Flume Company and the Southern California Mountain Water Company. According to the *Union*, the Flume Company was doing its best to thwart the work of Babcock's company by lawsuits, etc., and was now trying to put into the mayor's chair a man known to be violently opposed to Babcock. Capps was city engineer at the time of his nomination and had repeatedly rejected portions of the work of the Moreno system. The Mountain Water Company preferred Reed, who was not unfriendly to them, to Capps. Capps was elected by 221 votes over Reed, and Helphingstine received 70 votes.

In 1901 the contest was between Frank P. Frary, Republican, Patterson Sprigg, Democrat, and Frank Simpson, Socialist. Frary was elected; the vote: Frary, 1,674; Sprigg, 1,000; Simpson, 157.

CHARLES S. HARDY

Who ranks among the foremost merchants, and who created the most powerful political organization in the city's history. Characterized as "Boss" by his opponents, recognized as leader by his followers, his supremacy on the hard-fought field of politics is unquestioned by either

In 1903, Mayor Frary was renominated by the Republicans, James E. Wadham was the Democratic candidate, and Frank Simpson the nominee of the Socialists. The Democrats adopted a platform which contained some advanced ideas, particularly in relation to public ownership of gas and electricity and the development of the pueblo lands with a view to producing income and thereby providing for "progress without taxation." The large Republican majority was not entirely overcome, but was materially decreased, the vote being as follows:

Frary, 1,469; Wadham, 1,312; Simpson, 219.

The election of 1905 marked the rise of the "anti-boss" spirit in the Republican party and emphasized the demand for an extension of the principle of public ownership in relation to the water supply. Captain John L. Sehon, a retired army officer, had become a conspicuous leader of the reform element by his independent course as a member of the council, and was generally regarded as the logical candidate of those opposed to the Republican organization. Nominated by the Independents and endorsed by the Democrats, he made a vigorous campaign, which aroused an equally vigorous opposition by the Republicans, who selected Danville F. Jones as their candidate for mayor. The Socialists nominated W. J. Kirkwood.

The Jones-Sehon campaign was marked by one incident of peculiar interest. This was the controversy over the eligibility of a retired army officer for civil office. The case was elaborately argued in the newspapers by prominent lawyers, who were about equally divided on the legal question involved. Captain Sehon was elected by a decisive majority, but his friends believed an effort would be made to prevent him from taking office. The event proved that they were not mistaken, as proceedings were instituted in the superior court. The mayor-elect disappeared from the city and could not be found by the officers who wanted to serve papers in the suit. He returned just before midnight in the last moments of Mayor Frary's expiring term, and, at the first minute of the term to which he had been elected, entered the city hall, took forcible possession of the executive offices, and proclaimed himself mayor of San Diego.

The city awakened the next morning to learn that the man whom it had chosen as chief executive was in full possession of the municipal government and that nothing but ouster proceedings could now defeat the popular will. The case was bitterly fought through all the courts. The superior court decided against the mayor, but was overruled by the court of appeals. The supreme court of California sustained the court of appeals, so that Mayor Sehon remained in peaceful possession and proceeded to give the city what is generally regarded as the most notable administration in its history. The mayor's conduct at the time of the *Bennington* disaster and the San Francisco catastrophe won the approval of his bitterest opponents, while his management of public affairs was heartily commended at the end of the first year of his administration by the newspaper which had most earnestly opposed his election.

The vote: Sehon, 2,018; Jones, 1,376; Kirkwood, 483.

CHAPTER III

LATER JOURNALISM AND LITERATURE

FROM 1860 to 1868, San Diego was without a newspaper or other periodical of any kind. The laying out of Horton's new addition and the fear that the population might be attracted that way caused the people of Old Town to bestir themselves. In the spring of 1868 Philip Crosthwaite paid a visit to his sister, Mrs. Wm. Jeff Gatewood, at San Andreas, in Calaveras County. Colonel Gatewood was publishing the *San Andreas Register,* and the desire to have his sister near him and at the same time to do something for Old Town prompted Crosthwaite to propose that he should remove his newspaper plant to San Diego. The proposal interested Gatewood so much that he came to San Diego and investigated the conditions. He found the San Diegans responsive to his desires; they gave him subscriptions and advertising contracts which he felt would justify the venture; and, liking the place, he determined to make the change.

Returning to San Andreas, he formed a partnership with Edward W. Bushyhead, who had been his foreman, and also employed J. N. Briseño. When the paper was issued, however, Briseño's name appeared as publisher and Bushyhead's did not appear at all, because Bushyhead, upon his arrival, was not impressed with the town or the prospects of the new venture and was unwilling to have his appear; but the paper was really owned by Gatewood and Bushyhead, and Briseño was only an office boy. Gatewood came on to San Diego overland, leaving Bushyhead to pack up and ship the outfit and follow by steamer. The outfit arrived about the 19th day of September and quarters were found in a frame building belonging to José A. Altamirano, next door to the parsonage, at Old Town. There was an old Washington hand press and a very good assortment of type. By the 3rd of October they were sufficiently settled to be able to issue a prospectus. A copy of this interesting paper follows:

> To the Public:
>
> On Saturday next I will issue the first number of *The San Diego Union.* Those who wish to advertise will confer a favor

> upon me by sending in their advertisements as early next week as possible. In order to insure an insertion on the first page of the paper, the copy must be handed into the office by next Tuesday night. I presume that the business men of San Diego appreciate the advantages of advertising, and will therefore accept with avidity the opportunity now offered them.
>
> I will be thankful for any local item of general or special importance, and particularly request to be furnished with names of vessels arriving and departing from our harbor, and with all matters of importance to shippers.
>
> From those who purpose farming I will be pleased to learn the character of crop they intend planting and the probable quantity of acres they will cultivate. I respectfully invite from all branches of business such communications as will tend to advance the multifarious interests of San Diego county, and promote the general prosperity of our citizens.
>
> Neither political tirades, nor personal abuse will find place in the columns of the *Union*. As my object—and such is my agreement with my patrons—is to publish to the world the advantages of the harbor, climate and soil of this vicinity, I hope that no imposition, exaggeration or prevarication will ever be tolerated by those who may afford local information to the *Union*. In my humble judgment they need no such subterfuges; but the plain, unvarnished *truth* of our harbor, climate and soil is all that need be told, to insure the wonder and win the admiration of the world.
>
> As the *Union* is to be politically neutral, I know of no way by which I can prevent the expression of my political predilections except by steering entirely clear of politics, therefore, the *Union* will maintain politically a wise and masterly silence.
>
> For the many favors I have received at the hands of the citizens of San Diego I return my sincere heartfelt thanks, and only bespeak of them the same kindness, courtesy and consideration for my little pet, to be born on next Saturday.
>
> WM. JEFF GATEWOOD.

The first number of the *Union* came out, as announced, on October 10, 1868. It was a four-page 6-column quarto sheet, contained 15½ columns of reading matter, and was well set up and printed. In his salutatory, Colonel Gatewood said of his paper:

> Its influence shall be used in urging the people to lay aside the animosities engendered within the last few years, and so sedulously fostered by the selfish political aspirants of the present day—to foster and encourage fealty to our political institutions—obedience to the laws of the country, and charity towards all mankind. . . . We . . . pray that our lives may be spared to see the waters of our bay fretting beneath the burdens of busy commerce—to hear the shrill whistle of the iron horse as it spurns the sand of the desert—toils over the mountains and shoots through the valleys in its flight from the Atlantic, to meet in our harbor the rich cargoes from the ancient Orient—to see our bay surrounded by mammoth manufacturing and mercantile houses, princely residences, domes

> and spires of churches and schools of learning—the streets teeming with a prosperous and industrious people, and our lovely valleys lifting to our genial skies flowers and fruits, in tints as varied and gorgeous as our incomparable sunsets.

In the first two years of its existence, the *Union* had a hard struggle. The subscription list was nearly a thousand, which was very good for the time, but the advertising patronage was entirely local and not very remunerative. In May, 1869, Gatewood sold out to Charles P. Taggart, and the style of the publishers became Taggart & Bushyhead. Mr. Bushyhead says that the prosperity of the paper dates from the time that Taggart came into the establishment. He was a "rustler" and brought in advertising and subscriptions which placed the paper, for the first time, in a fairly prosperous condition. But Taggart had other interests which shared his attention, and he soon dropped the *Union*. He sold out to Frederick A. Taylor, late of San Francisco, who took charge on January 1, 1870. At the

WM. JEFF GATEWOOD

Founder of the *Union* and a notable lawyer in the early days of the Horton period time, it was stated that the *Union* was prosperous, and this is attested by the fact that on the 20th day of January it was enlarged to seven columns. Another change was announced on May 12th, when William S. Dodge succeeded to Taylor's interest, and the firm became Dodge & Bushyhead.

By this time, Horton's Addition was making considerable progress and had begun to threaten the supremacy of the old town. The *Bulletin* had been started there the preceding August, and was enjoying a large share of the new prosperity—a prosperity from which the *Union* was excluded by reason of its location. Gatewood had been the attorney for the people of Old Town in the contest over the removal of the county seat, and the *Union* had supported their side of that contention. But the proprietors concluded the fight was a losing one, and, in the midst of the fray, abandoned the old town and removed to the new. One of the inducements for this change was an agreement on the part of Mr. Horton to give the paper his exclusive advertising patronage, so long as it remained in its new location and helped to build up that part of the town. This was one of the severest blows the friends of Old Town suffered, although it cannot be said that it influenced the final result, as the question was already in the courts awaiting decision.

J. N. BRISENO

Who was employed by Gatewood and whose name appeared as the first publisher of the *Union*

The *Union* announced its intention to move, on June 23, 1870, and the following number, June 30th, was the first one issued in Horton's Addition. The new office was in a building at the southeast corner of Fourth and D Streets. That location was then thought to be quite out of town, the only other buildings in the neighborhood being the little Methodist church across the street, and the "Era House," later called the "Occidental." The foundations of the Horton House were then being laid.

On September 22, 1870, Dodge retired from the *Union* and was succeeded by Douglas Gunn. Gunn had been employed for some time on the paper as reporter and printer. He was a man of ability, enterprise, and courage, and the effects of his work were soon manifest. On December 8th following his assumption of the editorship, the *Union* published President Grant's message in full, having received it by telegraph, and called it "a piece of newspaper enterprise never before attempted by any 'country paper' in the United States." The like had certainly never before been done in San Diego. On March 20, 1871, the *Daily Union*, the first daily paper in San Diego, was issued. At that time only two daily papers were published in Southern Cal-

EDWARD W. BUSHYHEAD

One of the early proprietors of the *Union*, who also served as sheriff and chief of police ifornia; these being the *News* and the *Star*, of Los Angeles, and the *Union* was the third. Ten days later, the weekly was enlarged to eight columns, and became the largest weekly paper south of San Francisco. In the latter part of the following April, John P. Young (now editor of the San Francisco *Chronicle*) was employed as business manager.

Those were strenuous days for Bushyhead & Gunn. A competent writer says: "We do not believe that two men ever did more intensely hard work, for smaller compensation, than the publishers of the *Union*. The first year of its existence it [the daily] spent about $1,200 for telegraphic news, the next year about $2,000," etc. Mr. Bushyhead does not recall that, as a whole, they were poorly paid; he relates that he and Mr. Gunn were able to put away $1,500 each in bank every month at that period. The partnership of Bushyhead & Gunn lasted nearly three of the busiest and most fruitful years of the life of the new town. Circumstances induced the former to retire in June, 1873. He received $5,000 in cash for his half interest, and Mr. Gunn became sole proprietor. A month later, the daily was enlarged to twice its former size. These were in the palmy days of San Diego's first boom—the "Tom Scott boom"—and the collapse of that excitement, naturally enough, hit the paper hard. The circulation of the daily continued to grow, but its advertising patronage declined and for a few years its struggle was a hard one. In 1877, Mr. Gunn stated that for four years he alone had performed the entire editorial work, local reporting, and news editing. It was one of his gifts to be able to write rapidly, clearly, and under pressure. Probably few men could have stood the strain under which he labored.

By the year 1878, conditions had so far improved that the *Union* began to benefit by the reaction. On the first day of June, the office was removed to Sixth Street, one door below where the postoffice was then located. Several quiet but fairly prosperous years followed, and in July, 1881, the paper was again enlarged and the first steam printing press in San Diego set up for its use. Five years later, it was again enlarged. On August 3, 1886, Mr. Gunn retired and the paper passed into the hands of the San Diego Union Company. The manager of this company was Colonel John R. Berry, and his associates were William Collier, now living at Riverside, and J. Russell Smith. Colonel Berry had been city editor of the *Union* about two years, and now assumed editorial charge of the paper.

Mr. Gunn retired to devote himself to his business interests. Under his editorial management of almost sixteen years the paper had grown up with the town and had played an important and vital part in its development. Soon after, he built the

Express Block, and in 1889 was chosen and served as the first mayor of San Diego under its new charter.

Three or four months after the new company took charge, Hosmer P. McKoon acquired an interest, and, a little while after that, Bryant Howard and E. W. Morse came in. In February, 1888, there was a white paper famine which now seems amusing. The *Union* appeared for a time printed on paper of many colors, dirty white, terra cotta, and bright pink. In the following May, cards were issued inviting the friends of the paper to call and witness the operation of its new double-cylinder Hoe printing press and feeders. Whole page descriptions were given, with large cuts of the new press. In June, 1888, John C. Monteith became owner of part of the stock and assumed the business management of the paper. In the fall, Howard M. Kutchin became business manager and a few months later editor, and so continued till June, 1889. In December of the year 1888 the *Union* company purchased the *Daily Bee* from Harry A. Howard, Thomas Fitch, and their associates, and merged the two papers under the title of the *San Diego Union and Daily Bee*. In the following year, Berry parted with his interest in the paper to the Monteiths. Berry went to Ohio

OFFICE OF THE *UNION*
At Sixth and F Streets in the '70's

and was gone a few months and upon his return took charge of the paper again in association with Andrew Pollock.

In 1890 Colonel Berry was appointed collector of the port, and soon after his appointment sold out to the Messrs. John D. and Adolph B. Spreckels, who were then represented here by E. S. Babcock; and these gentlemen have ever since been the owners and publishers of the *Union*. August 1, 1890, Thomas Gardiner, one of the founders of the *Sacramento Union* and of the *Los Angeles Times*, was appointed manager of the paper, and served in that capacity until his death nine years later. On June 19, 1899, James MacMullen became general manager of the *Union* Company, and is still its manager. March 8, 1900, the *Union* purchased the plant of the *Morning Call* (formerly the *Vidette*), and on September 27, 1901, it became the owner of the *Evening Tribune*, which had been established since December 21, 1895. The publication of the latter has been continued. It is one of the two evening papers now published in the city.

JOHN R. BERRY

Who served at different times as editor of the *Union* and who was colonel of the Seventh Regiment, National Guard, during the Spanish War

On the 30th of November, 1901, the editorial, press, and business rooms of the papers were removed to the old Horton bank building, on the southwest corner of Third and D Streets, which has since been known as the *Union* building. Spreckels Brothers recently purchased land adjoining this building on the south and west, tore down the old building, and erected in its place a large, modern six-story business block, which will provide for the *Union* company better quarters than any other newspaper south of San Francisco. The papers have also been provided with new presses and up-to-date facilities in every department.

JAMES MACMULLEN

General Manager of the *Union* and *Tribune*

EDMUND F. PARMELEE

Advertising Manager of the *Union*, who has been longer in continuous service than any other member of the newspaper corps.

James MacMullen is now general manager of the *Union* and *Tribune*. George S. Bates is editor of the *Union*, as he has been for many years. Walter T. Blake is editor of the *Tribune*. Edmund F. Parmelee has been advertising manager of the *Union* since January 1, 1888, a longer continuous service than any other man in San Diego in a similar position. He is thus dean of the newspaper corps.

These two papers support the regular Republican organization. They have been developed into valuable and influential properties with the growth of the city, and afford their patrons a live and satisfactory service. The *Union* has a complete file of its issues, from the beginning, in a good state of preservation—a mine of inexhaustible interest and value to the historian and writer.

The pioneer editor and publisher of Horton's Addition was William H. Gould, who began the publication of the *San Diego Weekly Bulletin* on August 21, 1869. It was a four-page six-column paper. In this first number Mr. Gould expressed the opinion that: "There is nowhere on the globe a finer field for newspaper enterprise and the exercise of newspaper power than exists today in our young and growing city of San Diego."

WILLIAM H. GOULD

The pioneer editor and publisher of Horton's Addition

The paper was enlarged to seven columns in December, and in the following June Major Ben C. Truman purchased a half interest and became editor and business manager. In July, 1871, W. H. Ogden became editor, Truman remaining as business manager. At the end of that year Major Truman's connection with the paper ceased. On February 13, 1872, the first number of the *Daily Bulletin* appeared. It was a small sheet of five columns and four pages. In the following month W. W. Bowers became the business manager and D. T. Phillips became editor of the *Bulletin* in June. The paper was soon after sold to Colonel Gatewood, who took over the entire plant and began issuing a new paper, called the *World*. The last number of the weekly *Bulletin* was July 13th, and of the daily, July 23, 1872.

The *Bulletin* was established by the friends of New San Diego to counterbalance the influence of the *Union* at the rival town. The *Union* "coppered" this move, however, by removing to Horton's Addition, and, having secured Mr. Horton's exclusive patronage, the *Bulletin* proved unprofitable and soon languished. It began as a Union Republican paper, but a year later became straight Republican and continued so. There is a complete file of this paper in the public library, presented to it by Mr. Daniel Cleveland.

MAJOR BEN. C. TRUMAN JOSEPH D. LYNCH

Two journalists identified with San Diego in early Horton days and during the great boom

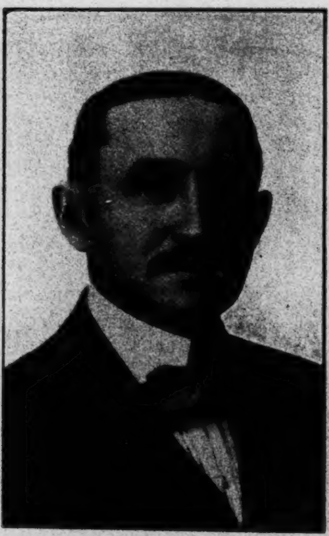
Will H. Gould left San Diego in 1874 and had a checkered career afterward. He established papers at San Bernardino, Los Angeles, and other places, none of which lived long, and was connected with the *San Diego Bee* in 1887-88.

The first number of the *Daily World* was issued July 25, 1872, and the weekly two days later. The daily was a small quarto sheet, with four pages of five columns each, and the weekly was a large four-page sheet of seven columns. There were elements of fitness in Colonel Gatewood's being its editor and proprietor. The paper which he had founded (the *Union*) was now a Republican organ, while he was a Democrat; and many people thought that the time was ripe for an opposition paper. J. N. Briseño, an old employe of Gatewood on the *Union*, acquired an interest, in August. In October, the daily was enlarged to four full-size quarto pages of six columns each, and in December the office was removed to the south side of D Street, between Second and Third, in what was formerly called the Stockton House.

JACOB M. JULIAN

Associated with N. H. Conklin as editor and proprietor of the *San Diego World* in 1874; later, editor of the *Daily News*

Joseph D. Lynch succeeded Gatewood as editor, and, in the fall of 1874, the paper was acquired by Jacob M. Julian and N. H. Conklin. Both were newcomers, from Warrensburg, Missouri, where they had been associated in the publication of a weekly paper. They continued to publish the *World* a year or two and then it was merged with the *News*, published by Julian & Co.

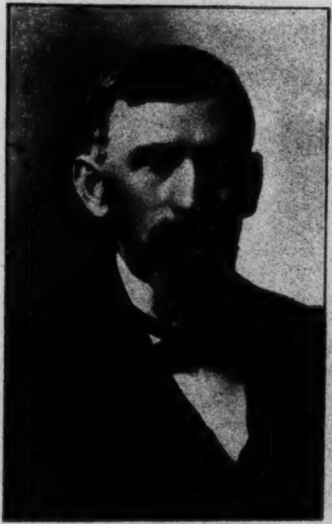


CHAS. W. OESTING

President State Board of Harbor Commissioners.

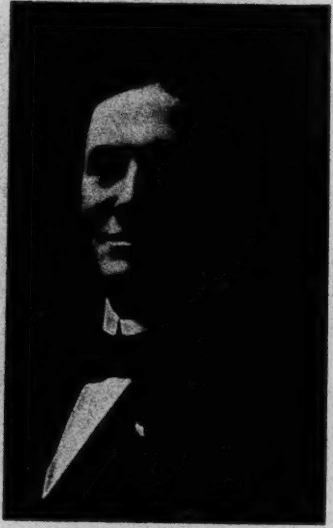
M. A. GRAHAM

President Board of Public Works.



DR. D. B. NORTHRUP

County Physician.



HOWARD M. CHERRY

County Auditor.

New home of the San Diego Sun Publishing Company, Seventh and B Streets, one of the most complete newspaper buildings in the United States.

HORACE E. RHOADS

Vice-President and Business Manager of the San Diego Sun Publishing Company since November, 1906.

Mr. Julian began the publication of the *San Diego Daily News* in 1875, and continued it until April 9, 1882, when it was purchased by the *Sun* company.

The *Sun* first appeared on July 19, 1881. Mrs. Charles P. Taggart originated the enterprise. Horace Stevens, Fred C. Bauer and Robert Campion served as editors or managers.

Mrs. Taggart disposed of her interest to A. Wentscher, Edwin Parker, Horace Stevens, Dr. T. C. Stockton and C. P. Gerichten. The first office of the Sun was in a small frame building on the east side of the plaza, where the Schmitt Block now stands.

In 1886 Warren Wilson of San Bernardino purchased the *Sun*, and in December of the same year the paper was established in the Sun building on the Plaza, built by him and now owned by Nathan Watts. In February, 1889, Wilson sold the *Sun* to Walter G. Smith, now of Honolulu, and W. E. Simpson, the money being furnished by the California National Bank. The purchasers turned the property back to the bank in January, 1891, and Dr. D. Gochenauer was appointed general manager. The failure of the California National Bank in November of that year resulted in the *Sun* being thrown upon the market, when it was again purchased by Warren Wilson, who in turn sold it on June 3 to Paul H. Blades and E. C. Hickman, the money being furnished by E. W. Scripps, the millionaire newspaper publisher. Mr. Scripps had just come to San Diego from his home in Cincinnati, on a visit, and was persuaded to invest in the *Sun* at the request of his cousin, the late Mrs. Fanny Bagby Blades. From this nucleus has grown the entire Scripps league of western newspapers, now covering every important city on the Coast.

In November, 1892, the *Sun* purchased the *San Diegan*, being merged under the title of *San Diegan-Sun*. With the *San Diegan* was secured the services of Mr. F. D. Waite as editor, who until recently remained as editor of the paper, and is still a member of the staff as associate editor.

The *Sun* has had various business managers, most of whom are now identified with the Scripps properties on the Pacific Coast and elsewhere. In March, 1901, Mr. Scripps purchased the interests of Blades and all others in the *Sun*, and transferred a half ownership to himself and the other half to Mr. W. H. Porterfield, which ownership has continued to the present time. For several years past Mr. Porterfield has been engaged in the management of other Scripps properties in Northern California, and the active business management of the *Sun* has devolved upon H. E. Rhoads. Mr. C. A. Mc-

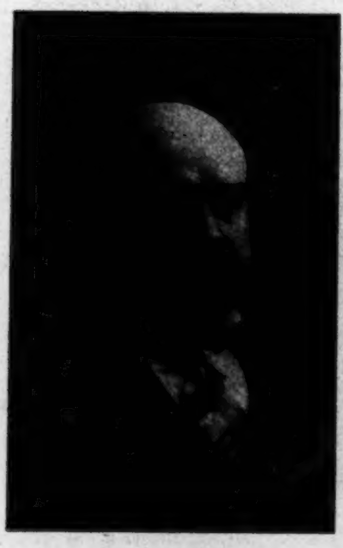
Grew, formerly of the *New York Times*, is editor. The *Sun* is independent in politics, with Democratic leanings in national campaigns. Early in this year (1908) the *Sun* Company moved into its new home, a handsome brick building on Seventh and B Streets. As illustrating the growth of San Diego, the statement is made that the *Sun's* business has quadrupled in the past five years.

W. H. PORTERFIELD

President and General Manager of the *San Deigo Sun* Publishing Company

The *San Diegan* was established by J. M. Julian, E. J. Bacon, and Julian Regan in 1885, as a Democratic organ, and four years later sold to Chaffee, Sullivan & Waite, who remained the owners until the consolidation with the *Sun* in the fall of 1892.

The next paper established, in point of time, was the *Daily* and *Weekly Bee*. The *Bee* Publishing Company was incorporated in November 1887, by Wm. F. Hutton, Will H. Gould, Thomas J. McCord, Harry A. Howard, and Thomas L. Fitch. The company had been organized in the spring by Messrs. Benjamin & Cothran, and had for its editors a Mr. Zeigenfuss, and Mrs. Clara S. Foltz. The *Bee* was a live paper, while it lasted. It was absorbed by the *Union*, in December, 1888.



WALTER T. BLAKE
Editor of the *Tribune*

F. D. WAITE
Associate Editor of the *San Diego Sun*

Thus far this story of the files is that of the papers which are either still in existence, or have been absorbed by other papers yet published. A number of other papers—exactly how many it is really impossible to say—were started at different times, but permanently suspended publication. A list of some of these is given farther on. The most important of these was the *San Diego Vidette*, a daily and weekly paper established by D. O. McCarthy, August 6, 1892. From December 1, 1894, to March 7, 1895, Harr Wagner leased the paper, after which the founder again became managing editor and J. Harvey McCarthy business manager. In 1899, it was leased for a short time to B. A. Stephens, T. Spears, and Frank Gregg, in succession. In January, 1900, the name was changed to the *Morning Call;* and in the following March the *Call* suspended publication and the *Union* bought its plant. The motto of the *Vidette* was: "Thrice armed is he whose cause is just." It was a live and vigilant paper, independent and fearless, which attacked wrong and corruption wherever found.

In the way of periodical literature, the first ambitious effort was that of Harr Wagner, when he removed the *Golden Era* monthly magazine from San Francisco to San Diego, during the boom. It was established at San Francisco in 1852. The plant arrived at San Diego early in March, 1887. It was intended to change the name to the *Coronado Illustrated Magazine*, and public announcement was made of that intention; but for some reason the plan fell through, and the magazine continued to be published as the *Golden Era*. In the fall the *Golden Era* Company was incorporated, by Harr Wagner, J. D. Wagner, E. C. Thorpe, C. E. Maxwell, and G. C. Berlew. It was a magazine of fiction, travel, and general literature, and the oldest illustrated magazine on the Pacific Coast. It was the literary journal of the Southwest and had a number of notable contributors, among whom were Joaquin Miller, Madge Morris (Mrs. Wagner), Rose Hartwick Thorpe, and others. It was published in San Diego until March, 1895, when it was again removed to San Francisco, and soon after changed to the *Western Journal of Education*, under which name it still continues, with Mr. Wagner as editor-in-chief. While here Mr. Wagner engaged in a varieties of activities connected with education—was superintendent of schools, connected with the San Diego College of Letters at Pacific Beach, etc.

The next important venture in this line was the *Silver Gate*, established in January, 1899, by James A. Jasper. Sixteen numbers in all were issued, the last one being for April, 1900. It was devoted to local statistics, current politics, articles on climate, horticulture, etc., and also contained views, maps, and portraits of value. With the September number, 1899, it absorbed the *Mother's Club Magazine* (a monthly started February 1, 1899), and the "Mother's Club Notes" formed a department of the magazine until it suspended. It also had for a time a department edited by the Woman's Relief Corps. The back numbers of this magazine are highly prized.

The *West American Scientist* was established by C. R. Orcutt, December 1, 1884, and he is still the editor and publisher. It is the organ of the San Diego Society of Natural History and was the first scientific publication established on the Pacific Coast. It has at different times absorbed a number of other similar publications and its files contain matter of great value.

The *Western Magazine* issued three numbers—August, September, and October, 1906. It was the most ambitious example of periodical literature ever undertaken in San Diego, and its early demise was a matter of sincere and widespread regret.

HARR WAGNER MADGE MORRIS (MRS. WAGNER)

Who published the *Golden Era*, a literary magazine, in San Diego from 1887 to 1895

The following is a list of newspapers and other periodicals known to have been started in San Diego from time to time. All these periodicals are now defunct, unless otherwise stated.

In May, 1885, D. P. St. Clair started the *San Diego Californian*, and published it about two months.

In 1887, the Bennett Brothers established a paper which they call the *News* (Julian's paper of the same name having been absorbed by the *Sun*, five years before). It was issued asa daily for six months, and then removed to Ensenada, in Lower California.

The *Deutsche Zeitung*, a weekly, was established by Charles F. Kamman, in 1887, and is still published.

The *Free Press*, a tri-weekly, was published by J. G. Overshiner in 1887.

The *Semi-Tropic Planter*, devoted to agriculture, was published by Cooke & Hufford, in 1887. C. R. Orcutt afterward became its editor.

The *Coronado Evening Mercury* was established May 16, 1887. It was an evening daily, published at *Coronado* by Kimball, White & Co., and later became a weekly issued by F. E. A. Kimball.

The Southern California Information Agency (Augustus Merrill, manager), issued the *Southern California Informant* in the latter part of 1887. It purported to be "a journal of reliable information and just criticism."

The first issue of the *Echo* was December 3, 1887. It was a critical and humorous weekly.

R. H. Young issued the *Pacific Beach Magazine* in 1888. It was subsidized by the Pacific Beach Company and lived about a year, expiring with the boom.

The Beacon was a small weekly published in 1889 by Sigismund Danielwicz, devoted to the discussion of social ethics.

The Clipper was established in 1889, by the Bayside Publishing Company. It was a weekly, edited by John C. Monteith.

The Great Southwest, edited by R. H. Young and devoted to horticulture, was issued in 1889.

The Dart, a prohibition paper, was first issued August, 1888.

Zoe, a biological journal, was established by Mrs. Katherine Brandegee, in 1890.

The Review, a weekly publication by Birdsall & Van Haren, was started about March, 1890. It was devoted to the interests of the National Guard, "society, current comment, and education."

May 10, 1890, appeared the *San Diego Republic*, published every Saturday by Stephens & Harris.

The first number of the *Spiritual Times Magazine* appeared November 1, 1890. Later, the name was changed to the *San Diego Times Magazine*. The editor was William Alfred Rugg.

The *San Diego Advertiser* was founded by E. N. Sullivan, July 25, 1891. It is now the *San Diego News*, a weekly.

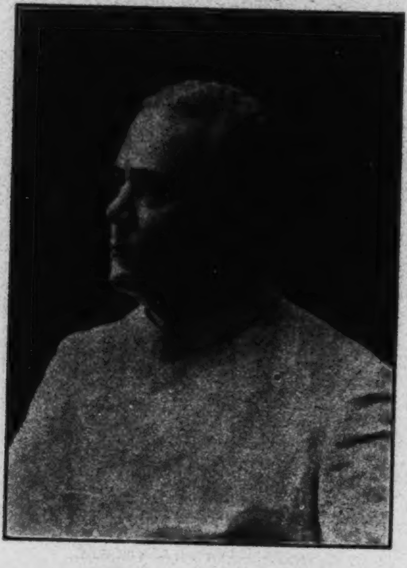
The *Seaport News* was first issued September 3, 1892, and it was the successor of the *Coronado Mercury*. It was a weekly journal. At the time of the change, T. D. Beasly assumed a half interest in the paper.

The *National Popular Review* was first issued, July 1, 1892. It was a monthly magazine devoted to medical subjects, and called *An Illustrated Journal of Preventive Medicine*. It was published in Chicago and San Diego, by J. Harrison White, and edited by Dr. P. C. Remondino.

In 1893 the *South California Farmer* was published by J. S. Richardson. It was devoted to horticultural interests.

Out of Doors for Woman was the title of a publication begun in November, 1893, by Dr. Olive L. Eddy Orcutt.

The *San Diego Real Estate Journal* was started in 1895. It was a weekly, edited by R. H. Young and managed by W. H. Porterfield.



WALTER GIFFORD SMITH

Author of *Story of San Diego*, an interesting historical sketch

The *Philosophical Journal* was established in 1865 and was formerly issued at Chicago under the name of the *Religio-Philosophical Journal*. It was removed to San Diego in 1896 and remained until December of that year, when it was removed to San Francisco. It was a monthly.

The *Weekly Drift* was first issued April 17, 1897, by W. A. Rugg, editor.

The *San Diego Chieftain* was published in 1901 by John A. and Edgar B. Helphingstine. It was a social Democratic weekly.

The Bulletin was a small "woman's own" paper, published late in 1901.

The *San Diego Open Court,* a fortnightly magazine, was established September 1, 1901.

Wealth was published twice a month by Ralph Elliott Field, beginning in November, 1903.

The *San Diego Co-operator* was the organ of the Rochdale Company; the first issue appeared January 1, 1904.

ROSE HARTWICK THORPE
Author of the famous poem, "Curfew Shall not Ring Tonight," who resides at La Jolla

The *San Diego Herald* was established October 6, 1905, under the name of the *San Diego Tourist Informant,* and under the management and editorship of B. J. McDowell. In December, 1905, George H. Hazzard became the editor. In 1907 the paper changed ownership and R. Beers Loos became editor.

The Mirror was established January 1, 1906, and is an illustrated weekly of industrial character. A. G. Stacey is the editor and publisher.

The Harbor Light was published quarterly in the interest of the floating Endeavor work; Mrs. W. W. Young, editor.

San Diego Bay Region Resources was a monthly published by Burgess, Moore & Co., on lines similar to *California Resources*, of San Francisco.

C. R. Orcutt has been connected with the publication of quite a number of periodicals. Besides the *West American Scientist*, which has been mentioned, and which still continues, and the *Semi-Tropic Planter*, which he took over from Cooke & Hanford, he has established the following publications:

WILL H. HOLCOMB

Who has touched the life of San Diego at so many points—political, religious, legal, fraternal, business and financial—that it is difficult to classify him. A man of marked literary gifts, he came originally with the purpose of writing a history of the city and region. He contributed extensively to descriptive literature concerning San Diego County

Young Men's Journal, a religious weekly in the interest of the Y. M. C. A., 1887; *San Diego Magazine*, April 1, 1888; *The Work*, October, 1889, also in the interest of the Y. M. C. A.; *Old Curiosity Shop*, 1881; *Science and Horticulture*, March, 1891; *Golden Hints for California*, November, 1891; *California Art and Nature*, December, 1901; *Presbyterian Herald*, a weekly church paper, 1901; *The Manzanita*, or *Lower California Magazine*; *California Trees and Flowers*, and *Western World*.

Besides all these, San Diego has had *The Coronado Argus*, the *Sunday Telegram*, the weekly *County Reporter*, the weekly *Neuigkeiten*, the weekly *Argosy* and the weekly *Enterprise;* and among live periodicals are: the *San Diego Weekly News*, the *New Century Path*, and the *Raja Yoga Messenger*, the two latter being published by the Theosophical headquarters at Point Loma.

In 1883, W. W. Elliott & Co., of San Francisco, published their *San Diego County Illustrated.* It is a thin quarto with quite a number of views, maps, and portraits, and contains considerable fragmentary information. But its contents are largely of the "write-up" order, and as a history it is scarcely to be taken seriously.

One of the duties of Douglas Gunn, while editing the *Union*, was to write the annual review of the progress of city and county. In 1885, these articles were gathered up and issued in pamphlet form. A year later the work was revised and enlarged, and more than 35,000 copies sold. This success doubtless had a good deal to do with inducing Mr. Gunn to undertake the preparation of a more ambitious work after his retirement from the *Union*, in August, 1886. His own tastes would also naturally lead in the same direction. He spent some months collecting and arranging additional material, and in February, 1887, employed Herve Friend, representing the American Photogravure Company, to make the views for his book. October 2, 1887, the *Union* began the publication of the advance sheets of his new work, and the book itself appeared soon after. It was entitled *Picturesque San Diego, with Historical and Descriptive Notes*, printed by Knight & Leonard Co., Chicago, and bound in heavy morocco with gilt edges. Although there were but 98 numbered pages of reading matter, there were 72 full-page illustrations of a very superior character, and the whole made a rich volume. The work was not intended, primarily, as a history, but rather to provide an appropriate setting for an up-to-date statement of the resources and advantages of the city and county. Mr. Gunn was a clear and forcible writer and it can fairly be said that he achieved his chief object. His historical outline, too, although brief, is painstaking and shows wide reading and information. The venture proved a heavy loss to Mr. Gunn, however.

In early days, the San Diego Chamber of Commerce turned out a large number of descriptive pamphlets, some of which were prepared by competent men and are quite valuable. In 1880, this body varied its program by employing Theodore S. Van Dyke to prepare a more ambitious work, containing a more complete statement than had generally been attempted of the county's resources, together with an historical outline. The results of his labors were published in the same year, under the title of *The City and County of San Diego*, and the eighty pages for which he was responsible justified the confidence reposed in the author. The historical outline, though brief, was accurate; and no man has ever described the county's characteristics and summed up its advantages and disadvantages more accurately or brilliantly. The latter part of the book was devoted to biographies, for which the publishers, Leberthon & Taylor, were responsible.

In 1890 the Lewis Publishing Company, of Chicago, issued their *Illustrated History of Southern California*, which contained 390 pages devoted to San Diego County, 102 of which are historical and the rest biographical. The historical section of the work was largely performed by J. M. Guinn, secretary of the Historical Society of Southern California, Los Angeles. The book is an immense one, prepared for sale by subscription, and covers too large a field to give the city of San Diego the setting to which its importance entitles it. The historical work was competently done and of considerable value.

The first attempt to write a history of the city of San Diego, apart from commercial features, was that of Walter Gifford Smith, in his *Story of San Diego*, published in 1892. It is a book of 163 pages, and undertakes to deal seriously, though briefly, with the city's history. Mr. Smith had had considerable training as a newspaper writer, and, considering the limited time training as a newspaper writer, and his book was written in a charming style.

A number of newspaper writers and other bright men and women have studied the history of San Diego with fascinated interest and written sketches about it which have appeared in periodicals all over the land. Ben C. Truman was one of the earliest and brightest of these, and all the others—Will H. Gould, Thomas Fitch, Theodore S. Van Dyke, Douglas Gunn, Walter Gifford Smith, and so on—have tried it at one time or another. Will H. Holcomb came to San Diego with the intention and expectation of writing a history of the place, and went so far as to collect a large quantity of materials. Probably it was only the accident of his having a satchel full of these papers stolen which prevented his carrying out the plan. As it is, he has contented himself with writing the *Rhymes of the Missions* and a number of historical sketches for the newspapers. L. A. Wright is another writer from whose published sketches considerable information has been collected.

During his residence of six years in this city, William E. Smythe has written *Constructive Democracy* and the *History of San Diego*. revised and largely rewritten his *Conquest of Arid*

America (new edition), and contributed extensively to magazines and newspapers. In the same period he has written several elaborate government reports and prepared many formal public addresses, which have also been published.

CHAPTER IV

THE DISASTER TO THE BENNINGTON

THE explosion on board the gunboat *Bennington*, which occurred in San Diego harbor on Friday morning, July 21, 1905, was an event of national importance. The vessel was lying in the stream at the foot of H Street, with steam up, ready to depart. The crew numbered 179 men, Captain Lucien Young commanding. The captain had gone ashore and the crew of his launch were awaiting his return at the wharf, when the boat was to leave for Port Harford to take the *Wyoming* in tow for San Francisco. At 10:33 A.M. there were two explosions in quick succession and the ship was enveloped in steam and listed to starboard. The forward and main port boilers had exploded. The explosion and escaping steam killed or injured more than half the crew. Many were blown into the water; others were penned between decks and cooked by steam; the passageways were blocked with dead and dying; the decks covered with blood and debris; and a scene of horror impossible to describe was created.

Captain Young was notified and hurried to the wharf and boarded the vessel. With him went a reporter of the *San Diegan-Sun;* and they were the first to set foot on the deck after the explosion. Boats and launches were sent from the vessels anchored near, and from the wharves. Volunteers came on board and offered their services in rescuing the living and removing the dead. They went down into the reeking hold, groping amid wreckage and blinding steam, and in a short time did everything possible. The explosion of the boilers left the blow-off pipes open and water began to come in rapidly. The danger of fire was also great, and for this reason the magazines were flooded. The water thus coming in settled the vessel in the bay and made the work of removing the bodies much more difficult. An engine was provided and placed on a lighter alongside to pump out the hold. It took three days to finish this work. On the evening of the 24th, the water was under control and the vessel having been lightened by the removal of supplies, she was towed to the Santa Fé wharf and made fast.

The dead and wounded were transferred to the nearest wharf and arrangements for their care immediately made. Mayor John L. Sehon was quickly on the scene and organized the relief work with military skill and efficiency. There were comfortable beds for the sufferers, hot water, physicians, and nurses in waiting. There never was a case where so much was done in so short a time, with such magical celerity and absence of confusion and friction. The police kept back the crowd and co-operated in many ways. The doctors and nurses of the city volunteered their services. The Agnew Sanitarium and St. Joseph's Hospital were thrown open and the injured removed there, where they were tenderly cared for until death relieved them or until they recovered sufficiently to be removed to the army hospital at the barracks.

THE GUNBOAT "BENNINGTON" AFTER THE EXPLOSION

The number of men killed outright at the time of the explosion was 51, and 9 died from their injuries, making the total deaths resulting from the disaster 60. The injured numbered 46, and only 91 escaped uninjured.

The funeral of the victims of the explosion on July 23d was observed as a day of mourning, and the citizens of San Diego did everything in their power to show their appreciation of the occasion. The 47 coffins were placed side by side in a long trench at the military cemetery, and the ceremonies were of an impressive character.

There were many instances of individual heroism at the time of the explosion. Injured men worked like heroes, and saved their comrades regardless of their own sufferings. One of the men who escaped uninjured was J. H. Turpin, a colored man, who had been badly injured in the *Maine* explosion. The fortitude of the sufferers was beyond all praise.

There were rumors which gained currency at the time that the boilers of the *Bennington* were known to be weak, and that the commander had repeatedly reported this fact. The affair was passed upon, first by an investigation board under Admiral Goodrich, and then by a courtmartial, the latter body recommending the censure of Captain Young.

The *Bennington* was a gunboat and a warship of the third class. She was built at Chester, Pennsylvania, in 1889-90, and cost $553,875. She was equipped with two screws and was schooner-rigged. She was taken to Mare Island Navy Yard to be rebuilt.

CHAPTER V

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY DAYS

NO HISTORICAL work of any value can bring its story down to the day of its writing, at least with any degree of fullness. Not only is perspective lacking, but the influence of events cannot be measured until there has been time for them to work out their results, nor can the importance of men engaged in active life be estimated until their work is finished. For this reason, the early history of San Diego is dealt with extensively in preceding pages, while its later history receives less attention as we approach the present day. For the same reason, the plan of emphasizing the old and dealing lightly with the new is followed in the closing department of the work which is concerned with "Institutions of Civic Life." It will be the work of a later historian to deal at length with the narrative of San Diego's development after it became a city of substantial size and permanent character, and he will find the materials both abundant and easy of access. But while no attempt is made to set forth with any fullness the life of the last few years, it is nevertheless interesting and important to sketch in broad outline the expansion of the twentieth century city, and to mention the more powerful influences from which its impulse was derived.

The decade between 1890 and 1900 was a negative period in the history of San Diego. By the national census of the former year, it had a population of a little less than 17,000; by the census of the latter year, a population of a little more than 17,000. The decade is memorable throughout the nation as a period of depression, a part of which was marked by acute hard times. Thus the stagnation of San Diego during those trying years was in no sense peculiar to this locality, though it must be confessed that its recovery from depression was somewhat slower than that of other American cities, and even of most of those in California. The new prosperity began almost simultaneously with the new century. It came so gradually and silently as to be almost imperceptible at first. While the enterprising men of the city were not slow to take advantage of it, and to put their energies aggressively at work in carrying it forward, it cannot be said that it took its initiative from their efforts. The tide was rising throughout the world, particularly the world of the Pacific. San Diego rose with the tide. What were the forces behind the tide?

LOUIS J. WILDE

Who was the strongest personal force in turning the tide for San Diego at the beginning of the new century. Coming here in 1903 and proclaiming his faith in the early realization of the city's dream of greatness, he proceeded to inaugurate important enterprises which contributed materially to the city's growth and prosperity

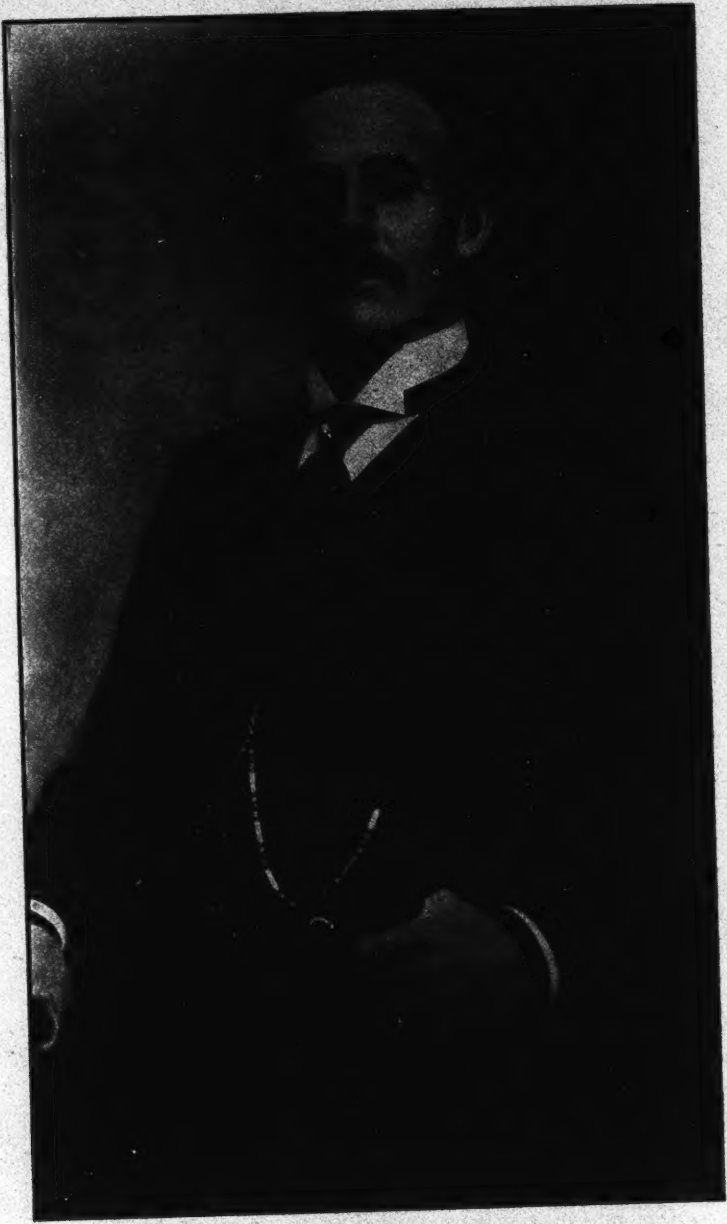
First of all, a series of wars quickened the demand for men and for all sorts of supplies and provisions, putting almost unimaginable sums of money into circulation through all the arteries of trade throughout the world. The Japanese fought the Chinese, the Americans fought the Spanish and the Filipinos, the British fought the Boers, the Japanese fought the Russians, and there were many other armed conflicts of less consequence. While these struggles were remote from San Diego, they set currents in motion which affected commerce and material development everywhere, especially in the regions about the shores of the Pacific Ocean. In the meantime, gold discoveries were made in Alaska and the hunt for the precious metal was renewed with fierce energy in many different parts of the West. Then came the aggressive effort to cut the Isthmus of Panama, and to reclaim the deserts of the West. By this time the wind in the national sails had stiffened to the freshest gale of prosperity in American history.

It was natural that Southern California should collect early and large dividends from this national and even world-wide uplift of good times. Southern California has two strings to its bow—vast material resources of its own to develop, and superlative attractions which drain the profits made in other localities. Beginning in 1901, and steadily increasing with every passing year, the Southland has gone forward with leaps and bounds, developing its resources, gaining population, attracting capital for investment, and enhancing its natural attractions by the most daring creations of the architect and the engineer.

D. C. COLLIER

President of the Ralston Realty Co. A builder of University Heights, projector of magnificent improvements on Point Loma, and participant in other great enterprises; he is a man of creative instinct and substantial achievement

Los Angeles scored an amazing growth in consequence of these conditions, acquiring an impulse which set the entire southern section of the state in motion. If there were those who once



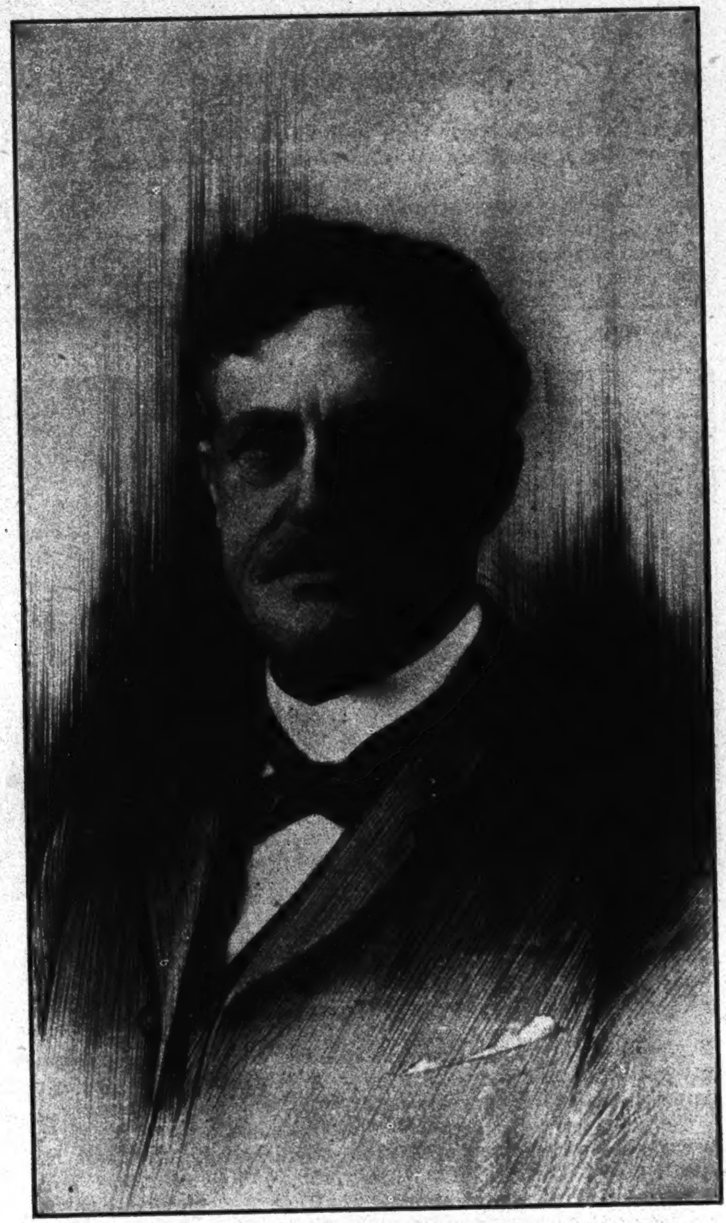
RALPH GRANGER

President of the Merchants National Bank, builder and owner of the Granger Block. The erection of this building in 1904-05, was an important influence in the subsequent growth of the city thought that Los Angeles and San Diego were rivals, and that the prosperity of one could be promoted by injury to the other, recent events have clearly shown the folly of their reasoning. If the Southern Pacific had built to San Diego instead of Los Angeles, or if Scott had been able to extend the Texas & Pacific to this port, it would certainly have altered the fortunes of these two important cities. But that battle was lost long ago. Since then, San Diego has had everything to gain and nothing to lose by the rapid development of Los Angeles and its surroundings.

E. BARTLETT WEBSTER

President of the Bartlett Estate Co. and of the South Park and East Side Railway Co. A leader of aggressive enterprise in transportation and suburban development

Sooner or later, this development must extend its sphere of operations to all eligible points in the South, most surely of all to the region about the lovely Bay of San Diego. This is what happened in the first decade of the new century, and it is now so clearly apparent that Los Angeles capital freely invests in San Diego real estate. Indeed, the marked change of sentiment on this subject may be regarded as the most significant event in San Diego history during the past few years. It is an event



U. S. GRANT, JR.

The building of the great hotel, bearing the name of the soldier president, permanently identified the Grant tradition with the city of San Diego, and is regarded as the crowning service of the son to the community which he chose for his home and his field of activity which has already borne fruit and which will bear more in the future, for it signalizes the end of clannishness in both cities and the beginning of an era of patriotic—one might almost say brotherly—co-operation in the development of the region. Striking illustrations of the tendency are seen in the investment of great sums of Los Angeles capital in land, power, and townsite enterprises in the northern portion of San Diego County, and in similar investments in gem mines, and in the lands of El Cajon Valley. The point has already been reached when any good San Diego enterprise may appeal hopefully to the Los Angeles market. Ten years ago it was very different.

M. W. FOLSOM
President Folsom Brothers Co.

O. W. COTTON
Manager Folsom Brothers Co.

BUILDERS OF PACIFIC BEACH

Coming now to more purely local influences in forming the twentieth century spirit of the San Diegan people, the dramatic events on the Colorado River are worthy of first mention. This is said with full appreciation of the fact that the city has yet realized but meagre dividends from this unexpected development, owing to its lack of railroad facilities. In spite of this fact, real inspiration has been drawn from this source, and if San Diego is to be a very large and prosperous city during the present century it will be because the traffic arising from the use of the Colorado River breaks down the barriers of its isolation and forces the opening of the port to the commerce of the world. A few years ago, the eastern portion of San Diego County was an absolute blank. Neither animal nor human life disturbed its primeval silence. Few gave it a thought, fewer still believed it would ever become an important asset of the country. Today, it is known to all that a region bigger and richer than the country of the Sacramento, or the country of the San Joaquin lies at the back door of San Diego, less than three hours by rail from the water-front—if the rail were there!

ED. FLETCHER FRANK A. SALMONS

Who interested Los Angeles capital in great plans of development along the San Luis Rey, at Del Mar, in El Cajon Valley and the city, thus identifying themselves with land, power, irrigation and transportation enterprises of high importance to the community. Built Fletcher-Salmons Block, Sixth and D Streets, in 1906

Only a few far-sighted men realize the true significance of these conditions, yet, dimly as the public has seen it, the public has yet put forth many efforts during the past few years to stretch a hand of steel from the perfect harbor to the Colorado River. These efforts have been almost pathetic in their eagerness, almost tragic in their repeated disappointment. The first one, at least, was carefully planned and many steps were taken successfully. The author of the plan was Major S. W. Fergusson, a man who ranks among the builders of California. He had a large part in the colonization of Imperial Valley, and it was from the standpoint of the needs of the valley that he approached the railroad proposition. He interested the Chamber of Commerce and secured the appointment of a committee with large powers. This committee raised over $40,000 in cash subscriptions to make complete surveys of a route from San Diego to Yuma. The surveys were made under H. T. Richards, chief engineer, with H. Hawgood as consulting engineer. The road was found entirely feasible, and the cost of construction and equipment estimated at $4,573,850, or $21,780 per mile. Rights of way were obtained over a large portion of the line with the necessary terminal property on the

L. L. BOONE

Located, 1886; Police Judge, 1887-88. Rendered important services in connection with the San Diego & Eastern Railroad Committee; foremost authority on San Diego harbor water-front and franchises from the city. The San Diego-Eastern Railway Company was incorporated with the following officers:

George W. Marston, president; John E. Boal, vice-president; L. L. Boone, secretary; G. W. Fishburn, treasurer; the foregoing and U. S. Grant, Jr., Charles N. Clark, Julius Wagenheim, Homer H. Peters, H. P. Wood, and F. S. Jennings, directors.

HENRY TIMKEN

A type of the class of eastern capitalists who have come to San Diego to make their home and join the ranks of the city's builders

The company approached great railroad financiers, like E. H. Harriman, George J. Gould, Phelps-Dodge & Co., and those in control of the Rock Island system, as well as many other capitalists of lesser note. Again and again, it was believed that the success of the undertaking was assured, but each time some potent influence intervened to prevent it. C. W. French acquired the rights of the company for a time and tried to promote it, but without results. Chief Engineer Richards organized a company of his own with a view of developing a similar project, but at this writing nothing tangible has arisen from his persistent and praiseworthy efforts. These failures did not discourage other attempts, the most notable of which was the movement organized by J. J. Simons for the purpose of having the city vote bonds and construct the road as a municipal work.

It was evident enough to those who followed the course of these futile efforts that the powerful railroad interests of the United States were not ready to co-operate in giving San Diego more facilities of transportation, and that they were not disposed to encourage others to do so, nor even to permit them to do so, if they could prevent it. This sinister influence always lurked in the background, and on some occasions was exposed to the plain view of those engaged in promotion. The inference to be drawn from these facts is by no means discreditable to San Diego. On the contrary, the opposition of these powerful interests is the best evidence of the importance of the port. Nature fashioned it for a strategic point in Pacific Commerce. Its full development in advance of absolute necessity might seri-

CHARLES L. WARFIELD
First President of the Realty Board

F. L. HIEATT
First President of the Commercial Club

ously affect other ports, revolutionize steamship routes, and disturb a condition of equilibrium which has been painfully worked out by the transcontinental systems. Under such circumstances, it is by no means strange that the financial power which so largely rules the destinies of the United States has persistently opposed a direct railroad outlet for San Diego.

Though this opposition has proven effective so far as the actual construction of a railroad is concerned, there can be no question that the San Diego-Yuma project has made decided progress in an educational way, both at home and abroad, and that the day of its realization has been brought nearer in consequence. Neither can there be any doubt that immediate advantage has resulted in other ways. The railroad agitation furnished excellent excuse for a revival, not of the boom, but of an aggressive real estate movement and of organized efforts to obtain new and wide publicity for San Diego and to inaugurate a new era of improvement, public and private. Without

ARTHUR COSGROVE

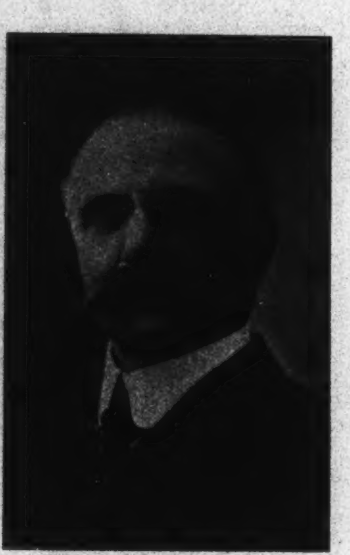
Prominent for many years as a merchant and later as promoter of suburban development

M. HALL

Who stands in the front rank of large real estate operators doubt, much of the present impetus which is carrying the city forward may be traced to the fact that the most enterprising elements were united in the summer of 1901 in what for some time appeared like a hopeful effort to obtain better transportation facilities. In this connection, it seems worth while to mention another great undertaking which was widely exploited throughout the United States, though it has not materialized as yet. This is the Pacific Steel Company, which was incorporated for $100,000,000, and which proposed to build extensive works and employ thousands of men at National City. General H. G. Otis, of Los Angeles, became president of this company, and a great deal has been done looking to the acquisition of coal and iron properties. Whatever the final outcome, it is the testimony of those who have followed the subject most closely that the discussion of the proposition to manufacture steel on the shores of San Diego Bay proved a most valuable advertisement for the city.

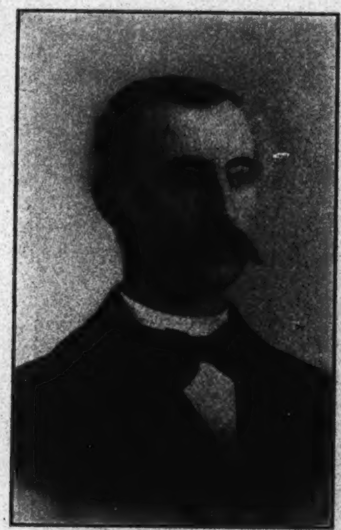
CHARLES L. JOSSELYN

Who has borne an important part in civic, political and real estate movements



I. ISAAC IRWIN

A leader in commercial and public affairs



E. STRAHLMANN

AUGUST SENSENBRENNER

J. P. HADDOCK

MELVILLE KLAUBER

A GROUP OF MERCHANTS

The work of Katherine Tingley and her followers at Point Loma must certainly be acknowledged as one of the contributing factors to the new era of growth. It involved a direct outlay of hundreds of thousands for the purchase and improvement of property, and for the maintenance of a considerable community within the city limits, which increased the volume of local business. It added a unique and interesting feature to the list of attractions for tourists, and lent new color to the social life of the place. Drawing its recruits from many different countries, and distributing its periodical literature throughout the world, its value as an instrument of publicity for the city and its surroundings must be regarded as very large indeed. Moreover, Mrs. Tingley extended her work and investment to the city proper, purchasing the principal theater and establishing branches of the Raja Yoga School there and elsewhere. The fame of the Point Loma institutions has strengthened with each passing year, as the beauty of the spot has increased with each new improvement and with the growth of its trees and flowers, and there can be no doubt that the organization over which

U. S. GRANT HOTEL IN COURSE OF CONSTRUCTION, JUNE, 1907

E. J. CARTER

GRANT CONARD

I. D. ROGERS

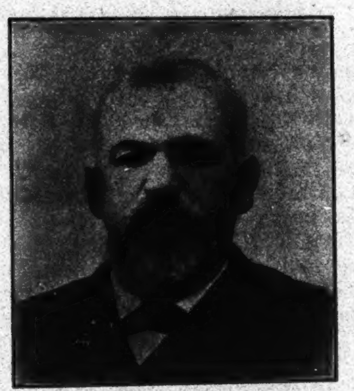
E. J. SWAYNE

A GROUP OF REPRESENTATIVE REAL ESTATE MEN

Mrs. Tingley presides is to be reckoned as a permanent factor in the prosperity of San Diego.

The faith of John D. Spreckels in the future of the city, as evidenced by the widening scope of his enterprises and by the constant extension of his own power in their control, had much influence in strengthening the faith of others. The establishment of Tent City in the summer of 1901, and its continuance in each succeeding summer attracted thousands of people and put large sums of money in circulation. The improvements in the Southern California Mountain Water System were far more important. They solved the problem of water supply for a city of at least 100,000, thereby giving security to every other interest, and largely increasing the possible sphere of real estate operations. The street railway system was also extended wherever conditions justified it. The retirement of E. S. Babcock from various Spreckels companies was a fact of some historical significance. So far as those enterprises were concerned, it marked the passing of one influence which had been powerful in matters of vital public concern for many years, and signalized the growth of another influence and the consequent centralization of control in the hands of a single individual or family. Such is the inevitable tendency of great wealth under intelligent control. If there are those who deplore the tendency on broad economic grounds, there are few who will deny that in John D. Spreckels San Diego has a private monopolist who is kindly, liberal, and reasonably responsive to popular demands. He has done much for the city—much which would not have been done without the aid of private capital, much which private capital in other hands might have done less promptly and wisely.

Two other powerful builders of the city in recent years are Ralph Granger and U. S. Grant, Jr. Both of these men invested large sums in the improvement of the business section at a time when something of the kind was vitally necessary to sustain the forward movement. The erection of the Granger block at the southwest corner of Fifth and D Streets was undertaken at a somewhat critical time, when it was not quite certain that prosperity had come to stay. This large investment in a modern store and office building gave strength to the real estate market and encouraged much other building. Mr. Grant's determination to construct a great hotel on the site of the old Horton House produced a similar effect, but upon a much larger scale. The city had long stood in need of a hotel which should rank with other splendid hostelries in Southern California. The location opposite the Plaza was generally recognized as ideal, and for many years the hope had been enter-



MARCO BRUSCHI

Located, 1869, and one of the city's oldest merchants

A. KLAUBER

Located 1869, and became identified with great mercantile enterprises. Steiner & Klauber, Steiner, Klauber & Company, Klauber & Levi, Klauber Wagenheim & Company—these names have been foremost in the business life of the city for nearly forty years. Chairman Board of Supervisors, 1878-80

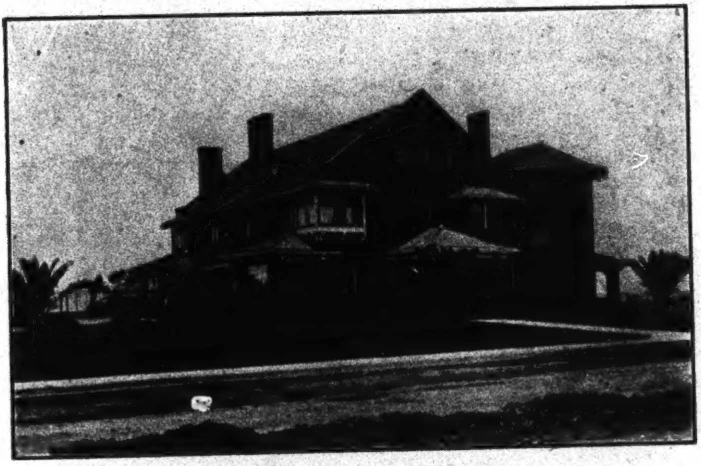
MERCHANTS FOR NEARLY TWO SCORE YEARS

tained that someone would utilize it for this purpose. The undertaking required not only a very large investment, but a generous confidence in the future of the city. Mr. Grant hit upon the happy thought of making the building a monument to his father and thus decided to call it the U. S. Grant Hotel. The destruction of the Horton House began in July, 1905. The first bricks were removed on the evening of July 12th, by Messrs. A. E. Horton, E. W. Morse, and W. W. Bowers, who had participated in laying the corner stone more than thirty years before. These pioneers were cheered by thousands, assembled in the Plaza for the purpose of celebrating "The Freedom of the Isthmus" from the monopoly of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company—a celebration that was somewhat premature so far as practical benefits to San Diego were concerned.

LEVIS BRINTON'S HOUSE
Corner Second and Walnut Streets

The growth of public utilities, the extension of school facilities, and the really remarkable movement in the building of new churches have all been sketched in other pages. These things, of course, were fruits of the new prosperity and of the increased population which came with it. The number of inhabitants was estimated at 35,000 in 1906, and various items of statistics which are available indicate a growth of nearly 100 per cent since the national census of 1900. Thus the postoffice receipts rose in five years from $39,151.85 to $64,190.33; the bank deposits from $1,830,923.60 to $5,388,518.66, and the building permits from $123,285 to about $3,000,000.

The real estate market, which had been dull for years, has shown constantly increasing activity from 1901 to 1906, the annual transfers increasing from 2,716 in the former year to 9,223 in the latter. Much of this activity was due to speculation—precisely how much it would be interesting to know—and in this speculation local citizens took a considerable share. But very much of the buying represented a genuine demand for homes, and much of the investment was that of capital drawn from outside. Never was more persistent, aggressive, and brilliant work done in the interest of an aspiring city than that performed by some of the larger real estate interests during this new era in San Diego. The Ralston Realty Company, of which D. C. Collier is president, and the Folsom Brothers Company, under the management of O. W. Cotton, furnished notable instances of enterprise in this respect. They opened new tracts to development, inaugurated daring plans of improvement, and advertised conspicuously in publications of the widest circulation. The degree of attention thus attracted to San Diego brought benefits in which everybody shared. The operations of the Bartlett Estate Company were also very intelligent and successful. These, as well as other interests of less magnitude, did a kind of work for the city which ranks them among its builders.



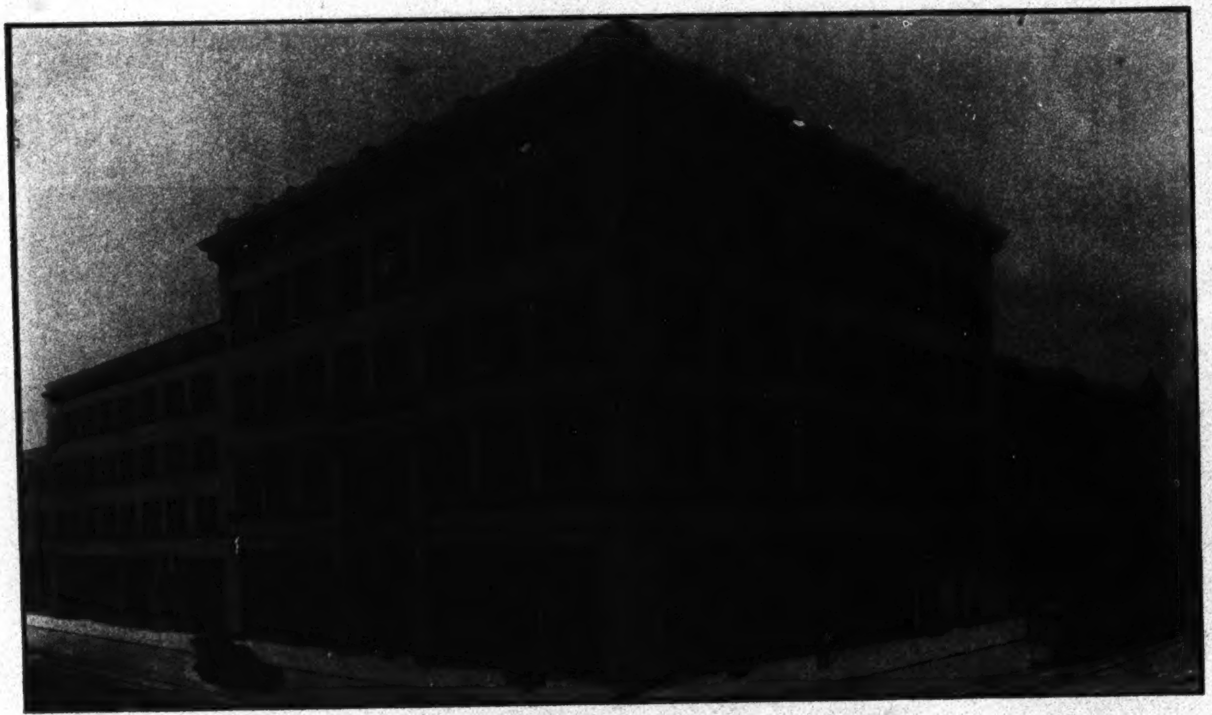
MRS. MITCHELL'S HOUSE, FOURTH AND NUTMEG STREETS

The work accomplished by Ed Fletcher and Frank Salmons in the San Luis Rey region in connection with great investments of Los Angeles capital, while not related directly to the growth of the city, is to be regarded as one of the strong influences in strengthening confidence in its future, both at home and abroad. Furthermore, the development of power on the San Luis Rey will have a very direct relation to the future of manufacture and transportation in the city and its surrounding country, while the elaborate improvements made at Del Mar must increase the vogue of the whole San Diego coast as a summer and winter resort.

Real estate activity and general prosperity engendered a new public spirit, and this furnished the inspiration for many new organizations aiming to improve the conditions of civic life. Of these organizations, none were more useful than a series of neighborhood improvement clubs which began with the homely task of cleaning streets and yards and then went forward to more ambitious undertakings. One section of the city after another took up the work and the results were truly wonderful. Compared with conditions which had formerly prevailed in some localities, San Diego began to appear like a veritable Spotless Town. Many of the clubs have kept alive over a long period, while others wearied after the first enthusiasm passed. Organizations of a different character are the Realty Board, the Commercial Club and the Fifty Thousand Club. They do a useful work of promotion.

Another and different evidence of growth is seen in the liberal character of recent amendments of the city charter. The most important of these provide for the initiative, referendum, and recall. The adoption of these provisions placed San Diego among the two or three most advanced municipalities in the United States in the matter of government. The first use of the initiative was for the purpose of closing the saloons on Sunday, a reform which had been defeated for years by the city council.

San Diego was in the full swing of its new prosperity when the news of the destruction of San Francisco by earthquake and fire was received on the morning of April 18, 1906. In many minds the first thought was not that San Francisco alone, but that all California, had been struck down, and that the end of San Diego's progress had, perhaps, been reached for a time. California had formerly had an "earthquake reputation," which had been patiently lived down after many years. Had it now been re-established in a few short hours of shock and flame, and, if so, would San Diego suffer in consequence? Many feared that such would be the case, and the prices of



CORNER OF SIXTH AND H STREETS

Showing Steele Block and Johnson Building, the latter containing the Sixth Street Bank realty actually went down something like 15 per cent for two or three weeks. The market remained very dull and so continued for two or three months. When the trade returned to its normal condition prices quickly recovered and resumed the upward tendency which they had shown before the disaster.

No community of the United States was more prompt than San Diego in organizing relief activities and sending relief to the stricken people of San Francisco. Under the superb management of Mayor Sehon, committees were set at work, and funds and provisions collected. The sum of $25,000 was immediately contributed in cash, besides large quantities of supplies.

The real prosperity of San Diego during the early years of the new century finds its best illustration not in new hotels and business blocks, not in street railway extensions nor in rising prices of real estate, but in the number and beauty of comfortable little homes which have been built throughout the length and breadth of the city. These have multiplied with surprising rapidity, covering the sunny slopes, extending out upon the mesas, and creeping well down toward the water front. They are the prophecy of the San Diego that is to be.

A GLIMPSE OF SOUTH PARK

JNO. S. HAWLEY

Formerly a manufacturing confectioner in New York City; now a resident of San Diego.

F. T. SCRIPPS

Owner of the newest, most modern fireproof building, whose confidence in and foresight concerning San Diego's future has been shown by his success and investments.

F. T. SCRIPPS BUILDING

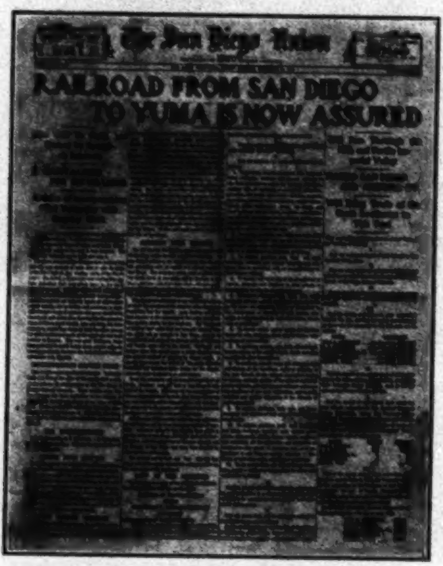
Sixth and C Streets

The construction of this building in 1907 marked the advance of the business district to the north and was a powerful factor in influencing the growth of Sixth Street as a commercial avenue of the first class.

CHAPTER VI

JOHN D. SPRECKELS SOLVES THE RAILROAD PROBLEM

THE foregoing chapter, written in the early days of December, 1906, reflected the condition of San Diego as it was up to the morning of Friday, the 14th day of that month. Then a dramatic thing occurred which changed the entire aspect of affairs. Having gone to bed the night before without the slightest hint of any forthcoming announcement, the whole city awoke to behold the following front page of the *San Diego Union*:



The San Diego Union

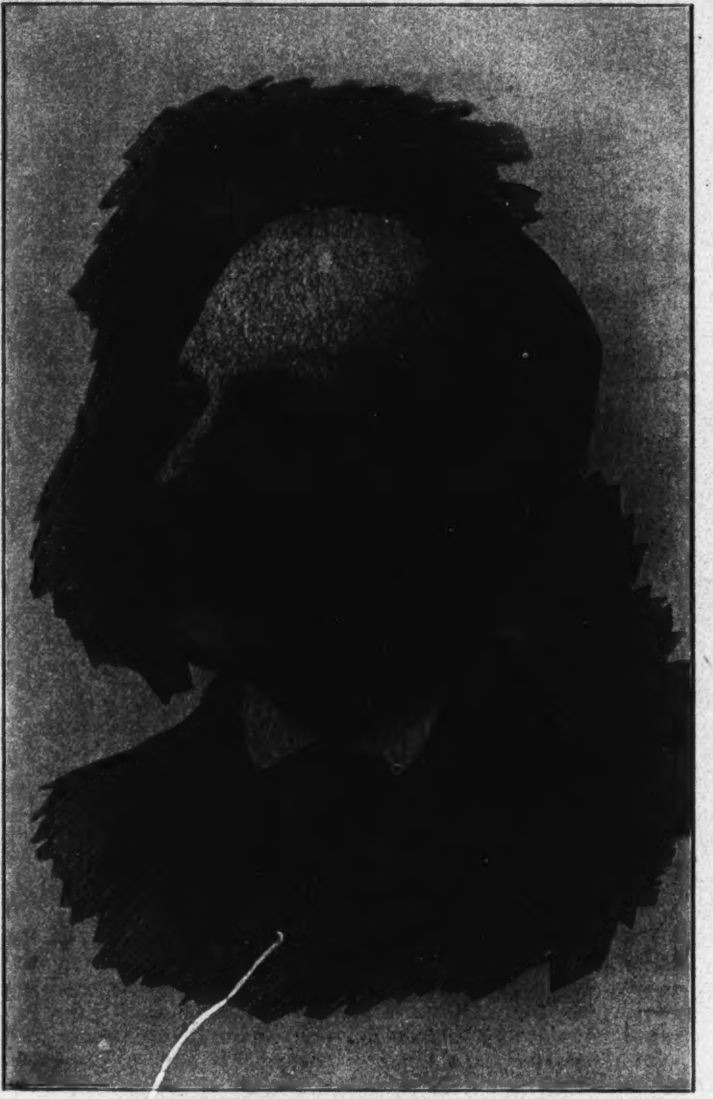
RAILROAD FROM SAN DIEGO TO YUMA IS NOW ASSURED

FRONT PAGE OF SAN DIEGO *UNION*, DEC. 14, 1906

None but a San Diegan can comprehend what this meant to the future growth of the city, nor what it suggested in the way of immediate gain to owners of real estate. The ambition for a direct eastern outlet dates back to the early thirties, more than three-quarters of a century. The first organized effort, expressed in the incorporation of the "San Diego & Gila," began in 1854. The success of the citizens in securing the extension of the Santa Fé system during the eighties did not meet the demand for a direct eastern outlet, and was disappointing in other respects. The great effort begun in the summer of 1901, and persistently pushed in every channel of possible relief, had apparently accomplished nothing more than educational results. The year of 1906 had indeed been one of the most prosperous in San Diego history, yet as the year drew toward its close the prospect of a direct eastern railroad outlet appeared as remote as at any time during the previous decade. In fact, the most recent developments went far to convince the public that the city was helpless in the grasp of a transportation monopoly which could defeat, and meant to defeat, as it had defeated, every aspiration in that direction.

From this situation the city was suddenly delivered by the mandate of the one man who had sufficient capital of his own to build the road, and sufficient interests at stake to justify him in doing so. And it is a high tribute to the character and reputation of John D. Spreckels to say that his simple word was accepted by all as a sufficient guaranty of the performance. The authoritative announcement of his purpose in his own newspaper constituted a contract with the entire San Diego public and the public accepted it as such. The *San Diegan-Sun*, which is entirely independent of the Spreckels interests and has opposed them on many occasions, unquestionably voiced the sentiment of the entire community when it said:

> The *Sun* feels at liberty to say what the *Union* and *Tribune*, through modesty enforced by personal ownership, are unable to say, that San Diego today lifts its hat and gives voice to an unrestrained cheer for John D. Spreckels. To Mr. Spreckels is frankly given the credit for securing to San Diego what has long been San Diego's most urgent need—a railway direct to the East.
>
> While as a matter of course the fact is generally appreciated that the road is not yet built, and that so far only incorporation papers have been filed, this move made by Mr. Spreckels and announced by Mr. Spreckels's newspaper, is accepted by San Diegans unanimously as meaning, substantially and capably, that all necessary preliminary plans have been perfected by Mr. Spreckels, and that the railway line now incorporated will be constructed as rapidly as a work of such gigantic proportions can be executed.



JOHN DIEDRICH SPRECKELS

Whose identification with the business interests of San Diego began with the organization of the Spreckels Bros. Commercial Company in 1886. He acquired the interest of W. W. Story in the Coronado Beach Company and its allied corporations in 1887, and, later, became sole owner of the properties. In 1892 he and his brother, Adolph B. Spreckels, acquired the street railway system, and in 1895 he purchased a half interest in the Otay Water Company, which evolved into the Southern California Mountain Water Company with its extensive reservoirs and system of distribution. The Spreckels family is now virtually the exclusive owner of all these great business interests, together with a morning and evening newspaper and valuable real estate in city and country. Such vast investments in San Diego and its environs amply warranted the course of Mr. Spreckels in entering upon his latest and greatest undertaking, the construction of a direct eastern railroad outlet from the seaport to the rich valley of the Colorado River, and beyond.

> Big enterprises undertaken and successfully accomplished by Mr. Spreckels here and in the central portion of the State give warrant to the conclusion that the plans now announced will be carried to equal success, and that the eastern outlet so long hoped for will be realized as speedily as possible.
>
> It will not be necessary to explain to old San Diegans what the construction of such a road will mean to this city and country, for all this has been figured out many times. It is doubtful, however, if even the closest student of the situation can appreciate the final limit of the results of such an enterprise, as it is given to no one to see all the details of the future. One result plainly visible is that this move will break, and break forever, the antagonistic power of the combined railway interests, which for years has been exerted against San Diego. Not only will this adverse influence be broken, but it will be forced under the new conditions to become a friendly factor in the upbuilding of this port.
>
> This turn in affairs will be realized no matter what corporate relations Mr. Spreckels may establish. If he engages in the business independently, as he and his brother and father did at the inauguration of the San Joaquin enterprise, then it will follow that the Southern Pacific will be forced to build here to protect itself from competition.
>
> If Mr. Spreckels allies himself with the Southern Pacific and if the road to be built by Mr. Spreckels is to become a part of the Harriman system, then the Santa Fé will be compelled to come across lots from Arizona to secure a portion of the trade of Imperial Valley and a shorter route to this port.
>
> If Mr. Spreckels allies himself with the Santa Fé, then it will be for the Southern Pacific to follow, and without doubt it will follow and follow in a hurry.
>
> Looked at in any way possible it means that the railway combine against San Diego is broken at last, and looked at in some ways it appears to be plain that the building of one road will eventually be followed by the almost immediate construction of another.
>
> With these prospects assured, San Diegans have a right to lift their hats to John D. Spreckels.

The articles of incorporation of the San Diego and Arizona Railway Company bore the date of June 14, 1906, although they were not filed with the county clerk until six months later. They provided for the construction of a railroad from San Diego "in a general easterly direction by the most practicable route to a point at or near Yuma, in the Territory of Arizona." The incorporators were John D. Spreckels, A. B. Spreckels, John D. Spreckels, Jr., William Clayton, and Harry L. Titus. The capital stock was fixed at $6,000,000, of which $200,000 were paid in at the time of incorporation. The announcement in the *Union* was quickly followed by two substantial acts of good faith on the part of Mr. Spreckels. One of these was the filing of condemnation suits as a means of obtaining right of way through some of the most valuable property in the lower part of the city;

the other was the announcement that the entire sum of money collected by the San Diego and Eastern Railroad Committee in 1901, and expended in the effort to promote the project, would be repaid by the San Diego and Arizona Railway Company. In both instances, Mr. Spreckels insisted on paying for what the citizens would doubtless have offered as a free gift in the form of a subsidy. Indeed, they would doubtless have supplemented all this with much richer subsidies in the way of cash and land. Mr. Spreckels preferred to be absolutely independent and free of obligations alike to the public and to private individuals. Thus it happened that hundreds of people who had contributed to the railroad fund five years previously received a most unexpected Christmas present in addition to the assurance of a new railroad.

G. A. D'HEMECOURT

Located, 1894; city engineer 1900-1907; later, connected with engineering department of San Diego & Arizona Railway

It is most interesting to note that San Diego is perhaps indebted for its good fortune to the calamity which befell San Francisco on April 18, 1906. Mr. Spreckels and his family were San Francisco refugees, though they fled from the burning city in their own steamer and found shelter in their own magnificent Hotel del Coronado. Mr. Spreckels had been very ill a few weeks before and had planned to go abroad for a prolonged stay. The destruction of San Francisco changed his plans and he came to San Diego to remain for months. During those months the railroad project took shape in his mind, so that it may be said that as San Diego lost a railroad by the unforeseen event of the great panic in 1873, so it gained a railroad by the unforeseen disaster at the Golden Gate in 1906. As its history was powerfully influenced in the wrong direction by the earlier event, so it will be powerfully influenced in the right direction by the later event.

While unstinted praise is given to Mr. Spreckels for the consummation of the railroad hopes, the labors of many others over a long period of years should not be forgotten. These efforts did not produce tangible results, but they were not thrown away. Every article written in favor of the direct eastern outlet, every meeting held in its behalf, every movement set on foot to that end, from the days of Frémont to the days of Spreckels, contributed something to the final result. The cause that has faithful friends is never lost. The cause that can endure through more than two generations, and inspire the enthusiasm of a community when failures have been so numerous as to pass into a proverb known throughout the state—such a cause can know only triumph in the end. It was this triumph which came to the people on the memorable fourteenth of December, 1906, and which brought San Diego to the threshold of 1907 with rare exaltation in its heart.

An old epoch had closed; a new epoch had dawned.

PART SIXTH

Institutions of Civic Life

CHAPTER I

CHURCHES AND RELIGIOUS LIFE

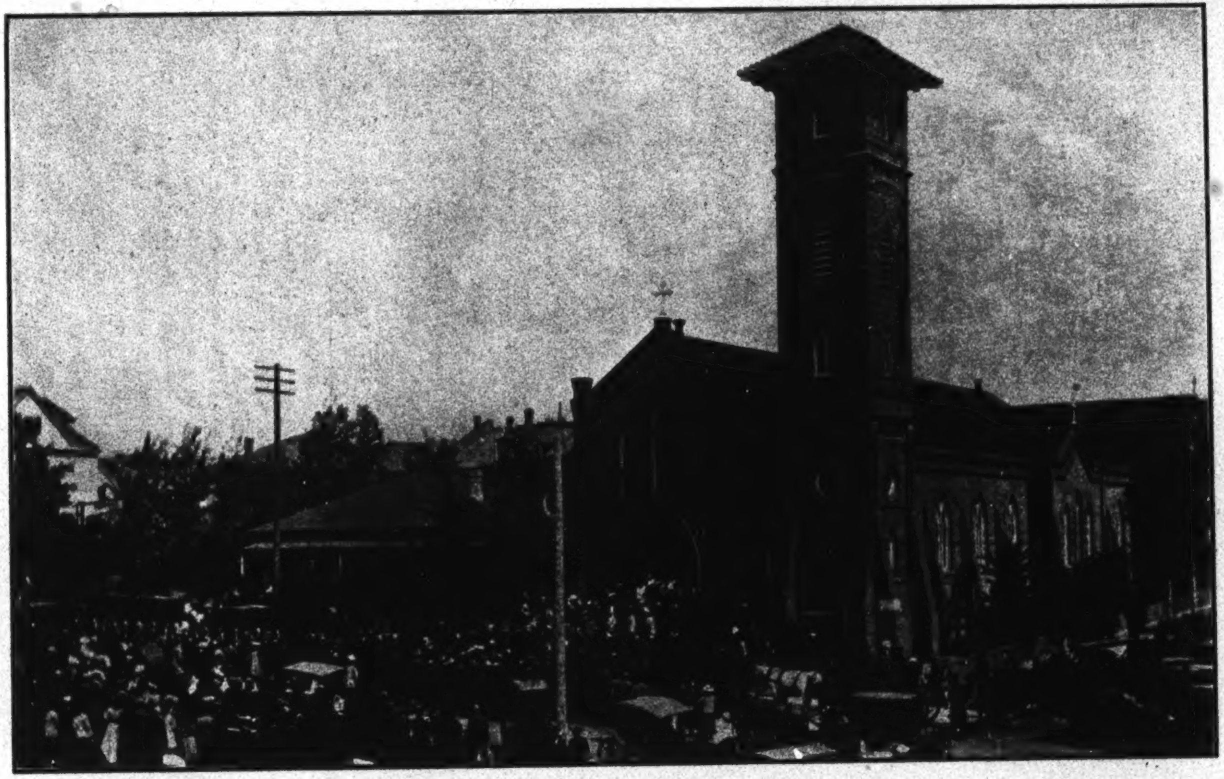
THE organized religious life of San Diego began in 1769 and has been continuously maintained down to the present time. It was begun, of course, by the Roman Catholics, whose congregation at Old San Diego was served by priests from the mission until the latter was abandoned, when a resident priest was supplied.

The first priest whose name appears in the records was Father Vicente Oliva, from the mission. He left in 1847 and was succeeded by Father Juan Holbein. A room in the house of José Estudillo was at first used as a place of worship. On September 29, 1851, the cornerstone of a church building was laid, on a lot given by the city trustees. Father Holbein made himself obnoxious to the Masons, who were strong at Old Town, by forbidding the members of his flock to attend their ceremonies, or even to go into the street while a Masonic procession was passing, on pain of excommunication. The *Herald* says that he was otherwise illiberal, and interfered with the education of the Old Town children. It appears the school trustees distributed a circular announcing the opening of their school, and Father Holbein, from his pulpit, with one of these circulars in hand, forbade his members to send their children to this school. This and his attitude toward the Masons gave offense to the American population. He left in September, 1853, and was succeeded by Father Marincovich, who only remained a few days. In 1856 the priest was Father Meinrich, and a year later Father Jaime Vila was in charge. Father Juan Molinier came soon after, and under his pastorate a new church was built. The church was consecrated with high mass on November 21, 1858. The San Diego Guards assisted and fired a salute, and a dinner was given by José Antonio Aguirre, who had contributed largely to the building and equipment of the church.

This church is still standing, in the southerly outskirts of Old Town. It was built of adobes, but a few years later these were enclosed with weatherboarding. It is the Church of the Immaculate Conception, and is still used for services on Sunday, when priests attend from New San Diego. In it are kept some vestments, images and other articles which were used at a very early

FATHER ANTONIO D. UBACH

The famous priest of San Diego from 1866 until his death in March, 1907. (For biographical sketch see page 175



ST. JOSEPH'S CHURCH

On the day of Father Ubach's funeral, April 3, 1907 day in the mission. A number of Indians still attend this church —a little remnant of the once great band of mission neophytes. Outside hang two bells which have an interesting history. They were confiscated by Charles V. of Spain from the churches in Bohemia, and found their way here through Mexico early in the last century. They bear the following inscriptions: "Ave Maria Porimus, 1802"; on one is added "San José, H.," and on the other, "Sivan Nepomnceus, 1822."

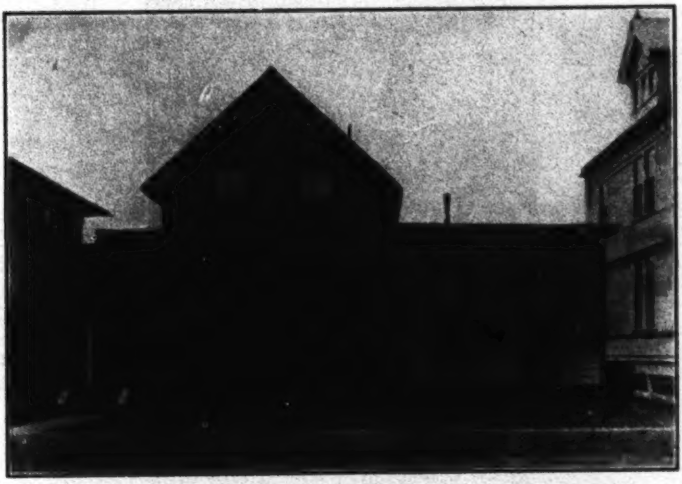
After Father Molinier, Father Vicente Llover was *cura* for a time. In 1866, Father Antonio D. Ubach came to San Diego and took charge of the congregation until his recent death. Soon after coming, he undertook the erection of a new brick church at Old Town, but Horton's Addition drew the population away and he was never able to complete it. The cornerstone was laid on July 18, 1869, and the foundation stands, as mentioned in *Ramona*, on the east side of the main street, in a good state of preservation.

Early in the seventies, a large part of the congregation having removed thither, Father Ubach organized St. Joseph's Church in Horton's Addition. The first place of worship was Rosario Hall. The church building, at the corner of Third and Beech, was dedicated January 31, 1875, by Rev. Francis Mora. It was a small wooden building, which is still standing in the rear of the new brick structure. At the time of its erection, it was considered a fine building, and was spoken of by the newspapers as being situated "on the mesa, west of town." The new brick church was completed and dedicated in 1894. It is a commodious and imposing structure. The parsonage adjoins it on the north.

The church on Golden Hill, called "Our Lady Queen of the Angels," was organized in 1905 by Father William Quinlan. A fine church building is being erected for it. The Sisters of St. Joseph opened the Academy of Our Lady of Peace in 1884, in a building erected by Mr. Horton on block 12 of his Addition, which they have conducted successfully ever since and is in a prosperous condition. St. Joseph's Hospital and Sanitarium was opened in June, 1890, by the Sisters of Mercy. It has large and beautiful grounds on University Avenue and Sixth Street, where a building was erected in 1891. The original building has been greatly enlarged, and there is a chapel and other buildings. The grounds are beautifully improved. The sanitarium is nonsectarian, and here a large number of invalids and aged people find a comfortable home and good care.

EPISCOPAL

The first Protestant denomination to obtain a foothold in San Diego was the Episcopalian. The Reverend John Reynolds, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, was appointed chaplain of the Post at San Diego, on December 31, 1850, and was army chaplain for the troops stationed at the mission until August 31, 1854. On July 4, 1853, the *Herald* announced that "hereafter the Rev. Dr. John Reynolds . . . chaplain of the U. S. Army, will conduct divine service at the court house, and for the first time we have Protestant church services in our town of San Diego." The very first service at Old Town was held at 3 P.M., on July 10, 1853. The details of these early meetings are meager, but the *Herald* and "John Phoenix" supply some local color. The paper complained that "an audience of over a dozen is rarely seen at the court house, where Dr. Reynolds preaches on Sunday, while the Sabbath calm is broken in upon by the riot of the inebriated, and the very words of holy writ are drowned by the clicking of billiard balls and calls for cocktails from the adjacent saloon." Derby's references to Dr. Reynolds are almost entirely in a joking way, and not to be taken seriously.

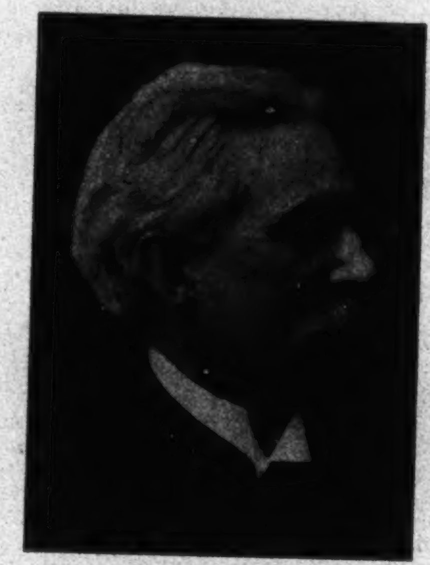


THE FIRST CHURCH BUILDING IN NEW SAN DIEGO

Erected by the Episcopalians in May, 1869, on the northeast corner of Sixth and C Streets. It now stands on Eighth Street immediately adjoining St. Paul's rectory

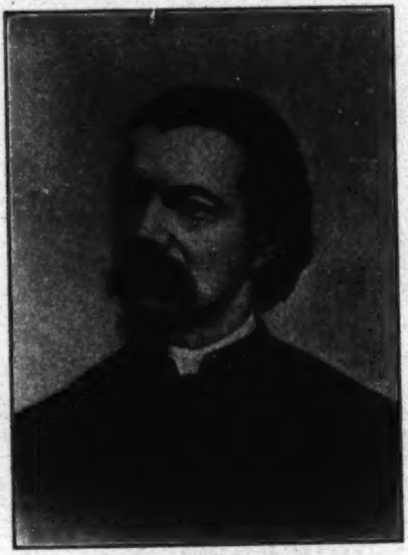
Dr. Reynolds had been rector of the Episcopal Church at Stockton, and was well spoken of by the newspapers of that place. He was about sixty years of age, and was large and stout. Lieutenant Adam J. Slemmer, U. S. A., married his daughter. Dr. Reynolds removed to the Atlantic States about August, 1854.

After this, there were no regular Protestant services at Old Town, until after Horton came. Ministers occasionally came along and preached a sermon or two. The best remembered of these occasional sermons was that of Bishop Kip. He had been given charge of the Diocese of California and set sail, with his family. Coming up from Panama on the *Golden Gate*, the steamer was disabled, as has been related, and ran aground while trying to leave port. At this time the Bishop and his family were the guests of Don Juan Bandini for a week. His first service within his Episcopal jurisdiction was the burial, in the Protestant cemetery near Old Town, of some passengers who had died



DANIEL CLEVELAND

Located, 1869; attorney Texas & Pacific Railroad, 1876-85. One of the founders of the Bank of San Diego, 1870. Prominently identified with St. Paul's Parish from its organization, 1869, and for nearly thirty years senior warden; lay reader since 1871; delegate from Diocese of California to General Convention, 1889, 1901. Has been president Society of Natural History, Coronado Beach Summer School, University Extension Society, San Diego Art Association, and Southern California Society of Sons of American Revolution on the voyage. On the following Sunday, January 22, 1854, he preached in the court house at Old Town. On this occasion Lieutenant George H. Derby acted as clerk, read the responses, and led the singing. These two afterward became intimate friends. The Bishop said (to Daniel Cleveland). that, had he known at the time that the little man who assisted him so reverently and efficiently in this service was "John Phoenix," he would not have felt so comfortable and assured in the service as he then felt.



REV. SIDNEY WILBUR

Who organized the first Protestant Church and was the first regular minister in San Diego

Rev. Sidney Wilbur arrived in San Diego in October, 1868, and proceeded immediately to arrange for services at new San Diego. The old government barracks had been long unused and were very dirty, but he courageously undertook to make them fit for the purpose. With the aid of an Indian, he cleaned and washed a portion of the large hall, and on November 8, 1868, held his first service in it. Having borrowed a melodeon, he played it himself, in addition to rendering the church service and preaching. He continued to hold services here for some time, and his work aroused so much interest that he was able to organize a parish early in 1869. Mr. Horton gave two lots on the northeast corner of Sixth and C Streets, and in May a church building was erected upon these lots, with money donated by the Episcopalians of San Francisco. This was the first church building of any kind in new San Diego. It now stands on the west side of Eighth Street, next door south of St. Paul's rectory and is used as a residence. It was built with two stories, and while the services were held on the lower floor, Mr. Wilbur and family made their home on the second floor. It was used for church purposes until about November, 1869, when it was removed and another building, known as Trinity Hall, erected on the same spot. This second building was removed, in April, 1871, to two lots on the southeast corner of Fourth and C Streets, now covered by the Brewster Hotel, which lots Mr. Horton had in the meantime conveyed to the society in exchange for the lots on Sixth and C Streets.

In August, 1886, the two parish lots on the Brewster Hotel site were sold and two lots on the southeast corner of Eighth and C Streets purchased. The church and rectory were built in 1887 and first occupied at Easter in that year. The first cost of the buildings was about $13,000, and considerable money has been expended on them since.

The first parish meeting was held November 26, 1869. Rev. Sidney Wilbur, Daniel Cleveland, Oliver T. Ladue, E. D. Switzer, J. S. Buck, C. P. Rudd, K. J. Ware, George E. Nottage, Daniel Stewart, and John T. Hawley were present, and were chosen as the first vestrymen. The name of the organization was the Parish of the Holy Trinity. Of these organizers, Rev. Mr. Wilbur yet living in San Francisco, and Daniel Cleveland in San Diego, are the only survivors. Others who acted as vestrymen and were active at an early day, were: Charles S. Hamilton, John P. Young (now manager of the *San Francisco Chronicle*), Wm. J. McCormick, Dr. Thomas C. Stockton, Dr. W. W. Royal, and Mr. Lake. Daniel Cleveland acted as senior warden for almost thirty years.

On January 22, 1887, new articles of incorporation were adopted and filed, by which the name of the parish was changed to St. Paul's.

Rev. Mr. Wilbur resigned on December 1, 1870, and was succeeded by Rev. Dr. Kellogg, of Cleveland, Ohio, who served about two months. In January, 1871, upon request of the vestry, Daniel Cleveland was licensed to act as lay reader, and he has acted frequently in that capacity since, at times when there was no rector. In February, 1872, Rev. J. F. Bowles became the rector, and remained a few months. In the following October, Rev. Hobart Chetwood came and remained until February, 1876.

During his pastorate the parish was harmonious and prosperous. His successor was Rev. Henry J. Camp, who remained until May, 1881. There was then an interregnum filled by the lay reader, until July 25, 1882, when Rev. Henry B. Restarick arrived to take charge of the parish.

Mr. Restarick was a young man, energetic and tactful, and soon infused new life into the congregation. He found about 20 communicants; when he left, twenty years later, there were over 400 communicants, plenty of funds and a large number of activities. A fine new parish church and rectory had been built, and four other church buildings—two in San Diego, one with a rectory at National City, and one at Bostonia—had been erected and paid for through his labors. From the time of his ordination to the priesthood in Iowa, in June, 1882, until his election and consecration as Bishop of Honolulu, in 1902, he had only one parish—St. Paul's, San Diego. He was consecrated bishop in his own parish church, July 2, 1902.

HENRY B. RESTARICK

For twenty years rector of St. Paul's Church; created Bishop of Honolulu in 1902

REV. CHARLES L. BARNES

The present rector of St. Paul's Church

Rev. Charles L. Barnes was chosen to succeed Mr. Restarick, and is still the incumbent.

The working organizations of St. Paul's are: Woman's Auxiliary to the Board of Missions, the Guild, a Chapter of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, etc.

St. James's Mission on Logan Heights was founded by Bishop Restarick in 1888. Services were first held in a store building on Logan Avenue near Twenty-fourth. In 1891, two lots were purchased at Twenty-sixth Street and Kearney Avenue, and a church building erected. The building was consecrated as a mission and later became an independent church. The rectors, beginning in 1889, have been: Messrs. Sanderson, S. H. Ilderton, James R. De Wolfe Cowie, F. W. Chase, A. L. Mitchell, F. A. Zimmerman, Alfred R. Taylor, and Alfred Kinsley Glover, who is still in charge.

All Saints Mission, corner Sixth and Thornton Streets, is another of Bishop Restarick's foundations. Rev. J. A. M. Richey is its rector.

St. Peter's Mission Hall, Coronado, was organized in 1887 by Bishop Restarick. The church at National City is called St. Matthew's and that at South San Diego, St. Mark's. At La Jolla there is a small congregation, which recently began to hold services, with Mr. Cleveland as lay reader.

METHODISTS

The activity of the growing settlement at Horton's Addition brought about the organization of congregations of a number of the principal Protestant denominations at nearly the same time. The Methodists were a close second to the Episcopalians, in point of time. The pioneer minister of this denomination was Rev. G. W. B. McDonald, who came January 12, 1869, and at once organized a church and Sunday-school with about 20 members. Prior to that date, meetings had been held at the homes of members, led by H. H. Dougherty, who came to San Diego October 10, 1868. Mr. McDonald was a native of Nova Scotia. He spent his remaining days in San Diego and was an active and useful citizen. He died February 8, 1886, aged 65.

Following Mr. McDonald, Rev. I. H. Cox acted as supply until October, 1869, when he was relieved by Rev. D. A. Dryden, who was the first regularly appointed minister to take charge of the congregation. The formal organization was made in January, 1870, at which time a church building was dedicated, free from debt, on the northeast corner of D and Fourth Streets, on two lots given by Mr. Horton. It is said that Mr. Dryden made the pulpit and chair with his own hands. This building is still standing, at No. 646 India Street, to which place it was removed when the new brick church building was erected. It was used as a barracks for the volunteers during the Spanish War, and is now occupied by the American Televue Company.

FIRST METHODIST CHURCH

Erected on the corner of Ninth and C Streets in 1906

The first board of trustees consisted of: G. W. B. McDonald, R. D. Case, J. M. Young, C. B. Richards, N. W. Hensley, J. W. Gale, A. E. Horton, E. Aylesworth, and W. F. Pettit. The dedication took place on February 13, 1870, and the sermon was preached by Rev. M. C. Briggs, D.D., of Santa Clara. This church was removed, as stated, in 1887, and a three-story brick block erected on the site, for the combined uses of the church and as a business block. At the time of its erection and for several years after, this was one of the most substantial and useful buildings in the city. The first floor and the front of the second and third floors are rented for business offices, and the rear of the second and third stories contains the auditorium. This new church was dedicated on February 26, 1888, Rev. R. S. Cantine, of Los Angeles, preaching the dedicatory sermon.

Recently, the congregation outgrew these quarters, and the building was sold in 1905 and plans prepared for a new church. The cornerstone of a new building was laid July 1, 1906, Bishop John W. Hamilton, of Mexico, delivering the principal address. The new church is the most magnificent in the city, and has cost about $65,000. The lots, on the northwest corner of Ninth and C Streets, are worth about $35,000.

This congregation has been, from the beginning, a strong and active element in the religious life of the community. Among the ministers who have served at different times are found the following names: G. W. B. McDonald, I. H. Cox, D. A. Dryden, H. H. Dougherty, W. Inch (who died February 12, 1871), J. R. Tasey, James Wickes, G. S. Hickey, T. S. Houts, M. M. Bovard, J. L. Mann, A. H. Tevis, P. Y. Cool, A. M. Bunker, T. S. Uren, E. S. Chase, M. F. Colburn, L. M. Hartley, R. L. Bruce, A. M. Gibbons, and the present incumbent, Dr. Lewis Guild.

The Central M. E. Church, at the corner of Twenty-sixth Street and Harrison Avenue, was established January 12, 1887, with a membership of 12, under care of Rev. J. I. Foote. The cornerstone was laid July 31, 1887, Bishop Fowler officiating. Among the pastors have been: D. H. Gillan, J. Pittenger, and C. M. Christ. The present pastor is Rev. Bede A. Johnson. There is a parsonage, and the congregation is a prosperous one.

There is a prosperous German M. E. Church, in its own building at Sixteenth and I Streets. This church was organized in 1887 and the building was first used on April 4, 1888. The first pastor was Rev. L. C. Pfaffinger. Succeeding him, L. E. Schneider, F. A. Werth, and Mr. Schroeder served. The present pastor is Rev. Frederick Bonn.

A Scandinavian M. E. Church was organized in 1880.

The African M. E. Church was organized in 1888, with a membership of 9. Rev. W. H. Hillery was the first pastor, and after him appear the names of W. E. De Claybrook and Rev. Price

Haywood. Their place of worship is at No. 1645 Front Street.

The Bethel African M. E. Church meets on Union Street near H. Among the pastors are Rev. George A. Bailey and W. M. Viney.

The Coronado M. E. Church was organized in 1887, with 20 members. The congregation has a good property. The first pastor was Rev. Silas S. Sprowles, who was succeeded by Rev. A. Inwood.

The First Free Methodist Church was organized in the summer of 1897 by Rev. C. B. Ebey and wife, W. H. Tucker and wife, F. F. Allen and wife, Virginia M. Walters, and Maggie A. Nickle. Meetings had been held the previous year at the Helping Hand Mission, and immediately prior to the organization in a tent on the corner of Eighth and G Streets. A church building was erected in 1899, on the same site, which was dedicated on January 1, 1900, by Rev. E. P. Hart, of Alameda. The first pastor was Rev. W. G. Lopeman, and following him were Revs. C. B. Ebey, James Seals, E. G. Albright, John B. Roberts, and

FIRST FREE METHODIST CHURCH

Corner of Front and Beech Streets

J. Q. Murray. A lot on the corner of Front and Beech Streets was purchased in 1900, and the church building moved to that location. During the pastorate of Mr. Roberts, a parsonage was built adjoining the church.

The Methodist Episcopal Church South has a strong and active organization. In 1871, Bishop John C. Keener purchased for the Society two lots on the southeast corner of Seventh and D Streets. A few years later, Rev. John Wesley Allen was appointed pastor for San Diego, and arrived November 23, 1882. The first service was held on the 26th of the same month, in Hubbell's Hall. The congregation then worshipped in the old Masonic Hall until their church building was ready. The cornerstone of this building was laid on the first day of January, 1884. The new edifice was called "Keener Chapel." It was dedicated May 11, 1884, Rev. W. B. Stradley, of Los Angeles, preaching the dedicatory sermon. The greater part of the funds for this building was provided by the Board of Church Extension, and the congregation began its work out of debt. The lots were afterward exchanged for one on the southeast corner of Eighth and C Streets, and the chapel was removed to the new location and at the same time considerably improved, as well as being provided with a parsonage.

Mr. Allen remained until November, 1884, when he was sent to Santa Barbara and succeeded by W. W. Welsh. Then followed R. Pratt, E. T. Hodges, James Healey, R. W. Bailey, J. F. C. Finley, James Healey again, W. H. Dyer, A. C. Bane, R. W. Rowland, S. W. Walker, C. S. Perry, C. S. McCausland, R. P. Howett, M. P. Sharborough, and S. E. Allison, the present incumbent. Mr. Allison is a native of Georgia, and served in the Texan and New Mexican Conferences before coming here. He was transferred to the Los Angeles Conference in 1900, and came to San Diego in 1905. The total enrollment of this church organization is 493, and the present membership about 125.

BAPTISTS

Although the Methodists began holding services in private houses earlier, the Baptists were before them in the organization of a congregation and the building of a church edifice, being second only to the Episcopalians. The first congregation was organized by Rev. C. F. Weston on June 5, 1869. He had been preaching at the government barracks since the preceding February. At this organization, W. S. Gregg and Dr. Jacob Allen were chosen deacons and E. W. S. Cole, clerk. The church building was commenced in August and opened for worship October 3, Rev. Mr. Morse preaching the first sermon in it. This building was on Seventh Street near F, on a lot given by Mr. Horton. He also gave the young congregation a church bell—the first one ever used in new San Diego. The formal dedication took place on the 31st of the same month, and Rev. B. S. McLafferty, of Marysville, preached the sermon. Mr. McLafferty was called to take charge of the congregation, and arrived for that purpose on December 18, 1869. The present church building, on Tenth and E Streets, was built in 1888, and cost $32,000. The First Baptist Church was incorporated on August 19, 1887.

Mr. McLafferty remained in San Diego a year and a half. Resigning in January, 1873, he was succeeded by O. W. Gates, who remained eight years. Then followed Revs. A. J. Sturtevant, one year; Edwin C. Hamilton, one year; W. H. Stenger, two years; A. Chapman, two months; E. P. Smith, two months; W. F. Harper, from 1888 to 1893 (during which time the new church was built); A. E. Knapp, 1893 to 1900. The present pastor, Rev. W. B. Hinson, took charge the first Sunday in June, 1900, coming direct from Vancouver, B. C., and has remained ever since. The church has a membership of nearly 700 and is strong and active.

OLD BAPTIST CHURCH

This building was erected in the autumn of 1869, and is still standing on its original site on Seventh, between F and G Streets

Among its activities, the First Baptist Church maintains a number of missions. One was organized at Old Town in 1888, in charge of H. S. Hanson, and maintained for some years. It is noteworthy that this was the only Protestant religious organization ever made in Old Town. Missions were also organized several years ago at National City, Coronado and Chollas Valley. The Grand Avenue Baptist Church, on Grand Avenue between Twenty-ninth and Thirtieth Streets, was organized in 1889 as a mission of the First Church.

FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH

Erected in 1888 on the northwest corner of Tenth and E Streets

Other Baptist organizations are the Baptist Scandinavian Church, organized in 1888. On the corner of Nineteenth and H Streets, is the Swedish Baptist Church. The Second Baptist Church (colored) was organized in 1888, with a membership of thirty, by Rev. T. F. Smith. Their place of worship is on B Street, between Front and First, and among the pastors have been: M. E. Sykes, J. H. Clisby, and M. A. Mitchell.

REV. W. B HINSON

Who has been pastor of the First Baptist Church since June, 1900, and who ranks among the leading pulpit orators of California

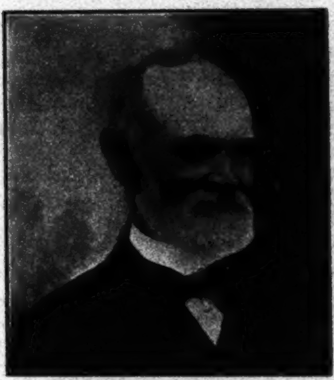
PRESBYTERIANS

The First Presbyterian Church was organized June 7, 1869—only two days after the Baptists, by Rev. Thomas Fraser, missionary of the Synod of the Pacific. There were 13 members, and Charles Russell Clarke, David Lamb, and Samuel Merrill were elected elders. The first pastor was Rev. J. S. McDonald. He began his labors in April, 1870. The services were held in private houses until Mr. McDonald's arrival, and after that in Horton's Hall. Mr. Horton gave the society two lots on the southwest corner of Eighth and D Streets, and on these a building was soon after erected, and dedicated June 18, 1871, Rev. W. A. Scott, of San Francisco, preaching the dedicatory sermon. In 1888, the present church building was erected and furnished, at a cost of $36,000.

OLD PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Erected on Eighth Street near D in 1871. The structure is still standing, adjoining the present church building on the south, and is part of the church property

Rev. Mr. McDonald was succeeded in 1872 by F. L. Nash. From 1875 to 1880 the church was supplied by Revs. James Robertson, John W. Partridge, Mr. Lanman, James Woods, and Dr. Phelps. Rev. Richard V. Dodge began his pastorate in 1880 and continued until his death, February 26, 1885. For the following



REV. R. G. WALLACE
First pastor of the United Presbyterian Church

REV. S. J. SHAW
Pastor of the United Presbyterian Church

three years the incumbents were H. A. Lounsbury and H. I. Stern. On January 1, 1887, Rev. W. B. Noble became the pastor, and during his incumbency the present church was built. The church suffered severely after the collapse of the boom, having a debt of more than $20,000, and it was only by a hard struggle that the loss of the property was prevented. Rev. F. Merton Smith became the pastor in 1894, but died a few weeks later, and was succeeded by Rev. P. E. Kipp; who died in 1900. Rev. R. B. Taylor commenced his work in 1901. During his pastorate the church debt was paid and the congregation greatly enlarged. On November 19, 1904, Mr. Taylor was drowned in San Diego Bay. He was greatly beloved. His successor, Rev. Harvey S. Jordan, of Newcastle, Pennsylvania, is the present incumbent. The membership of the church is about 600. It is one of the strongest and most active influences for good in the community. It has two Women's Missionary Societies, a Ladies' Aid Society, a large Christian Endeavor membership, and a number of missions are supported, including a Chinese mission, a school for Chinese children, and churches in several suburban towns.

The First United Presbyterian Church was organized on August 18, 1888, in the Holt House, on H Street near Fifteenth, by the installation of J. W. Collins, J. L. Griffin and E. T. Hill as elders, and the election of Robert Blair, Daniel Andrew, and W. L. Hamilton as trustees. The first pastor was Rev. Robert G. Wallace, one of the organizers of the church, who began his pastorate in November, 1887, and ended October 31, 1897. He was succeeded by Rev. Samuel J. Shaw, D.D., who is the present minister.

HEBREW CONGREGATION

The Hebrews of San Diego have maintained an organization since 1872. Prior to that time, it was their custom to meet at private houses for the observance of fast days. The *Herald* of October 9, 1851, says: "The Israelites of San Diego, faithful to the religion of their forefathers, observed their New Year's Day and Days of Atonement, with due solemnity. The Day of Atonement was observed by Messrs. Lewis Franklin, Jacob Marks, and Charles A. Fletcher (the only three Hebrews in town) by their assembling in the house of the former gentleman, and passing the entire day in fasting and prayers."

The first organization of the Hebrew Congregation took place in 1872 at the house of Marcos Schiller in Old Town; it was called at that time the Hebrew Congregation. The organizers were Marcos Schiller, Joseph Mannasse and E. Loewenstein. Services were held in rented halls and the Unitarian Church, but only on the Jewish New Year and Day of Atonement. There were at first eighteen members.

In 1888, the congregation was reorganized and incorporated as the Congregation Beth Israel, with a membership of 55. The first officers were: President, Marcos Schiller (who served in that capacity until his death, in 1904); vice-president, H. Welisch; secretary, A. Blochman; treasurer, A. Lippman. In the following year, a synagogue was built and dedicated, on the northwest corner of Beech and Second Streets. The first Rabbi was Samuel Freuder, who organized the new congregation; the second was A. Danziger, who served in 1886. E. Freud was rabbi in 1887-8, and Dr. Marx Moses from 1890 to 1894. There has been no rabbi since. The congregation is small, having only 22 contributing members.

REV. E. R. WATSON
Pastor of the First Unitarian Society

FIRST UNITARIAN SOCIETY

The First Unitarian Society began in a Sunday-school which was organized and held for the first time in Horton's Hall, June 22, 1873. Mr. Horton gave the use of the hall and organ. C. S.

Hamilton was chosen president; Mrs. Knapp, secretary and treasurer; Mrs. Haight, musical director, and Miss Carrie Hills, organist. The attendance increased from 13 to 50, and Rev. Joseph May became the pastor. Among the early members were M. A. Luce, C. S. Hamilton, A. E. Horton, E. W. Morse, J. H. Simpson, Mr. Hubon, A. Overbaugh, and their families. The first public service was on Easter Sunday, 1874. At a meeting held March 11, 1877, Rev. David A. Cronyn was chosen pastor. M. A. Luce became president of the Society at the same meeting, and has acted in that capacity ever since.

The society was incorporated in January, 1882. A lot on the northeast corner of Tenth and F Streets was purchased and the first church building erected there in that year, and dedicated August 26, 1883. Rev. Horatio Stebbins, of San Francisco, delivered the sermon and Rev. George H. Deere, of Riverside, assisted. Additions were made to this building in 1887. This building was burned on Sunday afternoon, February 17, 1895. Following this, the society occupied the old Louis Opera House. They then leased a lot on the west side of Sixth Street, between C and D, and built the present Unity Hall upon it. The society also owns a lot on the corner of Ninth and C Streets, upon which it is planning to place a new building at an early date. The pastors, after those named, were: B. F. McDaniel, 1887 to 1892; J. F. Dutton, from 1894; Solon Lauer, from 1895; Elijah R. Watson, from 1899 to the present time. The membership is about 200.

FIRST SPIRITUAL SOCIETY

The First Spiritualist Society was incorporated in July, 1885. Services were held in Lafayette Hall for a number of years. In 1903 the society built its hall on Seventh Street between A and B. The building cost about $6,000, and was dedicated in March, 1904. Clara A. Beck is president of the society.

CONGREGATIONALISTS

Many of the Congregationalists who came to new San Diego at an early day affiliated with the Presbyterians. But in August, 1886, it was felt that the time had come for the establishment of a church of their own faith. Twelve of these people met at the home of Frank A. Stephens, on Tenth and F Streets, and made a preliminary organization. These were: Mr. and Mrs. Frank A. Stephens, who now live in Los Angeles; Arch. Stephens and J. P. Davies, who are now deceased; and Mr. and Mrs. George W. Marston, Mr. and Mrs. M. T. Gilmore, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph H. Smith, Mrs. Arch. Stephens and Mrs. J. P. Davies, who are still active workers in the church. The congregation was organized a month later, with Rev. J. H. Harwood as pastor, and 78 members. The first public service was held in the Y. M. C. A. rooms in Dunham's Hall, on Fifth Street, October 10, 1886.

This hall was soon too small for the congregation. A lot was leased on the corner of State and F Streets and a tabernacle erected. This building was completed in January, 1887, and dedicated the following month. It was in 1896, during the pastorate of Rev. Stephen A. Norton and largely through his efforts, that the present church building was constructed. The movement began in February, and at one meeting on May 10th, $17,000 were subscribed for the purpose. A lot on the northwest corner of Sixth and A Streets was purchased; the corner stone was laid in November, 1896, and the church was completed and dedicated on July 4, 1897. This is one of the most beautiful church edifices in the city. It cost $23,500, and with the ground is today worth probably $50,000. It has a seating capacity of 800. The church is a strong and active one, with a membership of 464, and supports a number of activities—among others, a foreign missionary.

FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH

Rev. Mr. Harwood was succeeded, near the close of 1887, by Rev. J. B. Silcox, of Winnipeg, Manitoba, who served until August, 1889, when he resigned. He was followed by Rev. E. A. Field, W. C. Merrill, and Stephen A. Norton, respectively. The latter remained seven years. The present pastor is Rev. Clarence T. Brown, who came in 1903.

The Second Congregational Church, known as the Logan Heights Church, had its beginning on the second Sunday in November, 1887, when Rev. A. B. White, of Toledo, Ohio, began to preach in the schoolhouse on Twenty-seventh Street. On February 19, 1888, the church building at Twenty-sixth Street and Kearney Avenue was dedicated, Mr. Silcox preaching the sermon. The Land & Town Company gave the lots and the members of the First Congregational Church contributed liberally to the building fund. Mr. White resigned in the following August, and F. B. Perkins became the pastor. He remained two years and resigned in 1890. George A. Hall was then the pastor until March 24, 1895. His successor was R. T. Earl, who ministered until 1902. Since then J. L. Pearson and Henry M. Lyman have supplied the pulpit. Rev. E. E. P. Abbott is now the resident pastor.

The Chinese Mission, organized in 1885, is sustained by the American Missionary Association of the Congregational Church.

CENTRAL CHRISTIAN CHURCH

The Central Christian Church was organized October 27, 1886, with 28 charter members. Rev. R. G. Hand was the first minister. Henry Drury and W. B. Cloyd were elected elders, and B. F. Boone, John Coates, and A. J. Burns, deacons. The first meetings were held in various halls. During the boom, the church purchased its first lot, on Thirteenth Street between F and G. Here a frame church was built and the first service in it held on December 11, 1887, the sermon being by Rev. Mr. Johnson.

Mr. Hand remained only a few months and was succeeded by A. B. Griffith, who remained less than a year. For a year after this the pastor was John L. Brant, now a noted preacher. Rev. A. B. Markle came next and remained three years. In 1893 B. C. Hagerman became the pastor and served two years. In 1895 the present pastorate began under W. E. Crabtree.

The church was regularly incorporated in 1899. Two years later the lot on the southeast corner of Ninth and F Streets was purchased, later an adjoining lot added, and the church building removed to the new location. Upon this ground a very substantial and beautiful church building is soon to be erected, at a cost of $25,000. During its early years the church had a hard struggle, but is now prosperous. The church has a number of well-sustained activities and is one of the most aggressive and influential elements in the religious life of the city.

The Seventh Day Adventist Church was organized January 21, 1888, with a membership of 10. Their church at Eighteenth and G Streets was immediately occupied. It has a seating capacity of 350, and the society owns it free of debt, with a lot 100x176 feet. The first pastor was Elder W. M. Healey. He was followed by Elder H. A. St. John. The present elder is Frederick I. Richardson.

REV. W. E. CRABTREE
Pastor of the Central Christian Church

FIRST LUTHERAN CHURCH

The First Lutheran Church was organized March 18, 1888, with 31 members. A Sunday-school was organized the previous month by Prof. F. P. Davidson. C. W. Heisler, of Los Angeles, aided in the organization. The first officers were: F. P. Davidson and A. W. Smenner, elders, and Isaac Ulrick, H. Seebold, and R. H. Young, deacons. E. R. Wagner was chosen pastor, and conducted his first service October 21, 1888, in Good Templars' Hall on Third Street. Services were soon after removed to Louis Opera House and held there for six months, then in the old Methodist Church. The congregation then purchased the lot where the present church building stands. The church building was begun in 1893, the cornerstone laid on July 30th, and the dedication made April 8, 1894. The building has a seating capacity of 700. The value of the property is now estimated at $20,000.

Dr. Wagner resigned November 1, 1891, and was succeeded in February, 1892, by C. W. Maggart, of Salina, Kansas. He served until October 17, 1897, when he resigned. The present pastor, John E. Hoick, began his pastorate March 10, 1898. The church is out of debt and prosperous, and numbers about 150 members.

MISCELLANEOUS

The German Evangelical Lutheran Church has a handsome building at the corner of Twenty-fourth Street and Grant Avenue. The congregation numbers over 100. Rev. G. W. F. Kiessel is the pastor.

The Friends have a meeting-house at 1121 Sixth Street. Adell Burkhead is the minister.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Mormons) maintains an organization, which meets at No. 752 Fifth Street.

The Christian Scientists make the latest addition to the city's congregations, with an unique building on the southeast corner of Ash and Third Streets, completed and occupied this year. C. H. Clark is the reader to this active organization.

The Union Church at La Jolla is an unique organization. There not being sufficient population to support separate denominations, the people of all denominations united and organized a Union Church, on March 11, 1897. It was incorporated in the following October. The first pastor was William L. Johnson, two years; the next, J. L. Pearson, three years. The present pastor is Mr. Lathe. Daniel Cleveland, of San Diego, conducted services during the intervals between the different pastors. In 1905, the Episcopalians formed a separate organization in La Jolla and now have regular services. Recently, the Presbyterians also took similar action. The Union Church, however, was never so strong and active as at present.

The Peniel Mission, the Christian Endeavor Society, the Helping Hand Mission, and a number of other missionary organizations, as well as the Salvation Army, are actively represented.

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

The Young Men's Christian Association is so strong and its work so important that it is believed a somewhat full and circumstantial account of its growth is warranted.

The association was organized in March, 1882, and for a few months held its meetings in Hubbell's Hall, on the corner of Fifth and F Streets. There is no record of any active work in 1883, but in June, 1884, it was reorganized and the old Masonic Hall, on Fifth Street, rented for its use, at $5 per month. In August, 1885, C. L. Sturges was engaged as general secretary, and from this time on an open room for young men's use was maintained. In May, 1886, J. A. Rogers was elected general secretary, with the modest salary of $35 per month and the use of a small room in the rear of the hall, and continued in the position till July, 1890.

Mr. Rogers had remarkable success in building up the association. His character was an interesting and noble one. Although probably not over sixty years of age, his white hair and partial blindness gave him an older appearance; yet he was a fresh, vigorous, cheerful man, with power to please and attach boys and young men. He had been a locomotive engineer and ran a fast express out of New York City. Without technical training, he was nevertheless admirably fitted for the peculiar pioneer work in the exciting times of 1887 and 1888. Hundreds of young men came under his friendly Christian influence. The little Dunham House Hall, on Fifth Street, was the scene of crowded Sunday meetings and many social gatherings and entertainments.

The association had no gymnasium in those days, but as early as 1886 three or four classes had been formed, the principal one being for the study of Spanish. The members were active in the care of the sick and also paid regular visits to the county jail. The rapid growth in Mr. Rogers' administration is shown by the treasurer's expense account, the rent being increased in the first year from $5 to $40 per month and the secretary's salary from $35 to $75. In 1887 the association bought two lots at the northeast corner of Seventh and G Streets. Plans for a building to cost about $80,000 were drawn and bids for its construction received; but the collapse of the boom, early in 1888, prevented the accomplishment of this design. Early in 1888 the association moved to rooms on Seventh Street, just north of G, where it was proposed to build, and a large reading room was fitted up on the first floor. The membership at that time was 200. Later in the year, owing to high rent ($150 per month), another move was made, to the two-story residence on the northwest corner of Eighth and G Streets. The whole house was occupied, and here the association had, for the first time, a number of convenient class-rooms. But the financial stringency compelled another move in a few months, and the association then took up its quarters in a one-story building on the west side of Sixth Street between E and F, where it remained for about a year.

In October, 1889, a complete change was made in the directorate, the following being chosen: J. E. Hall, J. C. Packard, Henry Siebold, W. E. Howard, Dr. Hurlburt, John P. Lewis, and L. P. Davidson. Mr. Rogers remained as secretary, and J. E. Hall was elected president; a month later he was succeeded by C. D. Todd, who served till June, 1890, when he resigned and W. E. Howard was chosen and served till the end of the association year.

During the year 1890, the association moved into the Turnverein Hall, on Eighth Street between G and H, and opened a well equipped gymnasium, with Professor Hoeh in charge. Notwithstanding great financial difficulties, excellent work was done. Mr. Rogers withdrew in July, having been called to ministerial service in one of the country churches.

At the beginning of the new association year, in October, 1890, important changes were made. George W. Marston was elected president, Giles Kellogg vice-president, and Philip Morse recording secretary. John McTaggart was elected general secretary, and filled the position with marked ability and devotion for four years. Prominent workers in the association about this time were: C. D. Todd, W. E. Howard, W. R. Guy, Watson Parrish, A. L. Bachmann, Henry Siebold, L. P. Davidson, Herbert Wylie, Irving McMahon, E. S. Gillan, E. A. Churcher, and M. T. Gilmore. At the annual meeting in 1891, a resolution of thanks was adopted in gratitude for the large membership and payment of all debts.

In 1893 it became evident that a location nearer the center of town would be more desirable. Rooms in the Express Block were therefore rented from January 1, 1894, which were headquarters for a year and four months. At the close of Mr. McTaggart's secretaryship, in September, 1894, W. E. Neelands was secretary for a few months. In April, 1895, a lease was signed with U. S. Grant, Jr., for the second floor of his new building at the corner of Sixth and D Streets, at an annual rental of $1,000. Mr. Grant arranged the room as the association desired. The floor space was 75x100 feet, which gave room for a lecture hall, gymnasium, baths, reading room, and several social and class rooms. This was the home of the association for ten years.

In May, 1895, George A. Miller (now a Methodist minister in Manila) became secretary of the association. Under his vigorous management, in its new quarters, the association started on its larger career. In the first quarter of 1896 it gained very rapidly, receiving nearly 300 new members. J. P. Smith became general secretary in the fall of 1896 and filled the office till March, 1903—the longest service of any secretary. He was the first secretary with much experience in association work. Besides this training, he had a fine enthusiasm and genuine sympathy for the young. Under his careful and faithful administration, the Y. M. C. A. carried on its four-fold activities—religious, social, physical, and educational—with steady power and usefulness. As physical director, Fred A. Crosby was employed for five years. He made marked improvements in the gymnasium and exerted a fine influence over the younger boys. Professors Davidson and Freeman, of the public schools, gave the association valuable services in forming its educational course. Will H. Holcomb was especially active in building up the gymnasium, and many others contributed in various ways to the progress of the association.

NEW HOME OF THE Y. M. C. A.

On the corner of Eighth and C Streets

The association has always been deeply indebted to the Ladies' Central Committee for contributions of money, furnishings for rooms, and constant service in social affairs. During Mr. Smith's secretaryship and for two or three years after, Mrs. V. D. Rood was the inspiring leader of the ladies' work and made it one of the most successful organizations of its kind in the state. In 1899, George W. Marston declined further re-election to the presidency, having served in that capacity every year, save one, since the organization of the association. He is still a member of the board of directors. Philip

Morse, who had been an active member and valuable director for several years, was chosen to succeed Mr. Marston. In 1900, Will H. Holcomb became president, and he has filled the office, most acceptably, from that time to the present, guiding the association's affairs with great tact and ability. During his presidency, large things have been undertaken and great changes made.

During the winter of 1902-03 a very determined effort was made to provide for the payment of a debt of about $4,000 which had gradually accrued in past years. Under the direction of Mr. Sutherland, the state secretary, subscriptions to the amount of $9,000 were secured. These subscriptions, payable half in 1903 and half in 1904, were collected, for the most part, and, united with the membership fees, enabled the association to reach the year 1905 with current expenses paid and the debt reduced to $1,000.

In the summer of 1903, Roy H. Campbell became general secretary and E. A. Merwin physical director. Under Mr. Campbell's very able management great interest was aroused among the boys and young men. Athletic activities and social affairs were specially prominent. Several radical changes in methods of work were adopted in 1903-04, among them, the discontinuance of Sunday afternoon religious mass meetings and the substitution of smaller group meetings for Bible study. Great efforts were made to bring into association influence the younger classes of young men, and this was successfully accomplished.

It became evident early in 1905 that the association's quarters were already inadequate in size and convenience, and, after careful consideration, the residence property at the northeast corner of Eighth and C Streets was purchased. A large, substantial house, with ample ground for building extensions, was thus secured at a cost of $20,000. In order to build a gymnasium adjoining the house, make necessary repairs and changes, and provide for a large part of the current expenses, the association undertook to raise a fund of $32,000. Secretary Campbell devoted himself to the task for many weeks, assisted by many friends of the association. It was impossible to obtain cash donations for such a sum, but by accepting subscriptions payable over a period of two years, the full amount was pledged without mortgaging its property, and the association secured sufficient loaned money to carry its finances during the two years.

In October, 1905, the old rooms at Sixth and D Streets were left and the removal made to the new house. The gymnasium, costing $6,000, was built in the following months, and in May, 1906, the completed new association quarters were occupied and placed in full use. This happy consummation was not attained without toil and sacrifice. To the sorrow of all, Secretary Campbell's health broke down from overwork and nervous strain, just before the close of the financial canvass. He had planned and led all the work with untiring zeal until success was in sight, but was obliged to resign the office in December, 1905. Mr. Campbell's services to the San Diego Y. M. C. A. were remarkably strong. Full of youthful enthusiasm himself, he attracted and influenced other young men with power and moral helpfulness. In all the activities of association life he was efficient and forceful.

In January, 1906, Earle Davenport Smith was engaged as general secretary, and a little later Albert N. Morris as physical director. Mr. Smith found a heavy work of organization on his hands, owing to several months' interruption of regular, systematic management. He attacked it vigorously and at this writing (November, 1906) has an efficient organization and the best facilities for complete association service that this city has ever enjoyed.

FLORAL TRIBUTE ON FATHER UBACH'S GRAVE

CHAPTER II

SCHOOLS AND EDUCATION

IN EARLY Spanish days in California, the opportunities for education were extremely limited. The members of the wealthy class usually had some education, but few of the lower classes could read or write. There were no established schools outside the missions, but it was customary for the mothers of families to teach their children what they could.

The story of the struggle for education is a pathetic page in early California history. The governors were in favor of education, as a rule, but they received no support whatever from the missionaries and almost none from the other inhabitants. It was, indeed, the deliberate policy of Spain to keep its colonial subjects in ignorance, on the mistaken theory that this would prevent the growth of discontent. After the change to Mexican rule the cause of education received only a lukewarm support from the general government. The missionaries were at all times firmly opposed to popular education, which now seems to us a singular thing when it is recalled that they were men of culture; but this was entirely consistent with the policy of the Church and of Spain, at the time.

As early as 1793, Viceroy Gigedo ordered that schools should be established for both the Spanish and Indian children. The wily missionaries professed obedience, but soon found an excuse for non-compliance in a mythical lack of funds. A few persons supposed to be competent to teach were found, and in 1794 or 1795 Manuel de Vargas, a retired sergeant of San José, who had opened there the first school in California, came to San Diego and began to teach. How long this school continued we do not know, but probably not very long, and if de Vargas was like the other retired officers who were selected for teachers at the time, his qualifications were very slight. In 1795 a tax was levied for the support of the schools, but they languished, and before the close of the century had been abandoned.

During the rule of Governor Sola, from 1814 to 1821, schools were again opened. Settlers and invalided soldiers were employed, who taught reading, writing, and religion. Pio Pico, who was one of a class taught at San Gabriel in 1813 by José

Antonio Carrillo, said that part of his work consisted of covering several quires of paper, from a copy, with the name "Señor Don Felix María Callejas." Sola was earnest in his desire to aid the cause of education and spent his own means freely in the effort. He imported two Spanish professors with a view to founding a high school at Monterey, but the learned gentlemen found the conditions so unpromising that they remained only a few weeks. The missionaries were hostile, the people apathetic, and Sola was obliged to abandon the undertaking.

In 1824 Governor Argüello called the attention of the assembly to the subject of education, but nothing was done.

Echeandía was also a friend of education and tried to accomplish something. Before coming to California, he engaged the services of two teachers of primary schools; but when they reached Acapulco they could proceed no farther because the province was unable to pay their passage to Monterey. Shortly after Echeandía's arrival, the assembly, at the governor's suggestion, requested the government to send a few masters for primary schools, at his own cost; but this request was refused. Having failed to secure results through civil authorities, Echeandía ordered the commanding officers to compel parents to send their children to the schools which he had established. This had some effect, and by the year 1829 there were—on paper—11 primary schools in the territory, with an enrollment of 339 pupils.

A few details of the school which was taught in San Diego at this period have come down to us. It was maintained from August, 1828, to December, 1829, with an enrollment of 18 pupils. The teacher was Friar Antonio Menendez, and his salary was $18 per month. From the accounts which have come down of this friar's character and attainments, there is slight doubt that he was, if possible, even more unfit for the work than the retired soldiers usually selected, who were often barely able to read and write.

But Echeandía, like his predecessors, found that zeal alone could not prevail against his heavy handicaps. Toward the latter part of his stormy administration he seems to have abandoned the unequal contest and surrendered the field to the forces of darkness.

In May, 1834, Governor Figueroa reported that there were primary schools at only three places, San Diego not being one of the three. In the following February, the same official advised the alcalde of San Diego that parents need not send their children to school, if they found it inconvenient.

Governor Alvarado was a believer in education, but his efforts were no more successful than those of his predecessors. In the fourth year of his rule, he declared there was scarcely a school in the whole territory. Micheltorena and Pico both struggled with the problem, in vain. On May 1, 1844, the former issued a decree providing for the opening of schools (with a solemn mass) on the first day of the following June; but this order was obeyed in only a few places, and in those few it was found impossible to raise money to pay the teachers.

The dearth of education and of schools was as great when the Americans took possession of the country as it had been in 1800—perhaps greater. Very often the commanding officer of a garrison had to request that a man qualified to act as amanuensis be sent to him from another presidio. The commissioned officers had only the rudiments of an education and the civil authorities were in many cases little better off. Pio Pico once went to Los Angeles at a time he was out of favor with the alcalde of that place. Being told that he would not be received without a passport he forged one, knowing the alcalde was illiterate, and presented it upon his arrival. The alcalde took and pretended to read it, then returned it to Pico and expressed himself as being perfectly satisfied.

Soon after the organization of the city government, steps were taken to establish a public school. The minutes of the council show the following entry under date of November 7, 1850: "The mayor made a verbal communication to the council, stating that a lady was in the place who had the reputation of being a good teacher and who is desirous of opening a school. He recommended that the large room in the Town House be appropriated for a school room." This lady was Miss Dillon. The front room of the Town House was set apart for the purpose, but Miss Dillon thought it unsuitable and declined to teach in it. The city marshal was thereupon instructed to find a suitable room to be rented, and he proceeded to let two rooms in his own house to the council, for which he was to receive $60 per month for the first six months and $40 per month thereafter. Bills amounting to $155.69 for furniture for the school were paid. The teacher's salary was fixed at not exceeding $1,200 per annum, and there is a record of one month's salary being paid, at the end of February, 1851. How long the school continued it is impossible to ascertain, but apparently it was not long, and in the two or three years following it was kept open very irregularly, if at all. On July 30, 1853, the *Herald* said: "A short time since, one of the ward schools in this city which had been closed for a time was re-opened." This was the occasion on which, the trustees having distributed a circular giving notice of the opening of the school and inviting all parents to send their children, Father Juan Holbein forbade the members of his flock to do so. The name of the teacher of this school does not appear.

The beginning of the period of steady maintenance of the public schools in San Diego dates from July 1, 1854. The county had received no part of the state school funds for that year, on account of its failure to maintain a school for at least three months prior to the first day of October the year before. In order that this should not happen again, hurried action was taken on the date named. E. W. Morse gave the following account: "Up to July 1, 1854, there had been no public school in San Diego County, but on that day the county court being in session, Cave J. Couts, the judge, appointed William C. Ferrell county superintendent of schools, who at once appointed E. V. Shelby census marshal, and J. W. Robinson, Louis Rose, and E. W. Morse school trustees for the whole county. Within a few hours the trustees had received the marshal's report, had hired a room for the school, and employed a teacher, so that before night a public school was in full operation under the school law of the state." Mr. Morse, although always accurate and clear-headed, had evidently forgotten the earlier attempts at a school; and the appointment which Ferrell received was that of assessor (the office being vacant on account of George Lyons' refusal to qualify), and the law then making the assessor *ex-officio* superintendent of public schools. The teacher employed was Miss Fanny Stevens. On December 2d, the *Herald* stated that she had about 30 pupils; and it may fairly be said that she was the first teacher who established and maintained a public school in San Diego.

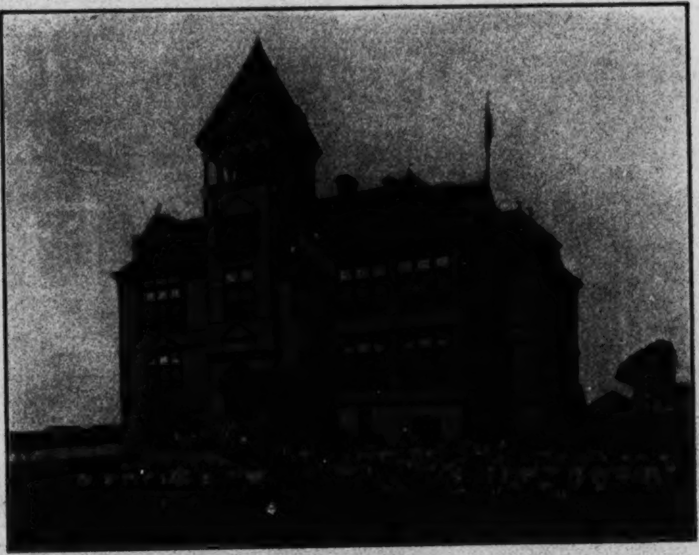
From this time on, the school was maintained with regularity and statistics begin to be available. In October, 1855, School Marshal Thomas E. Darnall reported 117 children of school age in the county. In 1856, Joshua Sloane taught in San Diego from January 21st to March 21st, at a salary of $75 per month, and had an enrollment of 32. The branches taught were: Orthography, reading, writing, geography, arithmetic, and English grammar. W. H. Leighton was then the teacher for three months beginning July 7th, at a salary of $50, and had an enrollment of 29. He taught the same branches, excepting grammar, and also taught history, geometry, algebra, French, and Spanish.

In the spring of 1857, Leighton taught four months at a salary of $75. In the fall, James Nichols taught 3 1-3 months at $60, and had 49 pupils enrolled. There were 138 children of school age in the county. Nichols taught both the spring and fall terms in 1858, also a four-months term in 1859. By the year 1860, the pupils of school age in the county had increased to 320. The only school house in the county had been erected at Old Town. It consisted of one room, 24x30 feet, with a ceiling 10 feet high. During the year 1863, 8 months of school were taught, Mary B. Tibbetts and Victor P. Magee being the respective teachers of the two terms.

In 1864, J. L. McIntier was school marshal and E. W. Morse school trustee. Total children of school age, 317. The year 1865 is when Miss Mary C. Walker came to teach the school, and an entry in the records in 1866, reading, "We have been without a teacher since June 1," probably marks the date of her resignation. Miss Augusta J. Barrett came in this year to succeed Miss Walker, and taught until she was married to Captain Mathew Sherman, in 1867. The records are meager during the '60's, the names of teachers not appearing in many instances. In the year last named, there was a school library of 61 volumes, valued at $50.

DUNCAN MACKINNON
City Superintendent of Schools

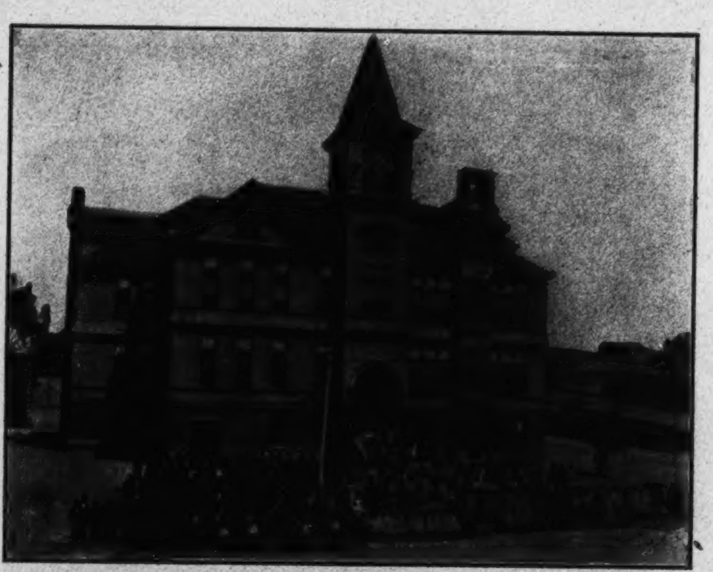
The first school in New San Diego was taught by Mrs. H. H. Dougherty, in the old government barracks, in 1868. In the same year, the first public school in Horton's Addition was opened in rented rooms on the lot at the corner of Sixth and B Streets, donated by Mr. Horton. The teachers named in the records in this and the following year are Mr. Parker and Miss McCarrett. In August, 1869 a public school was re-opened in the barracks, under Mr. Echels, and in December the teacher at the B Street school was Mrs. Maria McGillivray.



MIDDLETOWN SCHOOL

In 1870 the first public school building was erected on the B Street lot, the school removed into it and divided into three grades. The principal was J. S. Spencer, the intermediate teacher Miss Lithgow, and the primary teacher Miss McCoy. The number of school children in the Old Town district was 512 and in the new town, 243. In 1871, the schools were reported to be in "a deplorable condition." "The county superintendent is paid nothing for his increased service, and consequently did nothing." Only one district in the county had sufficient funds to maintain a school eight months. Notwithstanding these conditions, another school was opened in Sherman's Addition, on lots donated by Captain Sherman. This school was named "the Sherman School" in honor of Captain Sherman and is still so known.

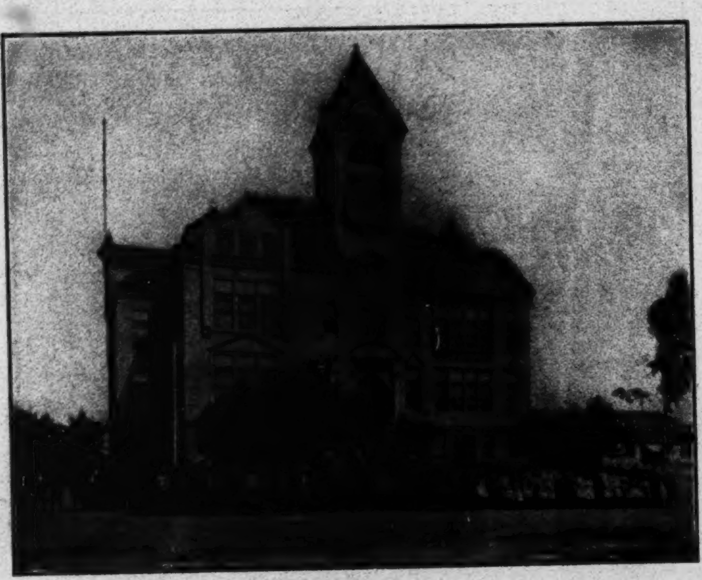
From this time onward, the story is one of continuous growth. The annals are too voluminous for reproduction, but the most important events will be noted and present conditions described.



B STREET SCHOOL

In 1873 the first county institute was held in San Diego. Thirteen teachers were present. Lectures were delivered by State Superintendent Bolander and Dr. G. W. Barnes. During 1876 and 1877 a more thorough organization into grades was made and the work systematized. In 1878 there was much complaint about inadequacy of accommodations, and an election was held which authorized the levy of a special tax to build schools and employ teachers. In the next year the enrollment increased 50 per cent, and a bonded indebtedness of $50,000 was thought necessary to relieve the strain.

In 1881, Joseph Russ, of the Russ Lumber Company, offered to give the city all the lumber necessary for the construction of a new school building. This resulted in the building of the "Russ" school building, later and at present used for the San Diego high school. The first school was opened in this building on August 14, 1882, when 276 pupils were enrolled and 32 turned away for want of room. The principal was J. A. Rice; assistant, Miss E. O. Osgood. The total cost of the building to the city was $18,418.73. This was the first good school building which the city owned.

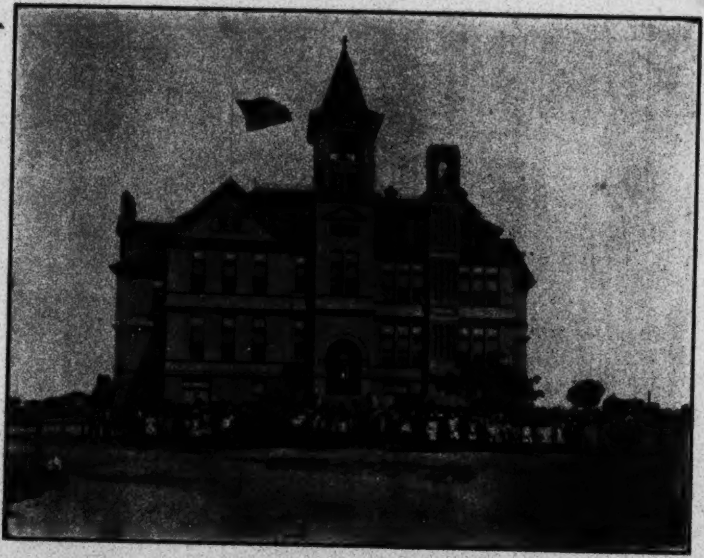


SHERMAN SCHOOL

The High School was organized in January, 1888. The first instructors were: Mrs. Rose V. Barton, Mrs. Julia F. Gilmartin, Mr. and Mrs. J. K. Davis, and Miss Ella McConoughy. Professor Davis was principal.

The Kindergarten Department was first introduced at the Sherman School, in 1888, in charge of Miss Fischer. It was soon after extended to other schools, and is now an established and valued part of the school work.

The high school building was erected, as stated, in 1881 and 1882. The erection of a new high school building has been recently begun. It will cost $201,000 for the building alone, and the furnishings will cost $35,000 more. It will contain 62 rooms, whereas the old one contained but 17, which throws an interesting side light on the growth of the city. The new structure will be one of the most substantial, beautiful, and up-to-date buildings in the state. It will be provided with several lecture rooms, assembly halls, science rooms and rooms for the art department, gymnasium, study rooms, and offices for the officials. When the new building is completed and occupied, the present high school building will be utilized as a polytechnic school.



LOGAN HEIGHTS SCHOOL

The Middletown School was built in 1888. It contains 11 rooms.

The B Street and Sherman Schools were built in 1889 and the Logan Heights (then known as the East School) a little later. The first two named cost $30,000 each. The B Street and the Sherman School have each 14 rooms. At Logan Heights, there are 12 rooms. The University Heights School has 9 rooms. The other schools in the city are: The Lowell School, 7 rooms; the Franklin School, 9 rooms. The Manual Training School has 1 room, and there are 2 kindergarten bungalows. The schools outside San Diego proper, but within the city limits, and under the charge of its Board of Education, are: La Jolla, 2 rooms; Old Town, 2 rooms; Roseville, 2 rooms; Pacific Beach School, 2 rooms; and Sorrento, 1 room.

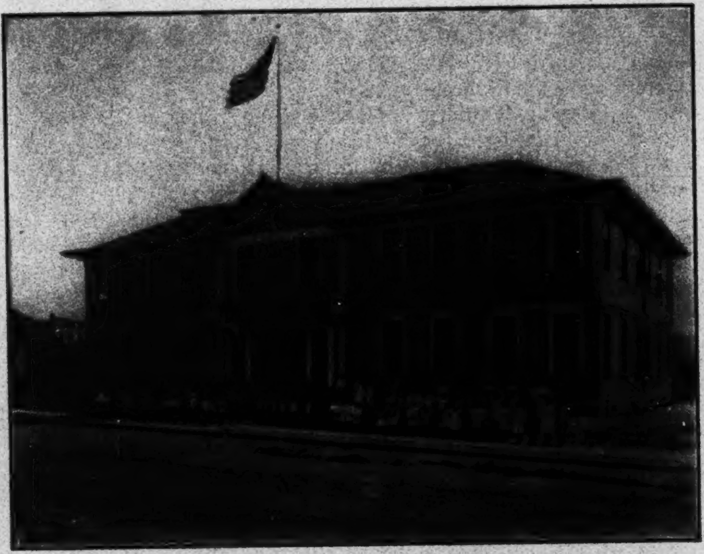
In 1888, a school building was erected in Mission Valley and a school maintained for about ten years, but it has now been abandoned.

On June 30, 1906, the citizens of San Diego voted to issue bonds amounting to $120,000 for the construction of several modern school buildings. The money is now available, and the work progressing rapidly. When these buildings are completed, San Diego will stand second to no other city of its size in the completeness of its school building equipment. The corps of teachers numbers 100. The salaries paid run from $900 for the first year to $1200 for the second and subsequent years. In the grammar schools, the pay for the first year runs from $600 to $800; in the second year $30 is added, the same in the third, $40 in the fourth and $40 in the fifth. Duncan MacKinnon is the present city superintendent of schools. S. W. Belding is secretary of the board of education, having served since June, 1903. He is the first regularly appointed secretary, a member of the board of education having served as secretary without pay prior to his appointment. The enrollment of the pupils in the city proper the past year was 4,243, and the census marshal's return 4,379, leaving only 136 children of school age not enrolled. The total expenditures for the support of schools last year were $100,253.47.

The course of physical culture in the public schools is one of their most valued features. It was first suggested and largely brought about by the Concordia Turnverein. The first instructor was Professor L. de Julian, who acted as physical director from 1900 to 1902. The present director, Professor Trautlein, began the work in 1903. The German system is used, consisting of dumbbell exercises, club swinging, apparatus work, calisthenics, and games. These are for the children of all grades, from the first to the eighth. The director visits one or more schools each day and gives fifteen minutes' instruction to teachers and pupils, and each class devotes the same time daily to the work, under the instruction of the teachers. Each school is equipped with dumbbells, wands, clubs, horizontal bars, rings, and climbing ropes, also a basket ball court for boys and girls.

San Diego is with reason proud of its schools. The course of study is good, and the schools are accredited. The teachers are well trained and devoted, the board of education progressive, and the whole system one which reflects the highest credit upon the place and people.

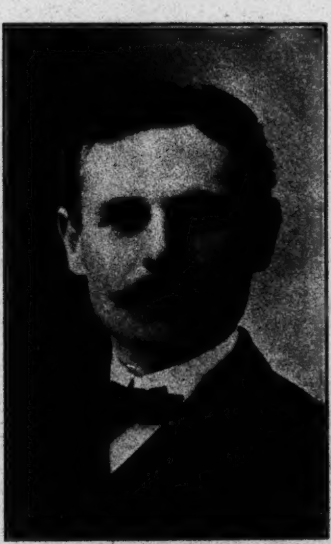
Of private schools, San Diego has had a number from an early day. The first was the academy of Professor Oliver, established in 1869. In 1872 he sold the buildings to Miss S. M. Gunn, who removed them to Ninth and G Streets, added improvements, and opened the San Diego Academy. J. D. Dorlan had a "select school" at the corner of Seventh and H Streets, in 1872. Rev. D. F. McFarland opened his seminary in 1873, and Mrs. O. W. Gates established the Point Loma Seminary in the same year. R. Roessler had a private academy in Gunn's academy building in 1879. The first "business academy" was opened by Professor E. Hyde, in 1882.



FRANKLIN SCHOOL

The Academy of Our Lady of Peace, 1135 A Street, is conducted by the Sisters of St. Joseph. It is a boarding and day school for girls and young ladies, well equipped for the development of the mental, moral, and physical powers of its pupils. There is also a separate school for boys.

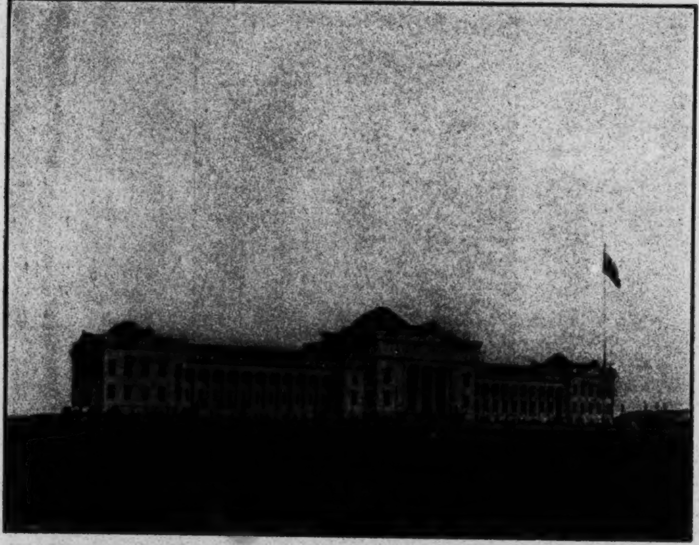
The San Diego Free Industrial School was founded in 1894 by Mrs. J. F. Cary, of San Diego. Her original intention was to start a sewing school for girls and to improve the condition of the children living on the water front. It was soon found necessary to make provision for the training of children of both sexes and after six months boys were also admitted. From this beginning the scope of the work has grown until it now embraces a number of activities.



WILFRED R. GUY
Who represented San Diego in the Assembly at Sacramento when the State Normal School bill was passed for the second time and signed by the Governor

In its early days, the school occupied a room on the ground floor of the Montezuma Building, corner of Second and F Streets. Later it was removed to the Tower House, on Fourth and F, and thence across the street to what is now known as the Worth lodging-house, where it remained until the summer of 1897. At that time the new Congregational Church had been completed and the congregation was ready to move out of the old tabernacle, then standing on Ninth and F Streets. Through the efforts of Mr. Marston and Mrs. Cary, the old building was secured as a home for the industrial school. A lot on the northwest corner of State and F Streets, fifty feet wide, was purchased, and the building renovated and removed thereon.

Since securing permanent quarters, the school has grown steadily. There is a manual training school where boys are taught the use of tools in various trades, a cooking school in which girls learn plain cooking practically, a sewing school, etc. The school is supported by voluntary contributions and all tuition is free. The school is incorporated, and Mrs. Cary was its first and is its present president and manager.



STATE NORMAL SCHOOL

The movement to secure a State Normal School for San Diego was undertaken in 1894, and was due primarily to the great expense and inconvenience experienced by San Diego families in sending their children to the State Normal School at Los Angeles, and other institutions throughout Southern California. This expense was estimated at $2750 per month, and it was obvious that such conditions could not continue indefinitely.

The agitation was begun by Harr Wagner, then county superintendent of schools, and Prof. Hugh J. Baldwin, who was then in charge of the Coronado Schools. A munificent offer by Mrs. O. J. Stough greatly simplified the undertaking and undoubtedly contributed materially to the early success of the movement. It was proposed that the building and grounds of the college at Pacific Beach should be used for the new Normal School, and this property, valued at $100,000, Mrs. Stough offered as a free gift to the state. With this splendid inducement to offer to the legislature Senator D. L. Withington and Assemblymen Dryden and Keene were able to make a strong fight at Sacramento. They were supported by unanimous public sentiment, and materially aided by Professor Baldwin, who went to the capital for the purpose, having been selected by the citizens of San Diego as the representative of the Chamber of Commerce.

The bill to establish the school at this point passed the legislature in 1895, but was vetoed by the governor. Two years later the bill was pressed, Assemblyman W. R. Guy making it the especial object of his efforts. The legislature acted favorably upon it for the second time, and it was signed by the governor.

Although the generosity of Mrs. Stough doubtless secured the success of the project, her offer was not accepted, and in the end the Normal School was located on University Heights. Immediately after the bill became a law, two other sites were brought into competition with Pacific Beach. Escondido offered its fine three-story high school building, together with the grounds, and the College Hill Land Association offered eleven acres on University Heights. The board of trustees appointed by the governor to select the site for the school consisted of Thomas O. Toland of Ventura, J. L. Dryden of National City, John G. North of Riverside, and W. R. Guy and Victor E. Shaw of San Diego. They, with Governor Budd and Samuel T. Black, ex-officio members of the board, looked over the three sites and decided on the present location on University Heights.

CHAPTER III

RECORDS OF THE BENCH AND BAR

PROBABLY the average citizen of San Diego if asked to name the father of the San Diego bar, would at once think of Judge Oliver S. Witherby; and certainly, although we are not sure he was the very first American attorney to settle here, and although he did not practice long, yet by reason of his character and the many years during which he stood as a connecting link between the old and the new, he deserves to be so considered. Throughout the 50's and even earlier, there were a number of business men and others admitted to practice whose attainments were slight. But Witherby was a real lawyer, and a man of solid attainments. He spent nearly forty-seven years of his life in San Diego, and his election to represent the county in the first legislature, in 1850, as well as his appointment and service as the first judge of the first judicial district, shows the estimation in which he was held as a lawyer and a man.

In 1850 there were three practicing attorneys in San Diego; James W. Robinson, Thomas W. Sutherland, and William C. Ferrell. These men have all been mentioned in this history, and brief biographical sketches of them given. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to determine which was the earliest settler of the three. Robinson was the most substantial citizen and the best equipped lawyer, owing to his long experience, learning, and personal character. Ferrell was also an able man, and in the eight or nine years of his residence practiced quite actively; but he was somewhat eccentric and scarcely adapted to cut a large figure. He was the first district attorney of the first judicial district, in 1850-52. Sutherland was actively engaged in public affairs in the early 50's. He served as alcalde under the Mexican laws and as city attorney and district attorney under the American civil administration. As city attorney he prepared San Diego's first ordinances, in 1850-1, and rendered other services. In December, 1850, Ira W. Bird was appointed and acted for a time as county attorney, but there is nothing to show that he ever engaged in the practice of law.

In this year, also, John B. Magruder's name appears as an attorney. This, of course, was Colonel J. Bankhead Magruder who was at the time in command of the army post at San Diego.

Coming down a few years, we find the names of Lewis A. Franklin and J. R. Gitchell as attorneys; Franklin practiced very little, but Gitchell was the first attorney for the old San Diego & Gila Railroad, and drew its charter. He was also district attorney, a somewhat prominent resident, and regarded as an able man. D. B. Kurtz read law under Gitchell and in April, 1856, he and E. W. Morse and D. B. Hoffman were admitted to the bar, but none of the three ever engaged extensively in practice. Squire Ensworth, on the other hand, pursued the profession and gave it his exclusive attention. He was a self-made lawyer and was admitted about the same time as Mr. Morse.

At the time that Horton's Addition began to forge to the front, the prominent attorneys at Old Town were Benjamin Hayes, Wm. Jeff Gatewood, and W. T. McNealy.

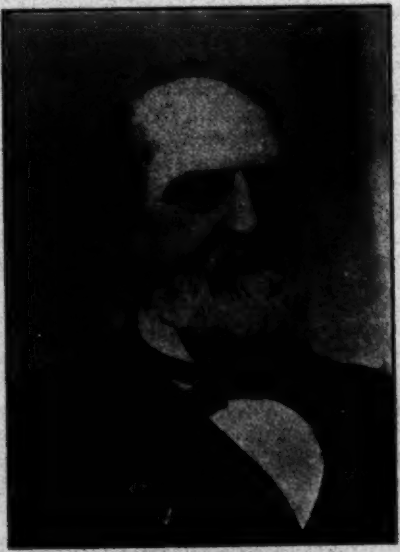
Judge Hayes was a resident of Los Angeles when elected district judge, in 1859, and served until 1864. In 1869 he removed to Old Town and engaged in the practice of law. He was state senator in 1866-67. He died in Los Angeles, August 4, 1877. Judge Hayes was the leading lawyer of San Diego in all matters pertaining to land titles, and a cyclopedia of information on Spanish land grants. He was the attorney for the plaintiffs in the suit for the partition of the Middletown Addition. In the course of his practice he accumulated a large number of documents relating to land titles and early history, which he turned over to H. H. Bancroft.

Gatewood came in October, 1868, to establish the *Union*. In the following May he sold his half interest in the paper to Charles P. Taggart, and the paper was soon after removed to New San Diego, while Gatewood remained at Old Town and engaged in the active practice of law.

Colonel Gatewood was a native of Kentucky, a man of fine personal presence and great native talents. He served in the Mexican War and after that settled in Calaveras County, California, where he published the *San Andreas Register* and took a hand in politics. In the course of the vicissitudes of the latter occupation, in 1858, he fought a duel with Dr. P. Goodwin and killed him—a somewhat celebrated affair. After retiring from the *Union* Gatewood quickly built up a good practice. Besides having nearly all the criminal practice, he was usually employed on one side of most of the important civil cases. He was an excellent trial lawyer, ready and resourceful, and especially successful in his advocacy of causes before a jury.

After the county offices were removed to New San Diego, he took up his residence there and lived for several years in the house still standing at the southwest corner of Union and D

Streets. In July, 1872, he founded the *Daily World*. One of his most important cases was that of the People *vs.* Gregory, accused of murder, wherein he succeeded in securing an acquittal against great odds. He was also interested in the suit of Pico *vs.* Forster, involving the ownership of the Santa Margarita rancho, but in that case his clients lost. In the Hinton will case he represented the executors, and in the contest over the removal of the county seat was attorney for the people of Old Town. In 1873 he was a prominent candidate for the Democratic nomination for district judge, but was defeated by W. T. McNealy. He died on board the schooner *Rosita*, in San Diego Bay, March 27, 1888.



OLIVER S. WITHERBY

"Father of San Diego Bar," who lived here forty-seven years, representing the county in the first legislature and occupying the bench for a long period

W. T. McNealy practiced law in San Diego longer ago than any other man now living here. He is a native of Georgia, but his father removed to Florida and he spent his youth there. He came to California in 1849 and arrived in San Diego on the 31st of March in that year. He relates that his first employment after his arrival was given him by Cullen A. Johnson and consisted of making an abstract of the title to the Middletown Addition; the second was copying some records for Judge Hayes, in the matter of the estate of some minors. The following fall he received the Democratic nomination for district attorney and was elected, and two years later was re-elected for another term. The record which he made in the vigorous and successful prosecution of a number of criminals popularly supposed to be immune on account of their "pull," as well as his stubborn fight and final victory in the collection of the disputed tax levy for refunding the county debt, with practically all the property owners of the city and county arrayed against him, convinced the people that he was their friend and led to his nomination and election to the office of judge of the eighteenth district court, defeating Judge Rolfe, in 1873, for a term of six years. In 1879, the old district court having been abolished and the new superior court created, he was chosen to fill that office and served until October, 1886, when ill health caused his retirement.

BENJAMIN HAYES

District Judge, leading lawyer, and eminent authority on Spanish land titles

After this he was engaged for a time in practice, but since 1888 has retired.

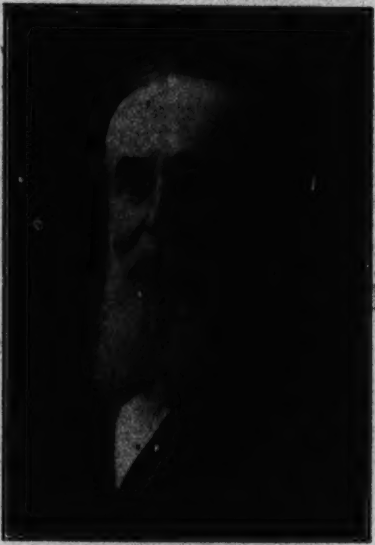
Cullen A. Johnson was district attorney in 1868-69. He came here in ill health, and died April 16, 1873, of consumption.

Daniel Cleveland is the oldest attorney, still engaged in practice and living here, who came direct to New San Diego. He is a native of Poughkeepsie, New York, the son of an eminent lawyer, and descended from Revolutionary stock. He came to San Diego in May, 1869, and practiced law in partnership with his brother, Wm. H. Cleveland. The latter, a very able lawyer, died in New Hampshire in 1873. Mr. Cleveland has been an active participant in all the city's important steps of progress. He was attorney for the Texas & Pacific Railway five or six years, until it transferred its franchise to the Southern Pacific, and was attorney for the Bank of San Diego during its existence. He is a large property owner and a public-spirited citi-

W. T. McNEALY

Who practiced law longer than any other man now living in the city. Elected District Attorney in 1869, serving four years. Elected judge of the Eighteenth Judicial District in 1873 for six years, judge of the Superior Court in 1879 and again in 1884. Retired from the bench in 1886 after serving thirteen years zen. In the practice of law, his course has always been dignified and his attainments and talents command respect. His connection with the Protestant Episcopal Church has been described. He was one of the founders of the San Diego Society of Natural History, its president for a time, and always an active member and contributor.

In a growing community like New San Diego, there are always a few men who, by reason of their qualifications and force of character early take and easily maintain the lead in their professions. To attempt to select these men would ordinarily be a difficult and invidious task, but in the case of the early days of New San Diego, it is made easy by the agreement of those who knew them. The two most prominent and successful attorneys of early days in New San Diego, who came direct, were Major Levi Chase and Wallace Leach.



LEVI CHASE

Who located here after the civil war and took a leading place among lawyers. He was identified with important land litigation and thereby acquired extensive holdings in El Cajon Valley

Major Chase was a native of Maine, and a veteran of the Civil War. He came to San Diego in 1868 and almost at once gained a prominent position at the bar. One of his most important litigations was for settling the title and boundaries of the El Cajon rancho, and afterward for its partition among the successful contestants. This work was very profitable, but, as several people were dispossessed, considerable feeling was aroused. He was also interested in litigation over Warner's ranch. He formed a partnership with Wallace Leach about 1873, which continued twelve or thirteen years. He took part in most of the important civil litigation of his day, but did not engage in criminal practice. He retired about 1895, and died May 31, 1906. He was regarded as a reliable lawyer and good counsellor.

NORMAN H. CONKLIN

Judge of the Superior Court, to which he was elected in 1900 to fill an unexpired term, and re-elected in 1902. He was chosen district attorney in 1877

Robert Wallace Leach was a native of Illinois, and a graduate of Harvard Law College. He came to San Diego in June, 1873, and soon after entered into a partnership with Major Chase. His specialty was criminal law and jury trials. He was brilliant, resourceful, and highly successful. His first laurels were won in defending Collector W. J. McCormick, who was accused of robbing himself, as related in the account of governmental activities. About 1885, he formed a partnership with Judge Parker, which continued until Leach's death. He died May 13, 1888.

Charles P. Taggart also belongs to this period. He was the attorney for a number of corporations, such as the Pacific Mail and the Pacific Coast Steamship Companies, for Capron's stage line, for the Texas & Pacific Railroad, and finally city attorney. While city attorney, the trustees entered into a contract with him and General Volney E. Howard, of Los Angeles, by which they were to receive a large share of the tide lands in payment for their services in defending the city's claim to title in the litigation then pending. Much bitterness was aroused and, besides making many enemies, Taggart and Howard got no pay, as it was finally held that the city had no title.

E. S. TORRANCE

Judge of the Superior Court. First chosen in 1890, he was re-elected in 1896 and again in 1902. The three terms for which he was chosen represent a service of eighteen years

Taggart's specialty was criminal practice. One of his most important cases was the defense in the case of State *vs.* Burleigh, accused of murder. The evidence against Burleigh, although circumstantial, was strong, and public sentiment was against his client. He succeeded in securing a verdict of acquittal, and subsequent developments established to the satisfaction of many that Burleigh was really innocent. There is a tradition that when the jury first went out they stood 11 to 1, the 1 being Joshua Sloane, and that he talked over the other 11. Mr. Taggart can scarcely be called a successful lawyer. He dissipated his energies upon a number of activities. As related, he purchased Colonel Gatewood's interest in the *Union* in 1869, and was its editor and manager for a few months. He was also agent for the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. He died October 13, 1875; his monument bears the inscription: "A friend to free schools."

GEORGE PUTERBAUGH

Located, 1885; served as Superior Judge, 1889-97. chosen City Attorney, 1907; earnest advocate of large irrigation plan on Western Slope. which, if carried out, would have brought enormous benefits to city and county

The judiciary of San Diego has, as a rule, reflected the high character of the bar. Of the district judges, only the first

(Witherby) and the last (McNealy) were residents of San Diego, while the others were from other sections of the district. The first county judge and *ex-officio* presiding judge of the court of sessions, was John Hays. After him were Cave J. Couts, D. B. Kurtz, W. H. Noyes, Julio Osuña, Thomas H. Bush, and Moses A. Luce, who served until the office was abolished. Brief biographies of nearly all these judges have been given.

W. R. ANDREWS

Located, 1897; deputy district attorney, 1903-05; city attorney, 1905-07. Unquestionably, his most important public service was his single-handed fight to maintain the validity of the municipal bond issue of 1907, when his contention was sustained by the Superior Court and by the Supreme Court against the opposition of the leading bond experts of Southern California

The first superior judge was W. T. McNealy. Upon his retirement, October 1, 1886, John D. Works was appointed his successor and was chosen at the next general election to fill the unexpired term. He served about a year, then resigned, and was succeeded by Edwin Parker.

Judge Works is a native of Indiana. He came to San Diego in 1883, after having served in the Civil War and in the Indiana legislature and written a text book on practice and pleading. He was soon after chosen city attorney. After retiring from the bench, he formed a partnership with Olin Wellborn and John R. Jones. He afterward removed to Los Angeles, where he is now successfully engaged in the practice of his profession. He has served a term as judge of the supreme court of California, and stands high as a citizen and a lawyer.

Judge Parker completed the unexpired part of the term of Judge Works, and was regarded as an able jurist. He had been under-sheriff in 1873-74 and studied law and engaged in practice upon retiring from that position. He is spoken of as a man whose naturally fine powers were somewhat handicapped by his diffidence.

The year 1888 was the one at which the grand contest occurred between the "Gallaghers" and the regular Republican organization. The superior judge chosen at that election, John R. Aitken, was supported by the former organization. He was a young lawyer recently from San Francisco, who served one term. He returned to San Francisco and is now a practicing attorney there.

By February, 1889, the business of the superior court had increased so much that it was necessary to provide more judges. The legislature accordingly created two more departments and authorized the governor to fill them. Those appointed were George Puterbaugh and W. L. Pierce. In the fall of 1890 these two were elected for a term of six years, and the third judge chosen was E. S. Torrance.

Judge Puterbaugh made a good record. He is still engaged in the practice of his profession in San Diego, and enjoys the confidence and respect of the community. Judge Torrance has been upon the bench continuously for sixteen years and has two years yet to serve, but recently announced his intention of resigning. He is regarded as a very able jurist. Judge Pierce served out his term, but failed of a renomination. He was shot and dangerously wounded by W. S. Clendennin, who had been a party to a suit in his court and against whom he had ruled. Judge Pierce afterward left San Diego and went to San Francisco.

When the time came for the general election in the fall of 1896, the business of the court had decreased and one of the departments was discontinued. The two judges elected were E. S. Torrance and John W. Hughes. Judge Hughes died in office, and George Fuller was appointed to serve until the next election in the fall of 1900. At that election, Norman H. Conklin was chosen to fill the unexpired term, and he was re-elected in 1902. The two judges at this time are, therefore, Torrance and Conklin, and their successors are to be elected in 1908.

Judge Conklin is a native of Pennsylvania, and came to San Diego in 1874. He was associated with the late J. M. Julian in the publication of the *World,* and in 1877 was elected district attorney and served two years.

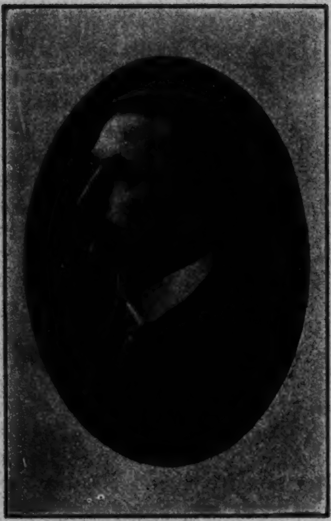
There have been a number of attorneys in San Diego, now deceased or removed elsewhere, of whom mention should be made.

Thomas P. Slade came to San Diego very early. He was a fine old gentleman who spent his last days at Julian. Lewis Branson had some of the most important land cases at New San Diego. He had been a judge in Wisconsin. He left before the boom and went to Washington Territory. S. S. Sanborn was another early arrival at Horton's Addition, and became associated with Charles A. Wetmore. He died here several years ago. Tyson & Swift were the attorneys for the land jumpers at Horton's Addition. They both went away early. G. A. Jones was from Texas, a fact which he took pains to place upon his sign. He was attorney for the ousted supervisors at the time of the trouble over the removal of the county seat, and won his case upon appeal. He was at one time in partnership with Chalmers Scott. He died in San Diego six or seven years ago. John R. Jones came from Tennessee and practiced a few years in partnership with Olin Wellborn. N. H. Dodson was from Sacramento. He lived on a ranch at Poway a few years, then returned to Sacramento. William H. Cleveland was an able and successful lawyer at Old Town, and the owner of Cleveland's Addition. A. C. Baker arrived about 1873, remained only a short time, then went to Los Angeles and later to Arizona, where he became chief justice of the territory in 1893. F. L. Aude came from San Francisco, practiced a short time, and then returned. William E. Darby was a resident of Old Town. He was elected district attorney, but died before entering upon the duties of the office. Wellington Stewart first practiced at National City and was attorney for Kimball Brothers. Later he was associated with D. C. Reed. He left San Diego in the 80's.

William J. Hunsaker grew up in San Diego and received his education in its public schools. He studied law in the office of Chase & Leach and practiced for a time in partnership with Judge Conklin. Later he was associated with E. W. Britt, with whom he is now practicing at Los Angeles. This firm stands very high at the California bar, and both are remembered kindly and regarded with pride by their former associates.

James S. Callen came to San Diego in boom days and was a noted criminal attorney for several years.

HENRY E. MILLS



W. A. SLOANE

S. S. KNOLES

ELIJAH W. HENDRICK

REPRESENTATIVE LAWYERS

H. E. DOOLITTLE

PATTERSON SPRIGG

SAM FERRY SMITH

EUGENE DANEY

REPRESENTATIVE LAWYERS

Of the remaining attorneys still in practice in San Diego, one of the oldest is Elijah W. Hendrick. Judge Hendrick served one term in the state legislature, in 1881, was district attorney in 1885-86, and also served as city attorney. He was one of the founders of the free public library, and has always been an active and public-spirited citizen. Moses A. Luce arrived in May, 1873. He has been associated with Judge Torrance and J. Wade McDonald, and is at present the senior partner of the firm of Luce, Sloane & Luce. His public services include a term as county judge, an active and effective part in bringing the Santa Fé Railway, etc.

S. S. Knoles is United States commissioner; H. W. Talcott, commissioner of the superior court; and J. Z. Tucker, United States referee in bankruptcy.

The San Diego Bar Association was formed April 22, 1899. The present officers are: Theron L. Lewis, president; Frederick W. Stearns, vice-president; Charles C. Haines, secretary; and J. Z. Tucker, treasurer. The membership is about sixty.

There are several other individuals and firms whose standing entitles them to fuller notice, and of whom the city is justly proud. All that can be done here, however, is to present a list of the practicing attorneys of San Diego at this time:

Anderson, Monroe B.
Arden, Henry
Bancroft, Griffing
Boone, Linden L.
Bowman, A. B.
Capps, Eugene E.
Carter, Cassius
Cleveland, Daniel
Collier, Smith & Holcomb (David C. Collier, Sam Ferry Smith, Will H. Holcomb)
Comly, Harry R.
Crane, H. S.
Dadmun & Belieu (Lewis E. Dadmun, Wm. T. Belieu)
Daney & Lewis (Eugene Daney, Theron L. Lewis)
Doolittle, Herbert E.
Ecker, William H. C.
Guy, Wilfred R.
Haines & Haines (Alfred Haines, Charles C. Haines)
Hendrick, Elijah W.
Hitchcock, George N.
Humphrey, William
Jordan, Adison D.
Riall, Ernest
Kew, Michael
Kirby, Lewis R.
Knoles, Samuel S.
Lamadrid, Tomas
Luce, Sloane & Luce (Moses A. Luce, William A. Sloane, Edgar A. Luce)
McDonald, J. Wade
McKee, Clarke W.
Mannix, John B.
Mills & Hizar (Henry E. Mills, J. Clyde Hizar)
Mossholder, William J.
Mouser, A. C.
O'Farrell, Fred
Palmer, Henry H.
Peterson, Edward W.
Pirkey, Oval
Puterbaugh & Puterbaugh (George Puterbaugh, Johnson W. Puterbaugh)
Riall, Ernest
Riley, Lewis S.
Rippey, Charles H.
Shea, Michael
Soto, Jose M.
Sprigg, Patterson
Stearns & Sweet (Frederick W. Stearns, Adelbert H. Sweet)

Taylor, Blaine
Thorpe, Milton B.
Torrance, E. Swift
Tucker, Jack Z.
Utley & Manning (Harry S. Utley, John F. Manning)
Wadham, James E.
Walker, Clarke A.
Ward, Martin L.
Whitehead, Fred G.
Wright, Schoonover & Winnek (Leroy A. Wright, Albert Schoonover, Emilus V. Winnek)

COUNTY COURT HOUSE, ERECTED IN 1882

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WESTERN
AMERICANA

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CHAPTER IV

GROWTH OF THE MEDICAL PROFESSION

THROUGHOUT all the days of Spanish and Mexican rule, the practice of medicine was very primitive. A surgeon was attached to each presidial company and the missionaries, as a rule, had some skill. But the presidios were feebly maintained and usually slack in medical and surgical equipment; and the traditions lead to the belief that the missionaries were rather poorly equipped as regarded medical and surgical skill, even for that day. Still, the few simple things they could do seemed marvelous to the Indians, and the colonists were not far behind them in their gaping wonder at the exhibition of very slight attainments. When the missions went down and the presidios were but intermittently maintained, there were long periods when the people were without the services of a physician. It is said that for almost twenty years before the Mexican War there was no resident physician in San Diego.

Naturally, the people had some strange notions and superstitions about the practice of medicine. When Alfred Robinson lived in San Diego, in 1829, he found that every foreigner was supposed to have a knowledge of medicine. Being requested by an old woman to prescribe for her daughter, who was suffering with cramps, he prescribed a small dose of laudanum. This having a good effect, he found his fame as a physician established. He says that, had he been so inclined and willing to furnish the medicines himself, he could have had a good practice. Other visitors were less scrupulous, judging from the story he tells of a drunken American deserter who imposed upon the poor people of Santa Barbara, using his pretended knowledge of medicine as a means of procuring brandy for his own consumption.

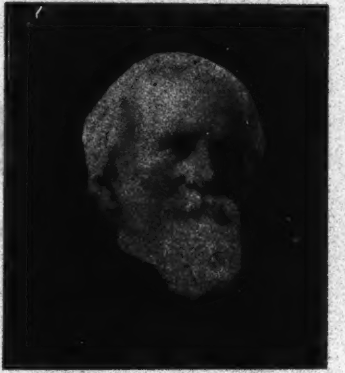
The first American doctors in San Diego were the United States Army surgeons who came with the troops. Lewis B. Hunter and R. F. Maxwell, the surgeons of the *Cyane*, and the three doctors with Frémont's battalion, who arrived July 29, 1846, were undoubtedly the first, but they did not remain. There does not appear to have been a surgeon with the little garrison left under Captain Merritt; but when Commodore Stockton arrived with his ships, early in November, the surgeons attached to his fleet landed with the men and performed duty on shore. After the battle of San Pasqual, they were joined by Dr. John S. Griffin, the surgeon of Kearny's force. These doctors found themselves confronted by the problem of providing hospital accommodations for the wounded men. This was accomplished by quartering them with the private families in the town, where the surgeons could visit them. From this time onward, San Diego was not again left without a physician and surgeon. There were always government troops present, in San Diego or at the mission, and the surgeons attached to these small commands bridged the gap between the Mexican occupation and the coming of civilian physicians by doing a little practice outside their official routine.

DR. DAVID B. HOFFMAN

One of the earliest physicians, and first president of the County Medical Society

The honor of being the first American practicing physician in San Diego probably belongs to Dr. Frederick J. Painter. He was an invalid and died November 30, 1853, at which time it was stated that he was an old resident, but very little information about him is given. His professional card appeared in the first number of the *Herald,* May 29, 1851, and he is mentioned at different times in that paper. He acted for a time as clerk of the common council in 1851—a position which paid $50 per month.

There were at least two other men in San Diego about the same time as Dr. Painter who are called "doctor" in the records, but no evidence has been found that they engaged in practice. These are Dr. John Conger and Dr. Atkins S. Wright. The former acted as secretary of the *ayuntamiento* before the American civil administration began, and as clerk of the common council throughout the year 1850, at the time the "boodling" council was in power. Dr. Wright was a member of this first council, chosen June 16, 1850, and served one term. He was also city translator and interpreter and was well paid for his services.



DR. JOHN S. GRIFFIN

Surgeon of Kearney's forces at the Battle of San Pasqual

Dr. David B. Hoffman was the next regular practicing physician to locate in San Diego. A brief biography of him has been given. He was a graduate of Toland Medical College. When he came to the Pacific Coast, he was at first in the employ of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, between Panama and San Francisco. His card first appears in the *Herald* on December 1, 1855, which probably marks the date when he left the employ of the steamship company and settled in San Diego. In later years he was post surgeon of the army in San Diego. When the

San Diego County Medical Society was formed, July 23, 1870, he was chosen president of the organization, and the address which he delivered on that occasion is extant.

On April 19, 1856, Dr. George E. Knight's card appeared in the *Herald*, but, apparently, he only remained a short time.

Dr. Edward Burr came to San Diego from Oakland soon after the Civil War, and was coroner and county physician for several years, being first elected in 1867 and again in the four succeeding years. He was a native of Ireland and what would now be called "a doctor of the old school." Dr. R. J. Gregg was his assistant for a time in 1868-69.

An old resident of New San Diego relates that when he came, in 1869, it was often necessary for him to go to Old Town on business, and for this purpose he was accustomed to take Seeley's coach which ran between the two towns. The first time he made this trip, the coach halted in front of Dr. Burr's office, and the doctor came out and sprayed all the passengers with some liquid from a small perfumery spray. There was a smallpox scare on at this time, and it was his duty, as county physician, to disinfect all travelers arriving at the county seat, and that was the way he did it.

Dr. George McKinstry, Jr., came to California in 1846 and was somewhat prominent in the northern part of the state before coming to San Diego. He was first sheriff of the northern district, at Sutter's Fort, in 1846-47, and a business man at Sacramento and San Francisco at a very early day. He left a valuable diary. He died before 1880.

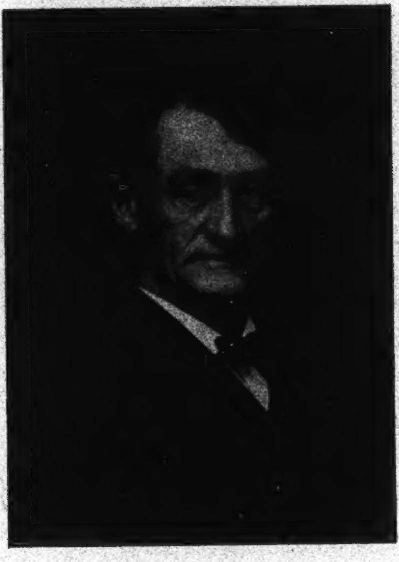
The physicians at Old Town when Horton came were Hoffman, Burr, and McKinstry, who had settled in the order named.

The first physician to settle in Horton's Addition was Dr. Jacob Allen, who came from Santa Clara in the spring of 1869. He was a graduate of Toland Medical College. He had his residence, drug store, and office on the east side of Fifth Street, near F. He was also the first postmaster and kept the postoffice in his drug store. He remained here several years, but many years ago removed to Riverside, where he died. He was the father of Legare Allen, a well-known official and business man of San Bernardino. He was engaged in a number of activities and seems to have been regarded as an able man.

Dr. Robert J. Gregg is the pioneer of the physicians now living in San Diego. He is a native of Pennsylvania and a graduate of Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia. He started west in the spring of 1864 and reached Texas, where he had yellow fever, and had to return home. In 1868 he came to San Diego, arriving October 16, and settled at Old

Town. After acting as assistant to Dr. Burr a few months, he opened an office of his own in Horton's Addition, on the west side of Fifth Street, opposite Dr. Allen's drug store. He has since resided in New San Diego and practiced until his retirement, a few years ago, and is one of the best known physicians in Southern California.

The next oldest pioneer physician of New San Diego is Dr. Thomas C. Stockton, who came here in 1869. He is a native of New Brunswick, Canada, and a graduate of Bellevue Hospital School. He was chosen coroner in 1875 and served two years, also as coroner and public administrator in 1880-1-2-3, and as city health officer at different times. Having purchased the property on the southeast corner of Columbia and F Streets, he leased it to the government for thirteen years and then he and Dr. Remondino occupied it for four or five years as a sanitarium. He was one of the organizers of the San Diego County



DR. ROBERT J. GREGG

Who settled at Old Town in 1868, but soon removed to the present city, where he practiced for more than thirty years. A man of rare culture, his writings and occasional addresses on literary topics enriched the city's intellectual life

Medical Society, in 1870, and a regular practitioner still in practice. His reminiscences of early days are most valuable as well as his collections, among which is a record of births, kept before physicians were officially required to make such returns.

Dr. P. C. Remondino is also one of the few living pioneer physicians. He is a native of Turin, Italy, whose parents came to America while he was young. He graduated from Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, in 1865. Coming to San Diego in January, 1874, he opened an office next door to his old classmate, Dr. Gregg, and entered at once upon the practice of his profession. He was city physician in 1875-76; county physician for several terms; surgeon for the California Southern Railroad Company for some time; surgeon of the Marine Hospital, also surgeon for the Pacific Coast Steamship Company.

DR. THOMAS C. STOCKTON

A pioneer physician of New San Diego and relative of Commodore Stockton. Has served as coroner, public administrator and city health officer

In 1887 he retired and built the St. James Hotel. In later years he resumed practice and is still actively engaged in it.

He is the author of several works on medical subjects which have a wide popularity, and is engaged in the preparation of others. His technical library is one of the best in the United States.

In 1874 the physicians in San Diego were: Drs. D. B. Hoffman, Edward Burr, J. Allen, R. J. Gregg, T. C. Stockton, P. C. Remondino, W. W. Royal, Wm. A. Winder, and Chas. M. Fenn. Dr. Fenn came to New San Diego soon after Dr. Gregg, but did not engage in practice for some time after his arrival. He served as county coroner, county physician, and public administrator several terms between the years 1873 and 1885. He died in March, 1907.

DR. P. C. REMONDINO

Equally distinguished as physician and author. His "Mediterranean Shores of America" and similar writings exerted a powerful influence in making the fame of the San Diego climate

Dr. Winder is one of the best remembered of the later residents of Old Town. He was a native of Maryland who had led an adventurous life and was a veteran of both the Mexican and Civil Wars. In 1854 he sailed from New York as a cap-

DR. FRED BAKER

DR. P. J. PARKER

DR. A. J. ELLIOTT

DR. JOSEPH C. HEARNE

REPRESENTATIVE PHYSICIANS

tain with the Third Artillery Regiment, for San Francisco. The ship was wrecked and decimated by cholera, but he was among those rescued. Arriving at San Diego, he was stationed here and at Fort Yuma until the Civil War. After that war, he resigned his commission and, in 1872, settled at San Diego and engaged in practice. After practicing about twelve years he retired. He was a man of character and had other interests besides those mentioned. He painted the portrait of Judge Witherby which now hangs in the court house, and was the owner of Winder's Addition to San Diego.

DR. DAVID GOCHENAUER

Located, 1886; founded the Agnew hospital, 1898; built Agnew Sanitarium, 1906; president Chamber of Commerce, 1907; county physician since 1896

There were also in 1874 the following other physicians in New San Diego: Drs. T. S. Harrison, W. S. Williams, Cluness Bibb, and Drs. Tufford and Barnes, the latter being the first homeopathist in San Diego. Dr. F. R. Millard came in October, 1874, and still lives here, keeping a drug store. This completes the list of early physicians.

The first county hospital was the old cobblestone jail which Haraszthy built, at Old Town. It was used for a short time, and then, about 1869, a large frame house at Old Town was rented for the purpose.

After the county offices were removed to New San Diego, one of the old houses built by William Heath Davis was purchased by Captain Knowles and removed to Eleventh Street in Horton's Addition, and was later used as a hospital. It is still standing, and is now occupied as a residence.

DR. C. C. VALLE

Located, 1885; city trustee, 1887; later, member of city council; appointed San Diego County Health Officer, 1904; identified with progress of county, particularly mining industries

The county farm in Mission Valley was purchased in January, 1880, from the Commercial Bank. The magnificent new brick hospital building on the rim of the mesa overlooking the valley was erected in 1903-4. It is generously supported and well managed and is a credit to the people of San Diego County.

Following is a list of the physicians of San Diego at the present time. They are a fine body of men and women, who hold the professional standard high:

Anderson, Thomas B.
Averill, Maria B.
Baker, Charlotte J.
Baker, Fred
Burney, William A.
Burnham, Fred R.
Butler, Edward A.
Crandall, Alice H.
Cummings, William M.
De Borra, Alexis
Doig, Robert L.
Elliott, Albert J.
Escher, John F.

Hulbert, Robert G.
Kendall, Oscar J.
Klietsch, Otto
Latta, Lelia
Leisenring, Peter S.
Lentz, Nicholas
Howe, Robert C.
Lewis, Eva. M.
Lewis, J. Perry
Luscomb, Charles E.
Madison, Frank M.
Magee, Thomas L.
Marsh, Charles E.

BUILDINGS AT COLUMBIA AND F STREETS

Used by Drs. Stockton and Remondino as a sanitarium for several years

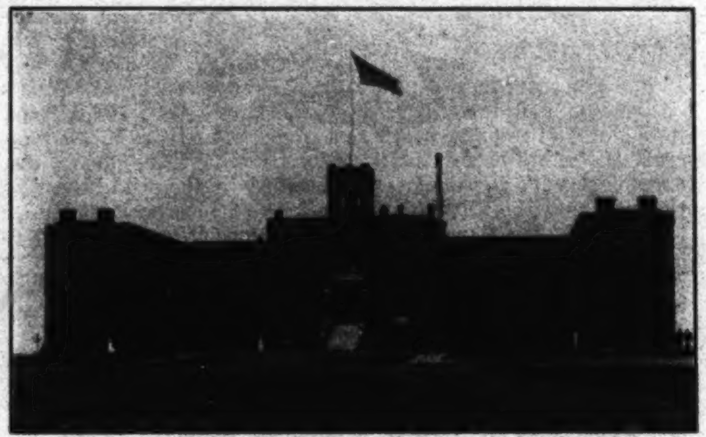
Fenn, Charles M.
Fletcher, Oliver P.
Franklin, Berte V.
French, James M.
Gochenauer, David
Goff, H. Neville
Goldschmidt, Leopold
Grandjean, Arthur
Greene, Dr. & Co.
Gregg, Robert J.
Grove, Edward
Hearne, Joseph C.
Hoffman, Mary E.

Mead, Francis H.
Morgan, Addison
Murphy, George S.
Northrup, Daniel B.
Oatman, Homer C.
Parker, P. James
Parks, Joseph A.
Polhemus, W. P.
Potts, Anna M. L.
Powell, Charles S.
Remondino, Peter C.
Reyber, Ernst L.
Roberts, Samuel L.

Skewes, Thomas J. D.
Smart, Willard N.
Smith, David A.
Smith, Q. Cincinnatus
Steade, James M.
Stockton, Thomas C.
Stone, John B.
Sundberg, John C.
Thayer, Orson V.
Valle, Charles C.
Verity, Minnie E. J.
Waterman, Elmer L.
Willard, E. P.

OSTEOPATHS

Byars, William R.
Creswell, Lena
Elliott, David H.
Frazer, Charles F.
Woodhull, Anna B.
Woodhull, Frederick B.



THE NEW COUNTY HOSPITAL

CHAPTER V

THE PUBLIC LIBRARY

BETWEEN the fine library of today, in its rich Carnegie housing, and the earliest organized aspiration of the people for such an institution lay a score of years, marked by numerous vicissitudes. The humble beginnings of the free public library date back to January 24, 1870, when the first organization was formed at a meeting in the Baptist Church. It was soon incorporated under the name of the Horton Library Association and was founded on the promise of Mr. Horton to donate 600 volumes which he had acquired from H. H. Bancroft in exchange for lots. Unfortunately, there was a disagreement with the donor, which ended in the withdrawal of the offer and the filing of new articles of incorporation under the name of the San Diego Library Association.

Says one of the members: "The only book the old Library Association ever owned was a pamphlet containing an address before the Bunker Hill Association, by George Warren, president of that society. This pamphlet was donated by Rev. Charles Russell Clark, of this city." In April, 1870, Mrs. E. W. Morse gave the association Lot 1, Block 18, Horton's Addition (now occupied by Unity Hall), which afterward became the property of the Society of Natural History. It was not until several years later, however, that efforts to put the association upon a working basis proved successful.

The San Diego Free Reading Room Association was organized March 1, 1872, and maintained until the library was opened to the public, in 1882. It was a movement by a number of the same citizens who had organized the Library Association, to provide a free reading room where periodicals could be found, until such time as the library could be put upon a working basis. The first officers were: Charles S. Hamilton, president; George W. Marston, vice-president; R. C. Grierson, secretary; E. W. Morse, treasurer; W. A. Begole, Bryant Howard, and S. G. Reynolds, trustees. Mr. Cleveland was active in the work of the organization. The reading room was situated on Fifth Street, next door to the postoffice, and was open from 10 A.M. to 10 P.M. In March, 1873, a concert given in its aid produced $100, and Mr. Horton gave it the books which had been the bone of contention with the first association. These were afterward turned over to the new public library. In October, 1879, interest had flagged, the association was in debt, and the *Union* made urgent appeals for its support. There was some talk of a tax for its support in 1881, but the views of those who held that the time had come for the establishment of the public library prevailed.

THE PUBLIC LIBRARY

The first officers of the San Diego Library Association in 1870 were: G. W. B. McDonald, president; A. Pauly, vice-president; E. W. Morse, treasurer; C. Dunham, recording secretary; Daniel Cleveland, corresponding secretary; G. W. B. McDonald, G. A. Jones, J. Allen, C. Dunham, J. W. Gale, D. Cleveland, A. W. Oliver, A. Pauly, and J. M. Pierce, trustees. These men and their successors kept the spark alive until May 19, 1882, when the first board of trustees of the San Diego Free Public Library was organized. This first official board consisted of Bryant Howard, E. W. Hendrick, George N. Hitchcock, George W. Marston, and R. M. Powers. Howard was made president; Hendrick, secretary; and Hitchcock, treasurer. The

Commercial Bank offered the use of a suite of five rooms in its building free for six months, and the offer was accepted. Many citizens made donations of books, and others gave money. Among these early friends of the institution appear the names of Bryant Howard, E. W. Hendrick, A. E. Horton, Judge Alfred Cowles, Judge M. A. Luce, J. C. Frisbie, Rev. Mr. Cronyn, Dr. Remondino, Charles Treanor, George N. Hitchcock, Joseph Faivre, Mrs. Harriet Marston, and others. Generous givers in later years include Charles Nordhoff, Daniel Cleveland, George W. Marston, and others. On July 15, 1882, the library was formally opened to the public, with Archibald Hooker as librarian. The loaning out of books did not begin until early in September, 1883. August 6, 1884, Augustus Wooster became librarian and continued to act until September 6, 1887, when Miss Lou Younkin was appointed librarian and Miss Mary E. Walker became her assistant.

When first opened, the library seems to have depended largely upon donations of books; but the raising of funds by taxation soon provided means for the purchase of new books upon a more liberal scale. The amount raised for the library by taxation in 1881 was $648.19. This grew to over $2,000 in 1886, then took a jump to $11,557.48 in the inflated days of 1887, but dropped to less than $6,000 the next year. The number of volumes in 1887 was 1,800; a year later it was 5,500, and in another year was 7,000.

In 1889 the fourth floor of the Consolidated Bank Building was leased for four years, at a rental of $150 per month. The first catalogue was issued early in this year. At the expiration of this lease, the library was removed to the St. James building, corner Seventh and F Streets, over the postoffice. Some 1,200 volumes were added in 1892, and in 1894 the total was 11,000 volumes. Early in 1895, the second catalogue was issued, conforming to the Dewey classification, which is still in use. Miss Younkin was succeeded by Miss Mary E. Walker, as librarian, in December, 1895, and she by Mrs. Hannah P. Davison in May, 1903. The latter is the present incumbent.

In April, 1898, the upper floor of the Keating building, on the northwest corner of Fifth and F Streets, was leased and the library moved thither, where it remained until the construction of the present library building.

In June, 1899, Mrs. A. E. Horton wrote Andrew Carnegie concerning the need of a library building in San Diego, appealing to the philanthropist for aid. She received the following reply:

JULY 7, 1899.

Mrs. A. E. Horton, San Diego Public Library,
Madam:—

If the city were to pledge itself to maintain a free public library from the taxes, say to the extent of the amount you name, of between five and six thousand dollars a year, and provide a suitable site, I shall be glad to give you $50,000 to erect a suitable library building.

Very truly yours,
ANDREW CARNEGIE.

The trustees immediately accepted the offer and took steps to enable the city to meet its conditions. After several months' consideration a half-block was purchased on E Street, between Eighth and Ninth, for $17,000. Plans were submitted by architects all over the country and those of Ackerman & Ross of New York were accepted. The cornerstone was laid on March 19, 1901, with Masonic ceremonies. Mrs. Horton read an historical review and Judge M. A. Luce delivered an oration. The building is not only a great ornament to the city, but provides ample accommodation for the various departments of the institution.

A list of the trustees, from the earliest down to date, follows:

BOARDS OF LIBRARY TRUSTEES

HORTON LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.

January, 1870. G. W. B. McDonald, President.
G. A. Jones.
J. Allen.
C. Dunham, Recording Secretary.
J. W. Gale.
D. Cleveland, Corresponding Secretary.
A. W. Oliver.
A. Pauly, Vice-President.
A. E. Horton.
E. W. Morse, Treasurer.

FIRST OFFICERS OF THE SAN DIEGO LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.

1870.

G. W. B. McDonald, President.
A. Pauly, Vice-President.
E. W. Morse, Treasurer.
C. Dunham, Recording Secretary.
Daniel Cleveland, Corresponding Secretary.
A. Pauly, J. M. Pierce, G. A. Jones, J. Allen, C. Dunham, J. W. Gale, Daniel Cleveland, A. W. Oliver, G. W. B. McDonald, Trustees.

May 23, 1873. E. W. Morse, President.
William S. Gregg, Vice-President.
D. Cleveland, Treasurer.
C. Dunham, Recording Secretary.
J. W. Gale.
A. W. Oliver.

Jacob Allen.
W. A. Begole.
Charles S. Hamilton, Corresponding Secretary.

OFFICERS OF THE SAN DIEGO FREE READING ROOM ASSOCIATION.

Served from March 8, 1872 to 1882.
Charles S. Hamilton, President.
George W. Marston, Vice-President.
R. C. Grierson, Secretary.
E. W. Morse, Treasurer.
W. A. Begole, Bryant Howard, S. G. Reynolds, Trustees.

SAN DIEGO FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.

First Board.
May 22, 1882.
Bryant Howard, President.
E. W. Hendrick, Secretary.
Geo. N. Hitchcock, Treasurer.
G. W. Marston.
R. M. Powers.

Second Board, June 7, 1887.
D. Cave, President
E. W. Hendrick.
John Ginty.
E. T. Blackmer.
G. N. Hitchcock.

Third Board, June, 1889.
D. Cave, President.
E. W. Hendrick.
John Ginty.
George, N. Hitchcock, Secretary.
E. T. Blackmer.

Fourth Board, May, 1893, the same members having held office from June, 1887 to May, 1893.
D. Cave, President.
Philip Morse.
Charles S. Hamilton.
E. W. Hendrick.
H. M. Kutchin, Secretary.

Fifth Board, May, 1895.
D. Cave, President.
E. W. Hendrick.
George W. Marston.
Philip Morse.
Harriet W. Phillips, Secretary.

Sixth Board, May, 1897.
D. Cave, President.
E. W. Hendrick.
George W. Marston.
Philip Morse.
Lydia M. Horton, Secretary.

In August, 1897, D. Cave sent in his resignation as member of the Board—accepted Dec. 14, 1897, and Dr. Fred Baker appointed in his place.

Seventh Board, May, 1899.
Philip Morse.
Frederick W. Stearns.
E. W. Hendrick.
James W. Somers.
Lydia M. Horton.

Eighth Board, May, 1901.

- Philip Morse.
- Frederick W. Stearns.
- Ernest E. White.
- A. Will Angier.
- Lydia M. Horton.

Ninth Board, May, 1903.

- Leroy A. Wright, President.
- Lydia M. Horton, Secretary.
- Frederick W. Stearns.
- J. C. Hearne.
- C. F. Francisco.

October, 1903, Mrs. Horton resigned, and August, 1904, the vacancy was filled by the appointment of Julius Wangenheim.

Tenth Board, May, 1905, as appointed by Mayor Frank P. Frary.

- Leroy A. Wright, 3 years.
- Frederick W. Stearns, President, 2 years.
- Julius Wangenheim, 4 years.
- H. P. Davison, Secretary.

January 5, 1906, a new board was appointed by Mayor Sehon as follows:

- Sam Ferry Smith, President, 2 years.
- Rev. Clarence T. Brown, 3 years.
- Col. Fred Jewell, 4 years.

CHAPTER VI

STORY OF THE CITY PARKS

THE time has come when everybody can see that the great City Park (which is worthy of a more notable name) is destined to be one of the chief beauties and glories of San Diego and one of the famous parks of the world. For many years it looked otherwise, for the reservation of 1,400 acres in the heart of the town appeared like the most hopeless of waste places and few believed that it would be possible to command the water, the money, and the genius to develop it to the highest advantage. Suddenly the situation changed. Civic pride was aroused and directed along intelligent lines. The finest landscape architects were employed to work out comprehensive plans and put them in the way of gradual realization. Money was obtained from private and public sources to carry on the work, and its administration was vested in the hands of devoted citizens who stood ready to give freely of their time and thought to this labor of love.

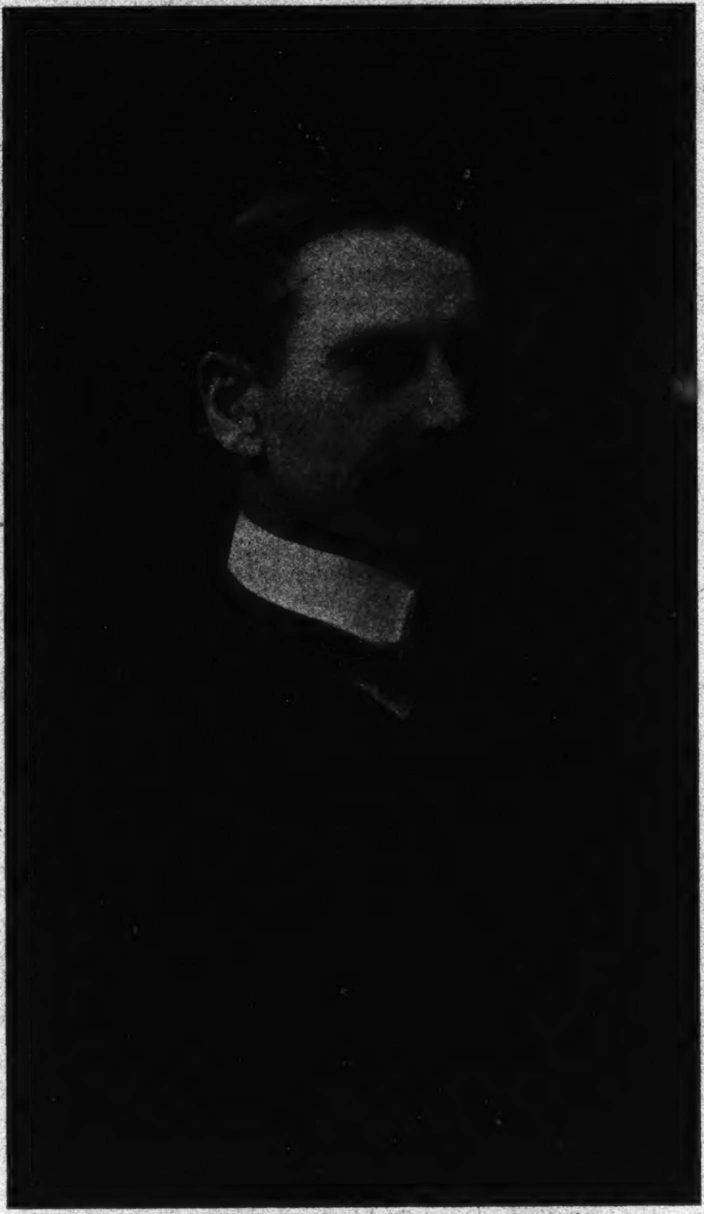
It is seldom, if ever, true that a great public development may justly be credited to any single individual. The history of the City Park is no exception, as we shall see, yet in this instance there is one man who did so much, and did it so generously and wisely, that he is entitled to unstinted praise and to lasting remembrance. This man is George W. Marston. He was one of the few who never lost faith in the possibilities of that large tract of arid land, and he was the man who came forward at the critical moment to employ the finest genius in America to translate the barren wilderness into a spot of perennial beauty by means of a well-conceived, harmonious, unified design for its artistic development. The undertaking cost him $10,000 to start with, and this was doubtless but the beginning of his benefaction. As in all such cases, his financial contribution was of less value than the moral influence which it set in motion, for the enthusiasm of the whole citizenship was immediately enlisted in behalf of this neglected asset of San Diego. While the history of the park reflects credit upon many individuals, as well as upon the city as a whole, it will doubtless be regarded in the future as an enduring memorial to Mr. Marston's public spirit and civic pride.

Before the coming of Horton, there was so much land belonging to the city, and it was worth so little, that it did not occur to anyone that it was necessary to reserve a large tract from sale for park purposes. The trustees were glad to get rid of it, to secure settlers and pay the city's debts. There is a record of two 160-acre tracts being sold for less than seven cents an acre. But when the great dream began to come true, when Horton's new town began to rise on the brushy mesas, and the city lands began to sell rapidly, it was seen that the best of them would soon be gone and that, if a park were to be reserved, it was necessary to act without delay.

The first official action was taken on February 15, 1868, when E. W. Morse presented a resolution to the board of trustees "that the present board reserve two of the one hundred and sixty acre tracts of the city lands for the purpose of securing to the inhabitants of the city of San Diego a suitable park." The members of the board were J. S. Mannasse, Thomas H. Bush, and E. W. Morse. President Mannasse appointed Morse and Bush a committee to select the 320 acres, which it was thought would be sufficient; "but afterward," said Mr. Morse, "when we found so much land, we concluded to lay out a larger park." The committee certainly exercised excellent judgment in its selection. They selected pueblo lots 1129, 1130, 1131, 1135, 1136, 1137, 1142, 1143, and 1144, comprising a solid block of nine quarter-sections. In the meantime, however, on the 13th day of February, 1868, Isabella Carruthers stole a march upon them and bought the southwest quarter of lot 1144 for $175, which took a 40-acre "bite" out of the southwest corner of their tract. The minutes of the trustees' meetings are very scanty, but it appears that on May 26th it was resolved that this tract "be for a park." The trustees who took this action were José Guadalupe Estudillo, Marcus Schiller, and Joshua Sloane.

It was scarcely to be expected that the reservation of this large tract at such an early day would pass unchallenged. There were those who honestly thought it against the public interest to try to maintain so large a park, and, it is to be feared, others who were interested only in the profits they hoped to make out of the sale of these lands, if they could succeed in having them thrown upon the market.

The effort to cut down the size of the park began early and lasted long. On February 4, 1870, an act was passed by the state legislature to insure the permanency of the reservation, which declared that the tract should "be held in trust forever by the municipal authorities of the said city for the use and pur-



GEORGE W. MARSTON

San Diego's leading merchant who began with the town's small beginnings and grew with its growth. Conspicuously identified with every movement for civic progress, his great and lasting contribution to the community is his work for the City Park poses of a public park, and for no other or different purpose." After this bill had been introduced, it was discovered that an effort had been made to defeat its purpose surreptitiously by inserting a provision for the sale of 480 acres, and the restoration of the bill to its original form was only accomplished by prompt and strenuous action by the friends of the park. At the next ensuing session an effort was made to repeal this act, which was only defeated by a remonstrance signed by all the leading citizens, and nearly all the voters, of San Diego. Among those most active in working for the preservation of the park were Daniel Cleveland, Levi Chase, George W. Marston, E. W. Morse, Dr. R. J. Gregg, Charles Hubbell, A. E. Horton, George N. Hitchcock, James M. Pierce, Thomas L. Nesmith, Captain Mathew Sherman, Joshua Sloane, and many others. It would be impossible to enumerate all these earliest and truest friends of the park; perhaps a word for those who are dead and gone and cannot speak for themselves may be pardoned.

Besides having the honor to introduce the resolution for its reservation, and to act as one of the committee which selected it, Mr. Morse remained one of the park's staunchest friends and in the front of every fight for it. Joshua Sloane was one of the trustees who voted to confirm the committee's report, and in his capacity as clerk of the board was watchful of its interests and filled with righteous indignation against its enemies.

Certainly, the slow development of the park gave aid and comfort to those who thought it too large. The first improvement work was accomplished by the Ladies' Annex to the Chamber of Commerce. About the year 1889 they raised $500 by popular subscription and planted a strip of 10 acres along the west side of the park with trees. Perhaps a third of these trees survive and some of them have prospered fairly well. In 1892 a tract of 36 acres in the northwest corner was leased to Miss Kate O. Sessions for use as a nursery, on condition of the permanent planting of 100 trees, and the donation of 300 more to the city, annually. When Miss Sessions removed her nursery there was left the beginning of the first satisfactory planting in the park.

The first definite move toward the systematic development of the park began on August 15, 1902, when Mr. Julius Wangenheim suggested to the Chamber of Commerce the appointment of a "Park Improvement Committee." The committee consisted of Mr. Wangenheim, chairman; U. S. Grant, Jr., George W. Marston, William Clayton, and D. E. Garrettson.

It was at this time that Mr. Marston came forward with his offer to provide for the preparation of adequate plans. Thus encouraged, the work of obtaining subscriptions was begun by sub-committees. The late John Allyn had bequeathed the city $3,000 for park improvement and, with this nucleus, the fund soon reached $11,000, exclusive of Mr. Marston's contribution. Correspondence was begun with a number of persons qualified to give advice on the subject.

The result was the employment of Mrs. M. B. Coulston as secretary of the Park Improvement Committee and the employment of Samuel Parsons, Jr., & Co., of New York, to prepare the plans for the improvements. Mrs. Coulston had been for ten years one of the editors of *Garden and Forest*, in New York City. She arrived in San Diego late in September, and at once began active work on behalf of the park, delivering addresses and writing a large number of contributions to the local newspapers on the subject, besides conducting correspondence, keeping accounts, and aiding the committees in many ways. This gifted woman went to Berkeley to pursue her studies in 1904, and died there

GEORGE COOKE

Associated with Samuel Parsons in planning park improvement and superintendent in charge of the work; also identified with other works of landscape architecture which have beautified the city and its surroundings in July of that year. Many citizens rendered important services to the park at this time, but probably no other persons gave so much of the best that was in them as did Mrs. Coulston. She was of a sincere and intense nature and threw herself into the work with a joyful abandon. Her name and labors will not soon be forgotten.

Mr. Parsons arrived in San Diego on December 21, 1902, and after a reception by the Chamber of Commerce entered immediately upon his work. A contour map being needed, Mr. J. B. Lippincott, of Los Angeles, was employed to prepare it, and as fast as the sections were finished they were sent to the architects in New York. The map of roads and paths for the southwestern section of the park was received by the committee in May, 1903, and in September a planting list showing the number and kinds of trees. In July, George Parsons came and spent five weeks. In August, an appropriation of $1,700 was made for laying water pipes on the west side of the park. On December 20th, George Cooke, Mr. Parsons' partner, arrived and brought with him a sketch of the entire tract to be worked out. The grading at the south end was at once commenced under his direction. In January, 1904, the park map was approved.

On January 27, 1905, the city charter was amended with the emphatic approval of the voters so as to provide an annual park appropriation of not less than 5 or more than 8 cents on each $100 of assessed valuation, to be expended by the Park Commission. In 1906, on the basis of 7 cents per $100, this amounted to about $14,000.

April 17, 1905, the first board of park commissioners, consisting of George W. Marston president, Ernest E. White secretary, and A. Moran, was appointed. This board is still serving.

The architects consider that their real work was only begun when the plan was completed, and expect that it will continue through all the years in which the plan is being developed. The general features of the plan include the planting of palms and other trees which flourish with a moderate provision of water, arranged in harmonious groupings as to foliage and color-scheme, care being taken not to spoil the fine views by the growth of tall shrubbery at strategic points. Considerable planting has already been done and a few of the principal roads and paths, following the winding contour of the hills, constructed. The place offers unusual opportunities for artistic achievement and magnificent natural effects. That the future management of this great endowment will be worthy of the beginning that has been made must be the hope of every citizen of San Diego.

The first park in New San Diego was not, of course, the great park, but that dedicated to public use by William Heath Davis and his associates in 1850. This is in the block bounded by F, G, Columbia and India Streets, known as "New Town Plaza." The flagpole now standing in this park is the one erected there in 1869. It was brought from the Territory of Washington by steamer. It was originally 125 feet long, but the lower part rotted and was cut off. Dr. Stockton says he paid Ed. Westcott $20 for plowing and leveling the block twice in 1869—the first time it was ever plowed. The little plot is handsomely improved with rubber and other attractive trees, is well maintained, and forms a beauty spot in a district that needs such a feature.

TORREY PINES

Golden Hill Park, at Twenty-fifth and A Streets, is a section of the City Park. There is also a park on H Street between Ninth and Tenth, another on the southeast corner of Thirteenth and K, and a very attractive one known as Mission Cliff Park, on Adams Street between Alabama and Texas, overlooking Mission Valley, which is one of the chief scenic attractions of the city. The New Town Plaza is a half block bounded by Third, Fourth, D, and Witherby Streets. It is historically interesting, as it stood immediately in front of the Horton House and was kept by "Father" Horton as a breathing space for his guests. In later years he conveyed it to the city and it has been officially named "Horton Plaza." These parks are cared for by a superintendent under the control of the board of public works. The present incumbent is Samuel E. Webb.

In the year 1900, the city council added one more to the reservations of land for park purposes, by setting apart 369 acres at the northern extremity of the city's lands, on the bluffs near the ocean, four miles south of Del Mar and one and one-half miles north of Sorrento. This was done for the purpose of safeguarding a grove of one of the rarest of trees—the *Pinus Torreyana,* or Torrey pine. There are but two places in the world where this tree is found, one of which is in this park and the other on Santa Rosa Island. The trees were discovered in 1850 by Dr. J. L. Le Conte, who was then staying in San Diego. Upon consulting with the naturalist, Dr. C. C. Parry, they both became much interested in the tree, and dedicated it to their honored instructor, Dr. John Torrey, of New York, by giving it the name of *Pinus Torreyana.* Since then, the grove has been visited by many eminent travelers and scientists, some of them having journeyed thousands of miles to see it. Among these are Bayard Taylor, Asa Gray, Engelmann, Sargent, Nelease, and others.

The tree is found on the high wind-swept bluffs and in the sheltered ravines between. Its growth is often in fantastic forms, sometimes with a trunk three or four feet in circumference, yet rising to a height of scarcely ten feet. In sheltered spots it reaches a height of fifty feet or more. It seems to delight to wrestle with the winds in exposed positions, and exhibits a tenacity of life and an ability to reproduce its species seldom equalled. The trees bear cones four or five inches long, ovate, with thick scales terminating in strong prickles. The nuts are about an inch long, flattened, and with a black wing. The shells are thick and hard and the seeds edible. The pollen-bearing (male) flowers are terete, from two and one-half to three inches long, and three-eighths of an inch in diameter. The leaves grow in fascicles of five and are the largest pine leaves known, being from six to eight inches long.

The view from these bluffs is superb. The water-worn and wind-beaten sides of the canyons show the rocky formations in many colors. On the west is the ocean, and landward the top of the San Bernardino Mountains is visible. There is a carpet of pine needles, and in the season wild flowers make a riot of color. The reservation includes the Point of Pines, the natural salt lagoons of the Soledad, and other attractive features. Here in days to come the dwellers of the city will resort for rest and recreation and bless the care and foresight of the city fathers no less than the natural upheavals which left this driftwood of prehistoric ages upon our shores.

CHAPTER VII

THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

THE very efficiency of the Chamber of Commerce as an organized agency for promoting the development of San Diego makes it unnecessary to write its history with any degree of fullness. This is so because the great affairs with which it has been identified belong to the history of the city as a whole, and have therefore been dwelt upon elsewhere in these pages.

During its existence of thirty-six years, the Chamber of Commerce has had an active and influential hand in all public efforts to increase transportation facilities by land and sea; in the promotion of all state and national legislation related to the material development of the Southwest; in all that has been attempted or accomplished in connection with harbor improvement and local coast defenses; and even in matters of such world-wide significance as the opening of Oriental trade and the construction of the Isthmian Canal.

A mere statement of its activities in connection with these large affairs conveys no adequate impression of the institutional value of the Chamber of Commerce. It fills an important gap between the machinery of the municipality and the ranks of private citizenship. Its functions are such as could not be performed by city officials, on one hand, nor by unauthorized individuals, on the other. It is an organized body of the highest representative character, and as such speaks for the community upon a wide range of matters not within the purview of city or county governments. It is the forum in which all propositions for civic improvement, especially those of a commercial kind, are first discussed. It is the reception room which is always open to greet the city's guests, to the humblest stranger. Its rooms supply a permanent exhibit of the utmost variety of local products, showing the country at its best. Possibly more important than anything else, the Chamber is a great bureau of publicity which keeps the world constantly informed of the needs and progress of San Diego. Its work under this head has become immensely effective in recent years under the management of Secretary H. P. Wood, and of his successor, Secretary James A. Jasper.

EDWIN M. CAPPS
Mayor of San Diego 1899-'00.

JOHN B. STARKEY
A leading druggist.

C. W. BUKER
Dealer in electrical supplies and prominent in fraternal circles.

JOHN G. BURGESS **FRANK MERTZ**

Lessees F. T. Scripps Block and leading promoters of real estate investments.

C. W. ROBINSON

Proprietor Hotel Robinson, formerly connected with Hotel del Colorado.

J. T. WELDON

A Pioneer Mill Man of San Diego

Like most organizations of the kind, the Chamber of Commerce has had a somewhat uneven existence. It has seen days of growth, and days of decline. But latterly it has become so serviceable to the community, so strong in public confidence that membership is regarded as a duty of citizenship, while a call to office in the organization is considered a substantial honor.

The history of the Chamber dates back to the beginning of 1870, when David Felsenheld called a preliminary meeting at his store on the corner of F and Sixth Streets, where the Express building now stands. Formal organization was effected on January 22d, Aaron Pauly being elected president; G. W. B. McDonald, vice-president; Joseph Nash, secretary; and A. E. Horton, treasurer. The constitution and by-laws were drawn up by a committee composed of G. W. B. McDonald, E. W. Morse, D. Choate, David Felsenheld, and Joseph Nash. The purpose of the organization was stated as follows in the preamble to the constitution:

> To take some practical steps to unite the business men of the city for the better promotion of the public interest; to aid in the development of our back-country, and make known its resources; to give reliable information of the commercial advantages of our harbor, and of our natural position as an overland railroad terminus on the Pacific Coast.

The first important business transacted by the Chamber was the passage of a resolution instructing the secretary to communicate with W. B. Webb of New York in regard to the need of a competing steamship line between San Diego and San Francisco. As an inducement, Mr. Horton offered the free use of his new wharf at the foot of Fifth Street. While the offer was not accepted by them, the desired competition was obtained before the close of the year, the steamer *William Taber* being put in service between the two ports. Competition did not last, however, as the new line was soon absorbed by the Pacific Coast Steamship Company.

On May 5, 1870, the first advertising matter was issued by the Chamber. It took the form of a pamphlet prepared by D. Choate and E. W. Morse, and entitled *Climate, Resources, and Future Prospects of San Diego*. The first memorial drafted was addressed to the state legislature. It urged the passage of a bill authorizing boards of supervisors to levy special taxes for the construction of roads and highways.

One of the earliest and most successful enterprises with which the Chamber of Commerce became identified was the building of a turnpike to Yuma to accommodate the overland freight shipped from Arizona to tide-water. There was already a highway in use between San Pedro and Fort Yuma, but the haul was

120 miles longer. A turnpike company was formed for the purpose of forwarding the work. Aaron Pauly was elected president; H. H. Dougherty, secretary; O. P. Galloway, superintendent of construction; and C. J. Fox, civil engineer. Subscription lists were opened and $10,000 pledged in a short time, the citizens appearing to realize from the start the vast importance of the project.

Among the prominent names on this list were the following: John G. Capron, $1,000; T. J. Higgins, $100; E. W. Nottage, $100; Charles Gassen, $150; E. W. Morse, $100; George W. Hazzard, $100; J. M. Pierce, $100; Steiner and Klauber, $250; J. S. Mannasse, $200; A. Pauly, $100. It is interesting to note that the sum of $6,000 was raised in San Francisco for this purpose.

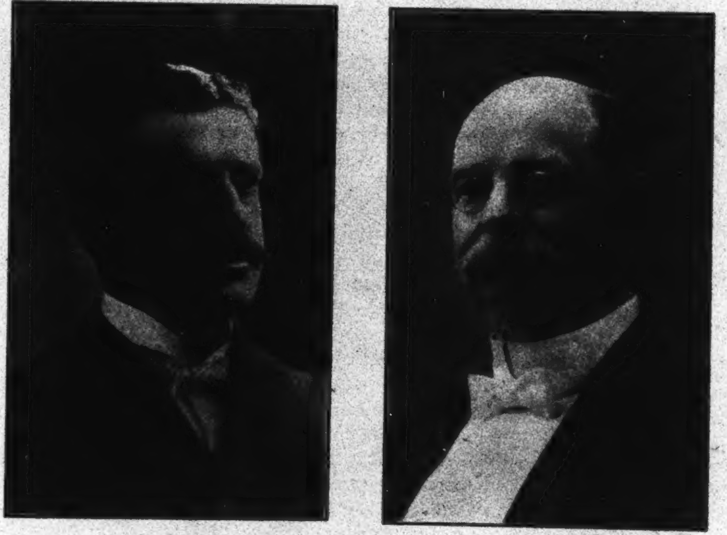
The records of the Chamber reflect something of the excitement occasioned by the controversy over the tide-lands, and tell of a stormy meeting held January 21, 1871, when Editor Truman of the *Bulletin* appeared to press the charge made in his newspaper, to the effect that two of the city trustees had "packed" the Chamber in order to obtain its endorsement of a big land steal. Truman seems to have held his own, as resolutions were passed declaring that more care should be taken in admitting members.

The Chamber was very active in connection with the movement for turning the San Diego River into False Bay, and its influence was strongly and persistently used in behalf of the Texas & Pacific during the whole period in which the town had hopes of Scott's ill-fated enterprise.

Next to its work in behalf of railroad promotion, the constant activity of the Chamber in urging harbor improvement was probably its most important service. Despite the fact that the Bay of San Diego was at that time the only port on the coast of California outside of San Francisco, considerable difficulty was experienced in maintaining its position. After gaining recognition as a port of entry in 1872, we find in the minutes of March 4, 1880, notice of the appointment by President George W. Hazzard of a committee, consisting of Douglas Gunn, A. Klauber, and J. S. Gordon, to memorialize Congress relative to permitting San Diego to remain a port of entry. This effort was successful.

After a long agitation of the subject of more frequent mail service between San Diego and northern points, there occurs in the record of a meeting, November 24, 1876, a resolution of thanks to Senator A. A. Sargent for having secured for San Diego a daily mail service.

The matter of proper fortifications for the harbor was taken up at an early date by the Chamber of Commerce and never permitted to drop until adequate military protection had been provided. The defenseless condition of the harbor was emphasized with no uncertain force and endless repetition, communications and many memorials urging the necessary appropriations being sent to Congress. October 4, 1883, General Scofield wrote from Washington that a two-company post had been decided upon for San Diego, and this has since been maintained.



W. L. FREVERT, 1902-03 GEORGE H. BALLOU, 1900-01

PRESIDENTS OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

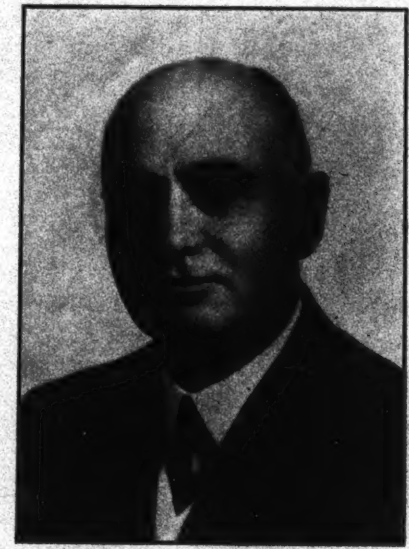
In the same year a curious proposition was made to the Chamber of Commerce regarding the waters of that portion of the bay region known as False Bay. G. S. Pidgeon had invented a tide-power machine, capable of producing enormous horsepower from the inrush and outrush of the 12,000,000,000 cubic yards of water taken in and emptied from False Bay every eight hours. This power was to be distributed throughout the city for every known purpose. Messrs. Gunn, Marston, and Silliman were appointed an investigating committee. Their report was favorable to the enterprise, whereupon a mass meeting was called under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce. Horton Hall was crowded to the doors. Inventor Pidgeon explained his device at great length. He wanted $200,000 capital to start the enterprise, and prophesied that its inception would mean "the making of San Diego," inasmuch as his plant would supply power for factories of all kinds at a ridiculously low figure. The Chamber of Commerce appears to have been quite favorably impressed with the scheme, but whether expert mechanics and engineers reported the device faulty or whether the inventor himself gave up the enterprise is not recorded in the minutes of the Chamber. At any rate the Pidgeon Tide Power Company never materialized.

With the growth of the city and the harbor, the need of better fortifications was recognized by the Chamber of Commerce. Considerable correspondence passed between the Chamber and the War Department relative to the allotment of land for this purpose. July 11, 1890, Senator W. M. Stewart received a communication from Secretary of War Proctor offering to accept all North Island as a gift to the government for fortification purposes. This letter was sent to the Chamber and the "offer" was promptly rejected.

December 3d of that year resolutions were adopted instructing Congressman Bowers to urge greater fortifications in the neighborhood of Ballast Point at the entrance to the harbor. The Chamber also called attention to the fact that San Diego's location and strategic importance demanded the establishment of a 10-company post. Congressman Bowers found an able ally in the person of Senator Stanford. It was not until 1894, however, that an appropriation was finally secured for San Diego harbor defenses. Congress atoned for its delay by setting aside nearly half a million dollars, and the result is the Fort Rosecrans of today.

Long continued efforts were made by the Chamber, seconded by the whole people, to induce the great Japan steamship line, known as the Nippon Yusu Kaisha Company, to make San Diego its sole American terminus upon a guarantee of a shipment of at least 4,000 tons of freight per month through this port. No satisfactory arrangements were made, however, and the Japanese steamers never ran for any considerable length of time. The Pacific Mail Steamship Company also withdrew its steamers, although it had a contract with the government to touch at San Diego on every trip for freight, mail, and passengers. In the latter case the government seemed powerless to enforce its own contract. This state of affairs elicited much unfavorable comment from the press throughout this country.

In 1896, when the agitation in favor of the creation of an artificial harbor at San Pedro began, the Chamber adopted an attitude of aggressive opposition. It was believed that an expenditure of many millions for such a purpose within 100 miles of a great natural harbor was wholly without justification, while involving a keen injustice to San Diego. Many leading newspapers, including the *New York Times*, supported the Chamber in its contention, but the San Pedro movement prevailed over all opposition.

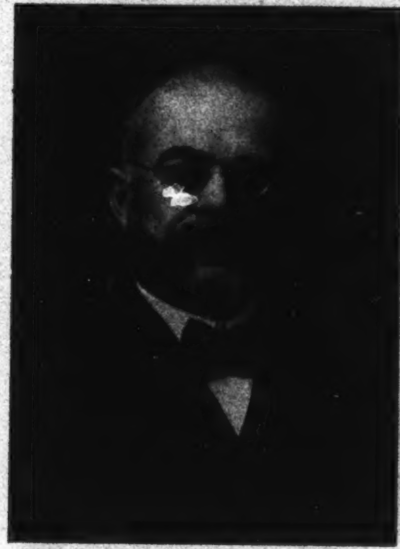


HOMER H. PETERS

A prominent Chicago business man, who became interested in San Diego in 1903 and whose enterprise in several directions contributed materially to the city's growth. He served for a time as vice president of the First National Bank and was president of the Chamber of Commerce

The efforts of the Chamber in behalf of a great naval drydock, of a coaling-station, and of a naval training school have been intelligent and persistent. More than once, representatives were sent to Washington in the interest of these measures, while the congressional delegation has been constantly urged to action. Much preliminary work has been done, and it seems to be only a question of a little time when final results will be achieved. The latest work undertaken by the Chamber in connection with the harbor is the dredging of the bar to an average depth of 30 feet for a width of 1,000 feet.

The annual reports submitted by the presidents of the Chamber of Commerce embody very good accounts of the city's commercial progress, but nearly everything of historical moment is mentioned elsewhere in these pages. It is interesting to note that the feverish prosperity of boom days brought nothing but depression to the Chamber of Commerce. It was reorganized after the boom and gradually acquired a stronger position than ever before. In 1890, under the able management of John Kastle, the Chamber was taken out of debt and placed upon a sound financial basis. In January, 1905, A. E. Horton, D. Choate, and E. W. Morse were elected honorary life members. Since then Mr. Choate and Mr. Morse have passed away.



H. P. WOOD

An enthusiastic and effective worker for San Diego who, while Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, did much to build up the organization. Now Secretary of the Promotion Committee of Hawaii

JAMES A. JASPER

Who has had a prominent part in journalism, politics, and county administration, and who, as Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, rendered memorable service by bringing the organization out of debt

After its reorganization in 1889 the Chamber was domiciled in a ground-floor store-room in the Tremont House on Third

PHILIP MORSE

SIMON LEVI

J. S. AKERMAN

DR. EDWARD GROVE

PRESIDENTS OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Street between C and D. In 1891, it removed to the Grand Hotel, now the "Worth," on F Street between Third and Fourth. Afterwards (in 1895) the headquarters were moved to the Marshall-Higgins block, corner Fourth and C Streets, where they remained until March 1, 1898, when they removed to quarters on the ground floor of the Grant building, corner of Sixth and D Streets. They have recently been removed to the second floor of the same building, where they are now located, occupying the rooms left vacant by the removal of the Y. M. C. A. to its new building.

One of the most agreeable and useful functions of the Chamber is the entertainment of distinguished visitors, especially the representatives of foreign navies who frequently come to the port. In this way, the Chamber has doubtless done a great deal to secure the good will of influential men and interests for San Diego. Indeed, if the Chamber stood for nothing except the organized hospitality of the community—a hospitality extended alike to the most distinguished citizens of the world and to the humblest stranger who finds his way to San Diego—it would still rank among the most useful institutions. But it is much more than this. It has had a part in all good work which has been done for the city and county over a period of more than a generation, and has itself initiated very much of this good work.

During a large portion of its history, the Chamber has been exceedingly fortunate in the kind of men enlisted in its service. It has been able to command not only the support, but the earnest devotion, of many of the strongest citizens, who have regarded it as the most important instrumentality in promoting local development. In later years, the office of secretary of the Chamber of Commerce has risen to great importance. The efficiency of the organization depends in large measure upon the energy, ability, and character of the man who fills this place. The Chamber has been fortunate in this respect during the period which had made the heaviest demands upon its resources. H. P. Wood, who served as secretary from 1899 to 1905, was a true builder of the organization and a successful promoter of its work. He was succeeded by James A. Jasper, whose intimate acquaintance with the people and the country, and long experience as journalist and county official, peculiarly fitted him for the place. He signalized his entrance to the office by arranging to pay off the debts of the organization. He was succeeded in January, 1907, by John Scott Mills.

By no means the least important history of the organization is that contained in the following complete list of its officers:

From its organization in 1870 to the year 1907.

1870—Jan. 20—President, Aaron Pauly; Vice-President, G. W. B. McDonald; Secretary, Joseph Nash; Treasurer, A. E. Horton.

1870—Mar. 3—President, Aaron Pauly; Vice-President, Dr. D. B. Hoffman; Secretary, Joseph Nash; Treasurer, J. W. Gale.

May 5—Joseph Nash resigned as Secretary and David Felsenheld was elected.

May 30—J. W. Gale resigned as Treasurer and Charles Dunham was elected.

1871—President, G. W. B. McDonald; Vice-President, J. S. Gordon; Secretary, C. J. Craig; Treasurer, C. Dunham.

1872—President, G. W. B. McDonald; Vice-President, W. W. Stewart; Secretary, S. W. Craigue; Treasurer, C. Dunham.

1873—President, J. S. Gordon; Vice-President, J. M. Pierce; Secretary, W. W. Stewart; Treasurer, C. Dunham.

1874—President, J. S. Gordon; First Vice-President, A. H. Gilbert; Second Vice-President, S. W. Craigue; Secretary, W. W. Stewart; Treasurer, C. Dunham.

1875—President, W. W. Stewart; First Vice-President, E. W. Morse; Second Vice-President, Jos. Tasker; Secretary, M. A. Luce; Treasurer, C. Dunham.

1876—President, W. W. Stewart; First Vice-President, E. W. Morse; Second Vice-President, W. A. Begole; Secretary, W. R. Porter; Treasurer, C. Dunham.

1877—President, J. M. Pierce, First Vice-President, A. H. Gilbert; Second Vice-President, W. A. Begole; Secretary, W. W. Bowers; Treasurer, Jos. Tasker.

1878—President, J. M. Pierce; First Vice-President, W. A. Begole; Second Vice-President, A. H. Julian; Secretary, George W. Marston; Treasurer, Jos. Tasker.

1879—President, Charles S. Hamilton; First Vice-President, E. W. Morse; Second Vice-President, W. L. Williams; Secretary, S. Levi; Treasurer, Jos. Tasker.

1880—President, George W. Hazzard; First Vice-President, A. Klauber; Second Vice-President, J. M. Pierce; Secretary, S. Levi; Treasurer, J. S. Gordon.

1881—President, George W. Hazzard; First Vice-President, E. W. Morse; Second Vice-President, George W. Marston; Secretary, S. Levi; Treasurer, J. S. Gordon.

1882—President, S. Levi; First Vice-President, J. H. Simpson; Second Vice-President, G. G. Bradt; Secretary, D. Cave; Treasurer, W. S. Jewell; Librarian, J. M. Pierce.

1883—President, Arnold Wentscher; First Vice-President, George W. Marston; Second Vice-President, M. S. Root; Secretary, C. H. Silliman; Treasurer, George W. Hazzard; Mr. Wentscher resigned a few weeks after his election, and G. G. Bradt was elected president.

1884—President, George W. Marston; First Vice-President, J. H. Simpson; Second Vice-President, John N. Young; Secretary, C. H. Silliman; Treasurer, George W. Hazzard.

1885—President, D. Cave; First Vice-President, J. H. Simpson; Second Vice-President, E. W. Morse, Third Vice-President, Jos. Winchester; Secretary, J. H. Simpson, Philip Morse; Treasurer, George W. Hazzard.

1886—President, J. H. Simpson; First Vice-President, Philip Morse; Second Vice-President, D. C. Reed; Third Vice-President, J. S. Gordon; Secretary, L. S. McLure; Treasurer, John N. Young.

1887—President, G. G. Bradt; First Vice-President, Judge George Puterbaugh; Second Vice-President, J. W. Burns; Secretary, F. R. Wetmore; Treasurer, Theo. Fintzelberg.

In 1888 a new Chamber, called the Chamber of Commerce of San Diego County was formed, and for a time there were two. They were consolidated in October. G. G. Bradt was President of the old organization, and J. A. McRea of the new one.

1888—President, G. G. Bradt, J. A. McRea; First Vice-President, Douglas Gunn; Second Vice-President, J. W. Burns; Recording Secretary, F. R. Wetmore; Financial Secretary, Theo. Fintzelberg; Treasurer, John Ginty.

1889—President, Douglas Gunn (resigned and John C. Fisher succeeded); Vice-President ....; Second Vice-President,......................; Secretary, J. C. Amendt (later George N. Nolan); Treasurer,......

1890—President, John Kastle; Vice-President, Frank A. Kimball; Second Vice-President, F. H. Cunningham; Secretary, George N. Nolan; Treasurer, C. D. Long.

1891—President, Daniel Stone; Vice-President, Douglas Gunn; Second Vice-President, ...; Secretary, Benjamin Lake; Treasurer, Theo. Fintzelberg.

1892—President, Daniel Stone; Vice-President, F. A. Kimball; Second Vice-President, H. P. McKoon; Secretaries, Conrad Stautz, F. H. Bearne, and R. H. Young.

1893—President, H. P. McKoon; Vice-President, John Sherman; Second Vice-President, Charles S. Hamilton; Secretary, R. H. Young; Treasurer, George W. Dickinson.

1894—President, H. P. McKoon (died August 19, 1894, and was succeeded by John Sherman); Vice-President, John Sherman; Second Vice-President, George W. Marston; Secretary, R. H. Young; Treasurer, George W. Dickinson.

1895—President, R. V. Dodge—acted one month and was succeeded by Philip Morse; First Vice-President, Philip Morse; Second Vice-President, John N. Young; Secretary, R. H. Young; Treasurer, George W. Dickinson.

1896—President, Philip Morse; First Vice-President, R. V. Dodge; Second Vice-President, U. S. Grant, Jr.; Secretary, V. E. McConoughey; Treasurer, J. E. O'Brien.

1897—President, Philip Morse; First Vice-President, R. V. Dodge; Second Vice-President, R. M. Powers; Secretary, V. E. McConoughey; Treasurer, J. E. O'Brien.

1898—President, R. A. Thomas; First Vice-President, R. V. Dodge; Second Vice-President, George W. Marston; Secretary, V. E. McConoughey; Treasurer, J. E. O'Brien.

1899—President, George W. Marston; First Vice-President, G. H. Ballou; Second Vice-President, W. L. Frevert; Secretaries, R. V. Dodge, H. P. Wood; Treasurer, J. E. O'Brien.

1900—President, George H. Ballou; First Vice-President, W. L. Frevert; Second Vice-President, G. W. Jorres; Secretary, H. P. Wood; Treasurer, J. E. O'Brien.

1901—President, George H. Ballou; Vice-President, W. L. Frevert; Second Vice-President, G. W. Jorres; Secretary, H. P. Wood; Treasurer, Nat R. Titus.

1902—President, W. L. Frevert; First Vice-President, W. S. Waterman; Second Vice-President, M. F. Heller; Secretary, H. P. Wood; Treasurer, J. S. Akerman.

1903—President, W. L. Frevert; First Vice-President, W. S. Waterman; Second Vice-President, Dr. Fred R. Burnham; Secretary, H. P. Wood; Treasurer, J. S. Akerman.

1904—President, Homer H. Peters; First Vice-President, J. S. Akerman; Second Vice-President, E. Strahlmann; Secretary, H. P. Wood; Treasurer, G. W. Fishburn.

1905—President, J. S. Akerman; First Vice-President, Dr. Edward Grove; Second Vice-President, Melville Klauber; Secretary, H. P. Wood (succeeded in October by James A. Jasper); Treasurer, Rufus Choate.

1906—President, Edward Grove; First Vice-President, Melville Klauber; Second Vice-President, Barker Burnell; Secretary, James A. Jasper; Treasurer, Rufus Choate.

1907—President, D. Gochenauer; First Vice-President, Melville Klauber; Second Vice-President, O. W. Cotton; Secretary, John S. Mills; Treasurer, Ford A. Carpenter.

CHAPTER VIII

BANKS AND BANKING

THE first bank in the city was the Bank of San Diego. It was organized early in June, 1870, by Bryant Howard, E. W. Morse, A. E. Horton, Joseph Nash, James M. Pierce, Mathew Sherman, A. M. Hathaway, Columbus Dunham, and Wm. H. Cleveland. The first officers were: A. E. Horton, president; James M. Pierce, vice-president; Bryant Howard, treasurer; and Wm. H. Cleveland, attorney. Thomas L. Nesmith became president; E. W. Morse, treasurer; and Bryant Howard, cashier and manager. A year later the brick bank building shown in the cut was completed and occupied, and the newspapers called it "the handsomest brick structure in the city." In 1874, Charles Hubbell became cashier and so continued until 1879.

The beginning of the "Tom Scott" boom soon brought about the organization of another bank—the Commercial Bank of San Diego. This bank was organized in October, 1872, by J. H. Braly, George Puterbaugh, Edward Kilham, and J. C. Braly. The capital stock was fixed at $200,000. The bank did not begin business until the first of March, 1873, in temporary quarters in the Vezie & Schuler building. The contract for the construction of its own building, on the corner of Fifth and G Streets (now the city hall) was let to William Jorres in October, 1873, and the building was completed and occupied the following spring. The heaviest stockholder was Hiram Mabury, of San José. The first officers were: Captain A. H. Wilcox, president; E. F. Spence, cashier; and José G. Estudillo, assistant cashier.

The next development in banking business in San Diego was the consolidation of the Bank of San Diego and the Commercial Bank, under the name of the Consolidated Bank of San Diego, with a capital of $200,000. The first officers were: Bryant Howard, president; J. A. Fairchild, cashier; E. W. Morse, O. S. Witherby, George Geddes, Levi Chase, James M. Pierce, George A. Cowles, and Bryant Howard, directors. The new bank occupied the old quarters of the Commercial Bank, on the corner of Fifth and C Streets. In January, 1880, Mr. Fairchild resigned as cashier and was succeeded by Bryant Howard, and O. S.

Witherby became president in Howard's place. Later Howard became president and J. H. Barbour, cashier. In 1883, the bank was changed from a state to a national bank. The Consolidated National Bank was a power in San Diego for several years. It survived the bursting of the boom, but went down in the failure of 1893, and was never reopened. Among those hardest hit by this failure was Judge O. S. Witherby, whose fortune was practically all invested in it.

The Savings Bank of San Diego County opened for business in May, 1886, with a capital of $100,000. Its officers were James M. Pierce, president; George A. Cowles, vice-president; John Ginty, secretary and treasurer; later, E. W. Morse became president. This institution was a branch of the Consolidated National Bank and had its quarters in the same building. It was swept away with the failure of the parent bank, in 1893, and never resumed business. The same is true of the Pacific Coast Loan and Trust Company, which was an offshoot of the Consolidated Bank, and had its quarters in the same building and was managed by the same officers.

The next bank organized, in point of time, was the Bank of Southern California, which was reorganized in October of the same year as the First National Bank. It was founded in July, 1883, by Jacob Gruendike, R. A. Thomas, J. R. Thomas, John Wolfskill, and M. T. Gilmore. The officers for the first year were: Jacob Gruendike, president; R. A. Thomas, vice-president; and C. E. Thomas, cashier. Mr. Gruendike served continuously as president until his death in 1905, with the exception of a year or two in the late 80's.

Upon his death, D. F. Garrettson was elected president and he still fills the office. The original capitalization was $50,000. In October, 1885, this was increased to $100,000, and E. S. Babcock Jr. and W. L. Story were added to the board of directors. The present capital is $150,000, fully paid. The bank has owned and occupied its building on the northwest corner of Fifth and E Streets since its organization. The present officers are: D. F. Garrettson, president; Homer H. Peters, vice-president; F. W. Jackson, second vice-president; G. W. Fishburn, cashier; J. E. Fishburn and Simon Levi, directors. Besides its capital, the bank has $119,761.08 surplus and profits, and $1,443,210.72 deposits.

The First National Bank absorbed, about the year 1888, a second "Bank of San Diego," which had been organized September 1, 1887, and opened its doors March 8, 1888. The officers of the latter bank were: J. H. Braly, president; J. C. Braly, vice-president; George M. Dannals, cashier; General T. T. Crittenden, H. C. Watts, L. S. McLure, John C. Fisher, and W. D.

Woolwine, directors. It continued in business but a short time.

The San Diego Savings Bank is the oldest savings bank now doing business in San Diego. It was organized in April, 1889. The bank's quarters are in the Keating Block, on the northwest corner of Fifth and F Streets. It has a paid-up capital of $100,000, surplus and undivided profits of over $30,000, and resources exceeding $1,400,000. A well equipped safe deposit is maintained. The present officers are: J. W. Sefton, president; M. T. Gilmore, vice-president; E. M. Barber, cashier; R. M. Powers, Henry Timken, W. R. Rogers, and M. F. Heller, directors.

BANK OF SAN DIEGO

This was the first bank in the city, being organized June, 1870

The Bank of Commerce was incorporated under state laws in 1887, and was one of the products of the rapid growth of that time. There were a number of changes in management, and at the time of the bank failures in 1893, the bank closed its doors, but for four days only. Dr. R. M. Powers then became the president and manager and served until 1903. In July of the latter year, Julius Wangenheim entered the bank and became its president, and at the same time it was reincorporated under national banking laws. Since that time, its growth has been constant. The old capital stock of $100,000 was increased to $150,000, the deposits have grown from $600,000 to almost $1,000,000, and there is a surplus and undivided profits of over $60,000. A general banking business is done, special attention being given to the commercial accounts of the city. The present officers are: Julius Wangenheim, president; B. W. McKenzie, C. Fred Henking, cashier; J. C. Rice, assistant cashier; I. W. Hellman, B. W. McKenzie, C. Fred Henking, Julius Wangenheim, and Victor E. Shaw, directors.

The Security Savings Bank and Trust Company is an outgrowth of the National Bank of Commerce, the stockholders being chiefly the same. This bank was organized May 26, 1905, with a paid-up capital stock of $125,000, the largest of any similar institution in Southern California outside Los Angeles. It has recently moved into its handsomely equipped rooms on E Street near Fifth. Its officers are: Julius Wangenheim, president; George W. Marston, vice-president; Nat R. Titus, cashier and secretary; and John S. Hawley, Jr., assistant cashier and secretary. The deposits are $400,000 and the profits, $5,000.

COMMERCIAL BANK OF SAN DIEGO; ORGANIZED OCTOBER, 1872

The founding and career of the California National Bank are episodes still feelingly remembered by San Diegans. It opened its doors on January 8, 1888, with the following officers: William Collier, president; D. D. Dare, vice-president; J. W. Collins, cashier; D. C. Collier, J. W. Burns, M. Kew, Douglas Gunn, and T. R. Gay, directors. The organizers and managers of the concern were Collins and Dare, who were newcomers in San Diego. It is said that Collins had once wrecked a bank in Cheyenne, and that Dare brought with him less than $7,000, and had

had no banking experience. These matters were unknown to the people of San Diego, however, and when attractive quarters were fitted up in the Methodist Church block, the managers soon gained the confidence of the public. The bank was opened in the midst of the crash following the boom, was liberal with loans, and was an important factor in the restoration of confidence which began to be felt in the fall of 1888. The following year the California Savings Bank was incorporated, and opened next door to the California National. Matters apparently went well until the fall of 1891, by which time there was a general feeling of hopefulness about the situation, in which the condition of the banks was a large factor. But in October, the California National Bank failed suddenly and disastrously, and it was some time before the extent of the disaster was realized. Promises of resumption helped to keep up hope; but the investigation by bank commissioners quickly revealed a condition of rottenness which astonished the public.

GEORGE W. FISHBURN

Who has been cashier of the First National Bank since January 15, 1901, the period of its greatest growth

Collins and Dare had applied "boom" methods to their business, had made "wildcat" loans, and indulged in speculation of every kind. Dare was absent in Europe at the time of the failure, and never returned. There was a good deal of sympathy for Collins at first, until the gross mismanagement of the bank had been fully exposed. His wife and daughter had been drowned in the Bay by the capsizing of a boat on September 1, 1890. Mrs. Collins was the daughter of Rev. R. G. Wallace, the minister of the United Presbyterian Church. But the developments grew worse rapidly; by February, 1892, it was known that the bank could not resume, and on February 23d Collins was arrested and brought before the bank commissioners. On March 3d, he committed suicide in the Brewster Hotel, by shooting himself. The embezzlement was estimated at $800,000. The deposits were over a million dollars, and only a small dividend was realized at the close of a long receivership. The California Sav-

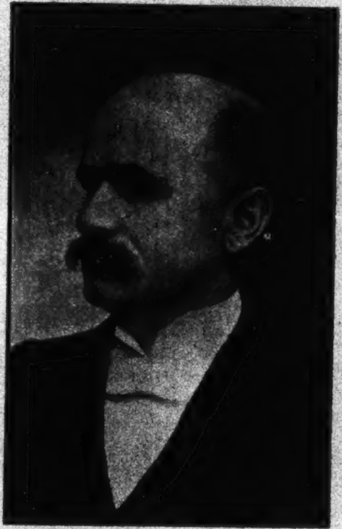
J. W. SEFTON

Located, 1889; president of San Diego Savings Bank and president of San Diego Flume Company, 1890; succeeded E. S. Babcock as president of San Diego Water Company in 1894, and, in 1895, brought about the consolidation of the two water companies. Began erection of Sefton Block in 1890, completing it in 1901 ings Bank, of course, went down with its parent organization.

None of the other San Diego banks failed at that time, but in the summer of 1893 the financial stringency which prevailed all over the country obliged several of them to close their doors. On June 20th and 21st in that year, six Los Angeles banks failed. The air was full of rumors, and soon a run began on the San Diego banks. They stood it well and paid out money as long as coin could be had for the purpose. They were solvent, but like other solvent banks, when cut off from outside support, were unable to convert their assets into cash on short notice. The Consolidated Bank closed on June 21st and never resumed business, although its depositors were ultimately paid in full. The First National Bank and the Bank of Commerce also closed the following day, but soon resumed business. The Merchants' National Bank and the San Diego Savings Bank were the only ones which survived the panic unscathed. The first named was a new institution, with its capital practically intact and uninvested. This was San Diego's first and only panic of the kind. From that time on, the story of the city's financial institutions is one of conservative management and steady, healthful growth.

The Merchants' National Bank of San Diego, which has been mentioned as surviving the panic soon after its formation, was organized in the spring of 1893, with a paid-up capital stock of $100,000. The first board of directors were: M. A. Weir, Ralph Granger, E. J. Swayne, Dr. E. V. Van Norman, Moses Kimball, and Philip Morse; and the officers: M. A. Weir, president; Ralph Granger, vice-president; and Frank E. Hilton, cashier. In October, 1893, control of the bank was purchased by Edward Ivinson and the bank reorganized. Edward Ivinson, Levi Chase, and G. B. Grow entered the board of directors; Ivinson became president; Chase, vice-president; Ralph Granger, second vice-president; and G. B. Grow, cashier. An aggressive policy was adopted and the bank soon began to do a large business. Mr. Grow died February 7, 1903, and W. R. Rogers, who had been assistant cashier of the bank for several years, was chosen cashier. In January, 1904, Ralph Granger, Dr. F. R. Burnham, A. H. Frost, W. R. Rogers, and others bought the controlling interest in the bank from Ivinson, Granger became president and Burnham vice-president, and these officials, with Mr. Rogers as cashier and H. E. Anthony as assistant cashier, continue to manage the bank. The bank has an excellent location, in the Granger building, on the southwest corner of Fifth and D Streets. Its deposits are almost $1,200,000, and the surplus and undivided profits amount to nearly $100,000. There is a safe deposit department and every modern banking facility.

The Blochman Banking Company was organized November 27, 1893, by A. Blochman and his son, L. A. Blochman, and they are still its manager and cashier, respectively. A. Blochman first landed in San Diego in 1851, on his way to San Francisco. In that city he was vice-president and manager of the French Savings Bank. He is the French consul for San Diego. L. A. Blochman was connected with the Commercial Bank of San Luis Obispo before coming to San Diego.



GALUSHA B. GROW

Prominent in business; political, and social life and cashier of Merchants National Bank until his death, February 7, 1903

This institution transacts banking in all its branches, and is the only bank in Southern California which draws direct on the City of Mexico, Guadalajara, Guaymas, Mazatlan, Ensenada, and other Lower California points. A number of Los Angeles banks transact their Mexican business through the Blochman Banking Company. They also handle gold and silver bullion from San Diego County and Lower California, and deal in domestic and foreign securities. The company owns a substantial building at No. 635 Fifth Street, which they first occupied in October, 1905.

M. T. GILMORE
Vice president San Diego Savings Bank

FRED JEWELL
President Citizens Savings Bank

A. BLOCHMAN
President Blochman Banking Co.

L. A. BLOCHMAN
Cashier Blochman Banking Co.

REPRESENTATIVE BANKERS

JULIUS WANGENHEIM
President Commerce Trust Company

W. R. ROGERS
Cashier Merchants National Bank

CHARLES L. WILLIAMS
Cashier American National Bank

G. AUBREY DAVIDSON
President Southern Trust & Savings Bank

REPRESENTATIVE BANKERS

The Citizens' Savings Bank of San Diego was organized by Dr. C. M. Briggs and others, in the spring of 1904. Dr. Briggs died suddenly before the organization was completed, and his stock was acquired by Louis J. Wilde and Fred Jewell, who placed a portion of it upon the market. The bank was opened August 15, 1904, with Louis J. Wilde as president; Fred Jewell, vice-president and cashier; and C. B. Whittlesey, assistant cashier. At the end of the first year, Mr. Wilde's holdings of stock were purchased by Mr. Jewell, who then became president. This bank has had a steady and healthful growth and ranks among the most conservative savings banks of Southern California. On the anniversary of its second year it had opened accounts with over 1,700 depositors and had $300,000 in deposits. The directors are: H. W. Hellman, A. B. Cass, U. S. Grant Jr., Samuel Gordon Ingle, John H. Gay, Joseph H. O'Brien, Edmond Mayer, C. B. Whittlesey, I. Isaac Irwin, J. F. Jaeger, and Fred Jewell.

CARL ALEX. JOHNSON

Vice president Sixth Street Bank, and a powerful factor in the reorganization of the Sixth and H Streets business district

W. H. HUBBARD

The First Cashier of the American National Bank; later, president of the Peoples State Bank, National City

The American National Bank was organized September 8, 1904, with the following officers: Louis J. Wilde, president;

Charles E. Sumner, vice-president; W. H. Hubbard, cashier; directors, Louis J. Wilde, Fred Jewell, W. H. Hubbard, U. S. Grant, Jr., Henry E. Mills. It opened for business in its present location, No. 1051 Fifth Street, April 6, 1905. Its capital is $100,000, fully paid; it has a surplus and undivided profits of nearly $40,000, and deposits of $325,000. More than a hundred San Diego business men are owners of its stock. The present officers are: L. J. Wilde, president; Henry E. Mills, vice-president; C. L. Williams, cashier; L. J. Rice, assistant cashier.

The Sixth Street Bank was opened for business May 1, 1907, with the following officers: D. H. Steele, president; Carl Alex. Johnson, vice-president; F. H. Oliphant, cashier; directors, D. H. Steele, Carl Alex. Johnson, F. H. Oliphant, J. A. Green. The bank's paid-up capital is $50,000. Its place of business is No. 540 Sixth Street.

The Southern Trust and Savings Bank commenced business June 28, 1907, with the following officers: G. Aubrey Davidson, president; Philip Morse, vice-president; E. O. Hodge, cashier; directors, Heber Ingle, Ed. Fletcher, Godfrey Holterhoff, Jr., T. L. Duque, John E. Boal, R. C. Allen, Patrick Martin, Edward Chambers, T. A. Riordan, James E. Wadham, Adolph Levi, Robert Hale. The bank has a subscribed capital of $250,000, of which $100,000 has been paid-in. It occupies magnificent quarters in the new U. S. Grant Hotel building. It also maintains a branch establishment at La Jolla, under the management of A. B. Perkins.

The latest development in banking circles, as these pages go to press, is the announced consolidation of the National Bank of Commerce with the Security Savings Bank and Trust Company, under the presidency of Julius Wangenheim. The capital of the re-organized institution is $500,000, which makes it the largest of San Diego banks.

CHAPTER IX

SECRET, FRATERNAL, AND OTHER SOCIETIES

THE life of San Diego has been peculiarly rich in the activities of all the principal secret, fraternal, and benevolent organizations. To do them justice would require a volume. The most that this History can attempt is to present a sketch of a few of them, in their historical aspects.

The founding of San Diego Lodge No. 35, F. & A. M., is a somewhat celebrated event in Masonic annals of the Pacific Coast. It was the first Masonic lodge established in Southern California and preceded the first lodge in Los Angeles by a year.

Soon after J. Judson Ames arrived and began to publish the *Herald,* it was found that there were enough Masons in San Diego to warrant asking for a dispensation for a lodge. There is a tradition that this discovery was made at a picnic attended by most of the inhabitants in a body, as was the custom for many years.

The first mention of anything Masonic was in the *Herald* of June 19, 1851, and read as follows:

> Masonic.—All Master Masons, in good standing with their respective lodges, are requested to assemble at the Exchange Hotel, in the City of San Diego, on Friday evening, the 20th inst., to make arrangements for celebrating the anniversary of our patron saint, John the Baptist.

The plans for this celebration seem to have fallen through, for some reason. A petition for a dispensation was drawn up, signed, sent to San Francisco, and was granted on the 1st day of August. This dispensation ran to Brothers Wm. C. Ferrell, W.M.; John Judson Ames, S.W.; John Cook, J.W.; and the following Master Masons: Daniel Barbee, Wm. Heath Davis, James W. Robinson, R. E. Raimond, and others. When the Semi-Annual Communication of the Grand Lodge assembled, on November 4, 1851, it was found that no meeting had been held and no returns received from "San Diego Lodge, U. D." and the dispensation had expired. But Brother Ames, S.W., made application on the following day to the Grand Lodge to have the dispensation extended six months, to allow more time for organization, which was granted.

Although no meeting had been held, an attempt had been made to hold one, as the following advertisement, taken from the *Herald* of October 9th, shows:

> There will be a meeting of San Diego Lodge, F. & A. M., at the house of Col. A. Haraszthy (Old Town) on Friday evening next, the 10th inst., at half past six o'clock. A full attendance is urged, as business of importance is to be transacted.
> Oct. 9th. Per order of
> WORSHIPFUL MASTER.

After this, more vigor was put into the work, and the first meeting assembled on November 20, 1851, and was opened in the Master's degree. The record of this meeting begins thus:

> At a meeting of San Diego Lodge U. D. of Free and Accepted Masons held at their lodge room in the City of San Diego, on the 20th day of November, A. D. 1851 A. L. 5851, met upon the call of the W. M.
>
> The brethren present were:
> William C. Ferrell, W. M.
> John Judson Ames, S. W.
> Daniel Barbee, J. W.
> R. E. Raimond, Treasurer.
> A. Haraszthy, Secretary.
> Wm. H. Moon, Tyler.
> Louis Rose, Visiting Brother.

Petitions for the degrees of Masonry were received from George F. Hooper, recommended by J. Judson Ames and Wm. Heath Davis, and from Colonel John B. Magruder, of the United States Army. The first named petition was referred to a committee consisting of Brothers Haraszthy, Moon, and Ray, and the latter was ordered on file.

At the second meeting, held January 8, 1852, the following were present:

Wm. C. Ferrell, W. M.
John Judson Ames, S. W.
Daniel Barbee, J. W.
R. E. Raimond, Treasurer.
James W. Robinson, Secretary.
Wm. H. Moon, S. D.
J. Ankrine, J. D.
Louis Rose, Tyler.

At this meeting George F. Hooper was initiated as an entered apprentice, and was the first person to be initiated in this lodge. The second was John C. Cremony, on March 29th; and the third, George P. Tebbetts, on April 15, 1852.

On May 11th in this year, the Grand Master, B. M. Hyam, visited San Diego and examined the records, but found the lodge not yet ready for a charter. The records state, under date of

June 7th, that "a communication was received from the Grand Master respecting his examination of the records of this lodge, pointing out the un-Masonic and unconstitutional portions of the work of this Lodge, and granting San Diego Lodge U. D. a dispensation to continue until May, 1853, and requiring a copy of our adopted By-laws without delay." Apparently, the lodge had never adopted any by-laws. At the same meeting, Brother John Judson Ames, as a committee, reported that he had purchased a seal for $25 and a Bible for $10, which was approved and payment ordered.

> At this time, says Mr. Morse, the Lodge occupied the Court House, a one-story brick building consisting of one room only, without porch or entry, the Tyler with girded sword pacing back and forth in front, on the open street. There was little danger of any "cowans and eavesdroppers," for the Pope had placed his ban upon us and the mass of the population felt safest some distance away from our place of meeting. It was said the priest forbade the women and children from even looking from the windows upon our frequent parades.

The brethren in these early days were very fond of dinners and parades. The first celebration was held on June 24, 1852, when the following entries are made:

> During the day the nativity of our Patron Saint, John the Baptist, was publicly celebrated in due and ancient form.
>
> The procession was formed under the direction of Bro. J. W. Robinson, Marshall of the day, appointed by Bro. G. P. Tebbetts, when the procession moved through the principal streets of the city to the place appointed for that purpose.
>
> When the Throne of Grace was addressed by our Rev. Bro. Reynolds, Chaplain, in an appropriate prayer, and our Bro. J. J. Ames delivered a chaste and beautiful oration suitable to the occasion, when the procession returned to the hall and repaired to the residence of Bro. Robinson and partook of an entertainment and the procession then returned to the hall in good order.

On July 15th in this year, Tebbetts was made a Master Mason.

On November 4th there is another entry which is worth quoting:

> This day Nov. 4, 1852, being the centenary era of the Initiation of Our beloved Brother Geo. Washington into the order of Masonry, Therefore it was resolved to celebrate the same in a suitable manner. At 12 o'clock A.M. the procession formed in front of the Masonic Hall under the direction of Companion W. H. Moon and proceeded through the principal streets and around the Plaza to the Hall where the Throne of Grace was addressed by our worthy chaplain Bro. Reynolds in an impressive prayer, after which our worthy companion James W. Robinson delivered an able and eloquent oration to the fraternity and a crowded auditory, which was listened to with deep

> interest by all. The exercises at the Hall closed by prayer by the Chaplain, and the procession again formed and marched to the residence of Phil. Crosthwaite and partook of a sumptuous dinner. Col. C. J. Couts and lady were invited guests. The brethren returned to their Hall and the Lodge closed in Pease & Harmony.

On this day, Philip Crosthwaite, P. H. Hoof, and Joseph Reiner were made Master Masons.

Early in April, 1853, "Bro. George H. Derby, Past Master of Sonoma Lodge, Cal.," arrived in San Diego on business connected with the turning of the San Diego River, and on the 4th of that month, "being invited by Bro. W. C. Ferrell, W.M., presided at this meeting." On the 13th of this month, it is recorded that "George H. Derby, a Master Mason and formerly Master of Temple Lodge No. 14," petitioned for affiliation. Ten days later, "Bro. Geo. H. Derby was elected a member of this Lodge after a favorable report by the Com*te*." At this time, on account of certain irregularities, the local lodge was in disfavor with the Grand Lodge; and Brother Derby, who was about to return to San Francisco before beginning his work on the river, was appointed an agent and proxy to represent the W.M. and officers and "to explain fully and frankly all the proceedings of this Lodge to the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge and to ask for a Warrant of Charter for this Lodge." His intercession was successful, and on the 7th day of May following the charter was granted and Derby was delegated by the Grand Lodge to install the first officers under the charter. This ceremony occurred on August 14, 1853, after Derby's return from the north, and the officers installed were as follows:

Philip Crosthwaite, S. W.	John Hays, Treasurer.
Louis Rose, J. W.	P. H. Hoof, S. D.
George H. Derby, Secretary.	S. Goldman, J. D.

Derby took an active part in the affairs of the lodge during his stay, and was instrumental in putting it in working order. He acted as secretary and was on several occasions acting W.M. Before leaving San Diego, he gave Philip Crosthwaite, then Master of the local lodge, his Past Master's jewel, and the latter afterward gave it to the lodge, which carefully keeps it to this day.

In 1855, at the celebration of St. John's Day on June 25th, the oration was by Brother J. W. Robinson. On July 1st, some indigent Indians were furnished subsistence and arrangements were made to continue the same.

Concerning these charities, Mr. Morse said:

> In those early days there were many calls for charity from brethren just arriving from the East who had become sick

> and disabled, while some were strapped and wanted a slight loan, which occasionally was repaid but more often not. Many times help was given to sick and blind Indians and others, for the Lodge believed in charity and practiced it.

The following year, the Feast of St. John was celebrated on June 24th, as the record shows: "Proceeded to march in regular order to the Gila House. Oration by Kurtz, then procession to the dinner hall & partook of a dinner, return to the hall & closed in Pease & harmony." On November 3d of this year, E. W. Morse was initiated, and a month later resolutions of sympathy for the death of his wife were adopted.

THOS. R. DARNALL

One of the early leaders of the Masonic order in San Diego

In 1857, George Lyons was made a Master Mason on March 30th, and E. W. Morse on April 8th. In August, Joseph Smith preferred charges against Morse for "threatening to blow my brains out." A committee recommended that Smith withdraw the charges, but he refused, and after an investigation and listening to Morse's explanation, he was exonerated. Morse's own account of this affair was as follows:

> An officer of the Lodge got into an altercation with another party in my store. I ordered them both out. My Masonic brother, a big six-footer, refused to go and prevented the other party from going. I jumped behind the counter and called out: "Get out of my store, or I'll blow your brains out!" whereupon he went out.
>
> In recalling those old times, I can see where "the even tenor of its way" was often ruffled by family jars and quarrels, charges of brother against brother—the succeeding lodge trials, most of them, it now seems to me, frivolous and childish. I suppose the same principle applied to our small lodge as to small villages and towns.

In 1858, while Thomas R. Darnall was W.M. of the lodge, he went down into Lower California as manager in charge of a party of miners and prospectors. The party lost a number of their animals, and at last caught the thief in the act of stealing one of them and by accident or otherwise shot him. For this the whole party was arrested and imprisoned, but Darnall found means to bribe an Indian to carry a letter to San Diego, stating that they expected to be summarily shot or sent to the City of Mexico for trial, and asking for help. The Masons at once gathered at their hall and began to devise means to rescue Darnall and the other Americans. As it chanced to be steamer day, word was sent to the lodge at Los Angeles that their aid might be needed, and they replied by the first mail: "If you wish help, notify us at once, and we will join you with fifty mounted men." The Mexican population of Old Town, becoming aware that an armed expedition was in preparation, sent a courier to their countrymen, advising them to release the imprisoned Americans at once, or "those terrible Masons" would be upon them. The advice was taken and the whole party released and soon returned safely to San Diego. "This," says Mr. Morse, whose version of this somewhat celebrated incident has been used, "shows that the Masons were held in fear, if not in loving regard, by the mass of the Mexican population."

A number of quiet years followed, in which the work of the lodge was carried on without a break. In 1870 the place of meeting was removed to Horton's Addition, a change which caused some feeling. In 1880, plans were drawn up for a temple to be erected in co-operation with the I. O. O. F. on a lot which had been purchased on the northwest corner of Sixth and H Streets. The cornerstone was laid on March 7, 1882, with imposing ceremonies. Acting Grand Master W. W. Bowers presided, and the principal address was made by W. J. Hunsaker. The new hall was occupied, for the first time, on July 29, 1882, and has ever since been used as the home of this strong organization. Its subsequent history has been one of uninterrupted prosperity. At present it has about 140 members. Following is a list of the Masters of this lodge, with the years in which they served:

William C. Ferrell	1853
Philip Crosthwaite	1854-5
J. W. Robinson	1856
D. B. Kurtz	1857
Thomas R. Darnall	1858
D. B. Kurtz	1859
George A. Pendleton	1860
Marcus Schiller	1861
D. B. Kurtz	1862
D. B. Kurtz	1863
Marcus Schiller	1864
D. B. Kurtz	1865
D. B. Kurtz	1866
D. B. Kurtz	1867
D. B. Kurtz	1868
D. B. Kurtz	1869
W. H. Cleveland	1870
W. A. Begole	1871
W. A. Begole	1872
W. A. Begole	1873
W. A. Begole	1874
W. A. Begole	1875
F. N. Pauly	1876
F. N. Pauly	1877
J. W. Thompson	1878
W. W. Bowers	1879
W. W. Bowers	1880
L. H. Plaisted	1881
Simon Levi	1882
Simon Levi	1883
Simon Levi	1884
W. A. Begole	1885
D. Cave	1886
George M. Dannals	1887
George M. Dannals	1888
A. Morgan	1889
E. T. Blackmer	1890
J. K. Blackmer	1891
W. J. Mossholder	1892
W. J. Mossholder	1893
G. Forster	1894
G. C. Arnold	1895
W. L. Pierce	1896
E. J. Louis	1897
M. J. Perrin	1898
Nat R. Titus	1899
W. E. Budlong	1900
Sam Ferry Smith	1901
G. A. Warden	1902
John B. Osborn	1903
M. A. Graham	1904
A. H. Gilbert	1905
H. A. Croghan	1906

San Diego Commandery No. 25, Knights Templar, was organized at a meeting held in the Backesto Block on June 22, 1885. Those present were: Garrett G. Bradt, John Peck Burt, Charles Merwin Fenn, Edwin Ben Howell, Edward Wilkerson Bushyhead, Nicholas Ridgley Hooper, Joseph A. Flint, Henry Madison Jacoby, Norman Henry Conklin, John S. Harbison, John Arm McRae, and Thomas McCall Gruwell. A petition to the R. E. Grand Commander was drawn up and signed, praying for a dispensation to form and open a commandery, and recommended by the lodge at San Bernardino. The dispensation was granted on July 27, 1885, and at the first succeeding meeting of the lodge the following officers were chosen:

N. H. Conklin	Eminent Commander.
G. G. Bradt	Generalissimo.
John P. Burt	Captain General.
C. M. Fenn	Prelate.
J. A. Flint	Senior Warden.
H. M. Jacoby	Junior Warden.
John S. Harbison	Treasurer.
Edwin B. Howell	Recorder.
John A. McRae	Sword Bearer.
E. W. Bushyhead	Standard Bearer.

N. R. Hooper	Warden.
Thomas A. Bishop	Sentinel.

This lodge is a prosperous one and has at the present time over one hundred members.

Constans Lodge of Perfection, No. 8, A. & A. S. R., is the third oldest Masonic lodge in the city. It was organized May 13, 1887. The first Venerable Master was J. D. Rush. The lodge has 65 members.

The first meeting for the organization of a lodge of the Order of the Eastern Star was held on April 5, 1888, and a charter was granted in the following October, to "Southern Star Chapter, No. 96." The first officers were:

Lucy L. Dannals	Worthy Matron.
George M. Dannals	Worthy Patron.
Anna E. Kooken	Associate Matron.
Gertrude Brobeck	Conductress.
Abbie A. Jenks	Associate Conductress.
Maria M. Lowell	Warder.
James S. Clark	Sentinel.

The present membership is more than 125.

Silver Gate Lodge No. 296 held its first meeting July 31, 1889, and received its charter October 10th following. Among the first officers were: D. E. Bailey, W.M.; A. E. Dodson, S.W.; James Wells, J.W. It has 150 members.

Constans Chapter of Knights Rose Croix, No. 5, A. & A. S. R., was organized December 3, 1900. Wise Master N. H. Conklin and Secretary Harry R. Comly have served in the same capacity from the first. The membership is 63.

San Diego Council Knights Kadosh, No. 6, A. & A. S. R., was organized March 2, 1903. James MacMullen was the first Commander, and Harry R. Comly, Recorder. This lodge has a membership of 55.

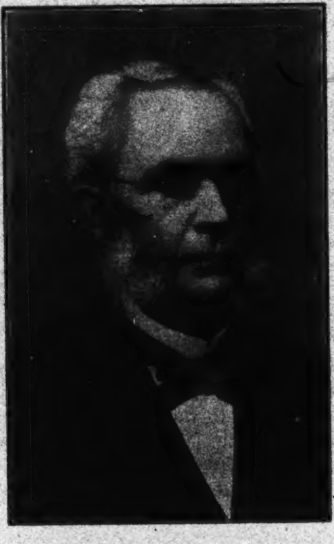
San Diego Consistory, No. 6, A. &. A. S. R., was constituted April 28, 1904. George M. Dannals has been Master of Kadosh and Harry R. Comly, Registrar, from the beginning. The lodge has 51 members.

San Diego Chapter, No. 61, R. A. M., is a flourishing lodge with 125 members.

The first meeting preliminary to the organization of a lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows in San Diego, was held at the house of James Pascoe on December 5, 1868. The formal institution was effected at a meeting held on March 23, 1869, held in the hall over Porter's paint shop, on the corner of Seventh and K Streets. The name adopted was San Diego Lodge, No. 153, and the first officers were:

John R. Porter	N. G.
Alex. M. Young	V. G.
F. Marlette	R. S.
S. S. Culverwell	T.

After several changes, the lodge occupied the Temple at the corner of Sixth and H Streets, owned jointly by the Masons and Odd Fellows, which has since been its home. The lodge is a strong and prosperous one, with more than two hundred members. Following are lists of charter members:



E. T. BLACKMER

A native of New England and citizen of San Diego, who was equally devoted to the place of his birth and the place of his adoption, and who, until his death in 1907, was closely identified with the executive work of the Masonic Order

John R. Porter........P. G.
S. S. Culverwell........P. G.
B. F. Nudd
Charles F. Moore
Alex. M. Young
R. D. Case

Amos Crane............P. G.
John Groesbeck........P. G.
W. C. Rickard
John O. Hatleberg
P. P. Willett
A. C. Tedford
F. Mullotte.

The following is a list of the lodges of the I. O. O. F. in San Diego:

Anna Rebekah Lodge No. 127.
Canton San Diego Lodge No. 22.
Centennial Encampment No. 58.
San Diego Lodge No. 153.
Silver Gate Rebekah Lodge No. 141.
Sunset Lodge No. 328 (Veteran Odd Fellows).

San Diego Lodge, No. 168, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, was instituted on June 8, 1890, in Horton's Hall, with 30 charter members. The following were the first officers:

J. M. Dodge	Exalted Ruler.
Thomas A. Nerney	Esteemed Leading Knight.
B. F. Harville	Esteemed Loyal Knight.
J. S. Callen	Esteemed Lecturing Knight.
J. McNulty	Secretary.
J. W. Sefton	Treasurer.
J. E. Wooley	Tyler.
C. A. Brown	Inside Guard.
S. G. Montijo	Esquire.
J. P. Goodwin Eugene Daney D. Gochenauer	Trustees.

Credit for organizing the lodge is given to J. M. Dodge, who was then a member of Los Angeles Lodge, No. 99. The following original charter members are still members of the lodge: T. A. Nerney, B. F. Harville, J. S. Callen, J. W. Sefton, Eugene Daney, John Kastle, D. Gochenauer, H. W. Alden, Walter T. Blake, E. M. Burbeck, W. F. Riley, F. W. Jackson, Robert C. Jones, T. J. Storey, J. E. Fishburn, James Vernon, A. G. Gassen, George O. Scribner, and J. M. Dodge. The lodge has had different homes, and its present quarters occupy the entire second floor of the San Diego Gas & Electric Light Company's building, No. 937 Sixth Street, and are very handsomely fitted up. An Elk's Hall Association was incorporated a few months ago, which acquired the lot on the northwest corner of Second and D Streets, 90x100 feet, and a very beautiful granite and brick building is now being erected which will be ready for occupancy early in 1907. The cornerstone was laid with elaborate ceremonies on June 9, 1906. The membership of this lodge numbers 381.

The first lodge of the Knights of Pythias, San Diego Lodge No. 28, was organized October 3, 1874, by Grand Chancellor L. M. Manzer, and is, therefore, nearly a third of a century old. The charter list contained 27 names, of whom only one, L. H. Plaisted, was then a member of the order, he having belonged to Pawtucket, R. I., Lodge No. 5. The three principal officers first chosen were: Chancellor Commander, E. F. Spence; Vice Chancellor, W. W. Stewart; Prelate, G. G. Bradt. The following is a full list of the original charter members:

L. H. Plaisted.

Henry Bayly
E. F. Spence
W. W. Stewart
J. A. Gordon
G. G. Bradt
E. W. Bushyhead
G. W. Hazzard
C. B. Culver
J. W. Thompson

J. M. Spencer
H. M. Covert
E. M. Skinner
A. Condee
F. N. Pauly
A. S. Grant
J. N. Young
J. G. Capron
Philip Morse

COL. R. V. DODGE

A conspicuous figure in military, political and fraternal organizations, who has served as city treasurer and as president of the Chamber of Commerce

R. G. Balcom
S. Statler
G. B. Hensley
E. A. Veazie

L. B. Willson
D. Cave
C. W. Pauly
Douglas Gunn

Of the above, only two are now members, *i. e.*, G. W. Hazzard and C. W. Pauly.

The lodge is a very strong and active organization. It is the oldest Pythian lodge in the district.

Red Star Lodge, No. 153, K. of P., was organized September 28, 1887, with a charter list of 17 members from other lodges and 60 strangers. The institution was organized by J. M. Van Zant, who was at the time a member of San Diego Lodge, No. 28. The first officers were: Chancellor Commander, T. J. Monahan; Vice Chancellor, G. A. H. Sprague; Prelate, S. G. Montijo. The lodge was named by Chancellor Commander Monahan after his old lodge in Ohio. The present membership is over 400. Of the original charter members, 10 remain, *i. e.*, J. W. Brenning, H. K. Coon, T. J. Dowell, M. German, George R. Harrison, George M. Hickman, H. J. Place, F. E. Severance, A. M. Thornburg, and A. M. Turner.

JOHN B. OSBORN

Who has filled the chief offices of the Masons and the Elks and served as president of the City Council, and who is a favorite public speaker

The Ladies' Auxiliary, called the "Rathbone Sisters," is represented by two temples: Woodbine No. 36 and Dunton Temple No. 3. The Uniform Rank, K. of P., is represented by Chevalier Company No. 6, attached to the Third Regiment, California Brigade, with headquarters at Los Angeles.

The Foresters are a flourishing organization, with the following Courts:

Court Coronado No. 3798, I. O. F.
Court San Diego No. 7799, A. O. F.
Court San Diego No. 28, F. of A.
Court Silver Gate No. 138, F. of A.
Palomar Circle No. 510, C. of F. of A.
Palomar Court No. 176, F. of A.
Silver Gate San Diego Circle No. 271, F. of A.

The Woodmen of the World have a strong membership. Their camps are Bay View Camp No. 7255, Miramar Camp No. 54, and San Diego Circle No. 161.

The Improved Order of Red Men are represented by Lodge No. 155, Coahuilla Tribe. The Eagles have San Diego Aerie No. 244. The Knights and Ladies of Security maintain Council No. 429. The Maccabees are represented by Hive No. 17, Ladies of M., and San Diego Tent No. 26, K. O. T. M. The Order of Pendo have San Diego Council No. 18 and Southwest Council No. 177. The Royal Arcanum meet in San Diego Lodge No. 1214. The Royal Neighbors of America, the Fraternal Grove, the Fraternal Aid, the Knights of Honor, and the Fraternal Brotherhood are all represented, the latter with two councils, San Diego Lodge No. 18 and Tourmaline Lodge.

The A. O. U. W. are represented in Emblem Lodge No. 103, Degree of Honor, and Point Loma Lodge No. 248. The O. d'H. S. assemble in San Diego Lodge No. 22, and Thusnelda Lodge No. 4.

There were a number of societies, other than secret, in San Diego at a very early day. One of the earliest of these was the San Diego Guards, organized in July, 1856. This was one of the most active of local organizations for four or five years, and nearly all the able-bodied Americans in San Diego were members. It was quietly dropped at the outbreak of the Civil War. George A. Pendleton and a few others who had served in the regular army were the moving spirits. An amusing tradition is that J. Judson Ames, he of the gigantic figure, used to march at the head of the column on public occasions with an ax on his shoulder. The following is a copy of the original muster roll of the company:

Captain Geo. A. Pendleton.
1st Lieut. Wm. H. Noyes.
2nd Lieut. D. B. Kurtz.
3rd Lieut. Jas. W. Connors.
1st Serg. Andrew Cotton.
2nd Serg. R. D. Israel
3rd Serg. Jas. Donahoe.
4th Serg. Jos. Schycoffer.
1st Corp. Jno. I. Van Alst.
2nd Corp. Nath. Vise.
3rd Corp. Edw. Kerr.
4th Corp. Frank Kerren.
1st Drummer Chas. Morris.
1st Fifer F. R. Maretowsky.

Privates.

Ames, J. Judson
Anderson, Jos A.

Privates.

Alvarado
Blackstone, J. P.

Privates.

Brown, Jno.
Brinkerhoff, J. P.

Privates

Barnes, E. W.
Couts, W. B.
Crist, Andrew
Chisumn, P. G.
Darnall, Thos R.
Estudillo, José G.
Gerson, Chas.
Goldman, S.
Gitchell, J. R.
Groom, R. W.
Hoffman, D. B.
Herald, Duane
Jessup, W. H.

Privates

Leighton, Wm. H.
Le Roy, Wm. H.
Lyons, George
Magee, H.
Morse, E. W.
Marron, José C.
Mannasse, H.
Mannasse, José S.
Mannasse, M.
Maxcy, A. E.
Pond, J. P.
Pond C. H.
Ringgold, Walter

Privates

Robinson, Wm.
Rathburn, Chas. S.
Reiner, Jos.
Smith, Jos.
Schiller, Marcus
Sutton, Ansen G. P.
Smith, A. B.
Schneider, Edw. N.
Tolman, Geo. B.
Whaley, Thos.
Ward, Isaac
Wall, E. A.
Wiley, A. C.

This old organization of San Diego Guards was, of course, the legitimate forerunner of the modern militia (N. G. C.). The first military organization after the Civil War was known as the San Diego Light Guards, which organized on October 18, 1876, at Horton's Hall. The first officers were: First lieutenant, A. P. Jolly; second lieutenant, Henry Bayly; orderly sergeant, W. H. Gladstone; first duty sergeant, J. H. Richardson; second sergeant, J. F. Bowman; third sergeant, J. N. Petty; fourth sergeant, Aug. Warner.

This seems to have died out in a little while, and it was not until early in April, 1881, that the organization of the City Guards was effected. The organization began amid considerable enthusiasm, with 60 names on the roll. The first officers were: President, Douglas Gunn; secretary, Philo E. Beach; treasurer, O. S. Hubbell. The military officers were: Captain, Douglas Gunn; first lieutenant, Martin Lacy; second lieutenant, George M. Dannals. A successful entertainment was soon after given for their benefit, and on October 12th the company was reorganized, with the same officers as a company of the 7th Regiment Infantry of the National Guard of California. Douglas Gunn continued to act as captain of this organization as long as he lived. Upon his return from the East after retiring from the *Union*, in the fall of 1887, he was presented with a very valuable sword by his comrades.

The present officers are: Ed. Fletcher, captain; H. R. Fay, first lieutenant; H. J. Schlegel, second lieutenant. The captains since organization have been:

Douglas Gunn,
Thomas A. Nerney,
Harry M. Schiller,
Richard V. Dodge,
John M. Smith,
Ed Fletcher.

The Third Division of the Naval Militia is commanded by Lieutenant Roscoe Howard, and uses the old U. S. S. *Pinta* as its headquarters.

The Society of Veterans of the Mexican War was organized January 12, 1878. Colonel Wm. Jeff Gatewood was chosen president; G. F. W. Richter, secretary. Others present were: Captain Ferris, Dr. Wm. A. Winder, Joseph Leonard, E. M. Rankin, D. B. Bush, and A. H. Julian.

The G. A. R. are strong in San Diego. The first post organized was Heintzelman Post No. 33. In 1882, Memorial Day was observed for the first time in San Diego under their auspices. Colonel E. T. Blackmer delivered the oration. Datus E. Coon Post No. 172, Heintzelman Corps No. 1, W. R. C., and Datus E. Coon Corps No. 84 are active branches. General U. S. Grant Circle, Ladies of the G. A. R., and Heintzelman Woman's Relief Corps No. 1 represent the activities of the ladies of the G. A. R. The latter corps was organized in July, 1883, and was the first auxiliary of the G. A. R. organized in this state.

The Spanish-American War Veterans have a post called Camp Bennington.

John Morgan Camp 1198 represents the United Veterans of the Confederacy.

San Diego Parlor No. 168, N. S. G. W., were organized in 1887 and formally installed with imposing ceremonies, June 8, 1887. The first officers were: President, W. J. Hunsaker; first vice-president, W. E. Princely; second vice-president, C. A. Campbell; third vice-president, C. A. Loomis; treasurer, M. Klauber; trustees, W. H. Hooper, Harry Schiller, and B. Bacon. In September, 1887, Admission Day was celebrated, for the first time in San Diego, under the auspices of the new organization.

The Native Daughters of the Golden West also maintain an organization.

The first Pioneer Society in San Diego was organized February 12, 1872. Membership was to be limited to persons arriving before 1854. The following is a partial list of the first members; Cave J. Couts ?

W. B. Couts, December 26, 1849.
José G. Estudillo, native born.
George Lyons, December, 1846.
Thomas Whaley, July 22, 1849.
Marcus Schiller, September 22, 1853.
James W. Connors, October, 1852.
Wm. A. Winder, May, 1853.
John W. Leamy, October, 1851.
Daniel P. Clark, March 6, 1847.
T. G. Battaile, November, 1849.
Miguel Aguirre, native born.
Thomas P. Slade, May, 1849.
A. O. Wallace, October 22, 1852.
Thos. H. Bush, February, 1853.
D. Crichton, September, 1853.
E. W. Bushyhead, August 2, 1850.

Another San Diego Pioneer Society was formed at the residence of John G. Capron, March 1, 1888. E. W. Morse was elected president and Douglas Gunn, secretary. The date limit set was January 1, 1871. This and the former society seem to have survived but a short time. The only pioneer society now in existence is the Ladies' Pioneer Society, of which Mrs. Mathew Sherman is president and Mrs. M. A. Steadman is secretary. This society was formed May 31, 1895. The first president was Mrs. Flora Kimball, and the secretary Mrs. Hattie Phillips. Membership is limited to those arriving before January, 1880. There are at present more than 100 members.

HERBERT A. CROGHAN

A leader of the Masons and Knights of Pythias, and a member of the Board of Education

A New England Society was formed in San Diego on November 23, 1854, the officers of which were: President, O. S. Witherby; vice-presidents, Judge J. Judson Ames, Colonel J. R. Gitchell, and Captain H. S. Burton, U. S. A.; recording secretary; Captain George P. Tebbetts; corresponding secretary, Judge E. W. Morse. A committee was chosen to make arrangements for the celebration of Forefathers' Day, but at this point the record ends. The present New England Society was formed a few years ago.

The San Diego Society of Natural History was incorporated in October, 1874, and has maintained an active existence to the present. The society has had but three presidents. The first was Dr. Geo. W. Barnes; the second, Daniel Cleveland. At the present time General A. W. Vogdes is president, and Frank Stephens secretary. The San Diego Lyceum of Sciences existed for some years, but is now dormant.

On February 7, 1880, there was a fight between a badger and some dogs, which was witnessed by a large crowd. Someone who witnessed it wrote an indignant article which appeared in the *Union*, and that paper urged the immediate formation of a society for the prevention of cruelty to animals. A public meeting was held and the organization soon after perfected. The first officers were: M. S. Root, president; D. Cave, vice-president; George N. Hitchcock, secretary; E. W. Morse, treasurer. The society was succeeded by the San Diego Humane Society, the present officers of which are: Dr. Thomas Gogswell, president; Mrs. H. L. Hall, secretary.

The first W. C. T. U. in San Diego was organized by Frances E. Willard, in 1884. Mrs. C. D. Watkins is president, and Mrs. Elizabeth Linguian, secretary.

Besides those which have been mentioned, San Diego has a large number of clubs and societies, such as are usually found in larger cities.

CHAPTER X

ACCOUNT OF THE FIRE DEPARTMENT

THE first agitation for the purchase of a fire engine at Horton's Addition began in the fall of 1869, when the newspapers took the question up and discussed it with some vigor. As a first step, a benefit was given at Horton's Hall, which netted $250, and on the 20th of the same month another entertainment was given for their benefit. The formal organization was effected on May 17th, when about 50 citizens met and formed themselves into the Pioneer Hook and Ladder Company. The following officers were selected: Foreman, W. S. McCormick; first assistant, John N. Young; second assistant, William P. Henderson; secretary, B. C. Brown; treasurer, A. H. Julian. On June 8th, the first regular meeting was held and the same officers chosen to serve for the ensuing year, except that John H. Todman was made treasurer, in place of A. H. Julian, and the following additional officers were selected: President, Chalmers Scott; steward, John M. Heidelburg; trustees, A. H. Julian, E. W. Nottage, and George W. Hazzard.

It took more than a year to raise money enough to secure a truck. In June, 1871, it is recorded that Mr. Whitaker had returned with all the materials for the construction of a first-class fire-truck. The sum of $500 had been subscribed for the purchase of apparatus and $400 more were needed. The first ball was given by the new department early in September; it was a social success, but a financial failure. On October 12th the new truck was finished and housed. In November of this year, the business men sank a well opposite the store of Julian & Stutsman, expressly as a protection against fire. Additional equipment was gradually acquired and the efficiency of the department began to improve.

A year later, October 9, 1872, the successor of the hook and ladder company, known as San Diego Fire Engine Company No. 1, was organized, and the agitation for the purchase of an engine was renewed. The first fire plug in the city was set up by S. P. Abell, in front of his building on Fifth and D Streets. The water was turned on and a test of it made on April 9, 1874.

In November San Diego Engine Company No. 1 received a new hose carriage.

In January, 1878, the arrival is proudly recorded of a new fire alarm bell, which "measures over 3 ft. across the mouth and will be heard for miles around." It weighed 550 pounds, and cost $95. This bell was used until July 1, 1880, when it was broken. As the department was a volunteer one, the loss of the bell was a serious matter. There was some difficulty and delay in replacing it, and the fire company resolved, early in September, that it would consider itself out of active service until the city had a new bell. It was not secured until February 1, 1881. The new bell weighed 1,000 pounds and cost $300.

In the early 80's the fire department ran down and reached a very low ebb. In September, 1883, there was danger that it could not be kept up any longer, and the newspapers appealed to the citizens to aid it. An appropriation of $100 by the city council was asked, so "that the fire department can be brought up to an effective force of 25 or 30 members," and the *Union* hoped that "no calamity may befall this city while in the helpless condition of being without a fire department." These efforts resulted in an improvement in the condition of the department, but no large departures followed.

On December 12, 1884, occurred one of the most noted fires of early days. This was the burning of the planing mill and beehive factory of George M. Wetherbee, on the corner of G and Arctic Streets, with a loss of $12,000.

In April, 1885, another new fire bell was needed, and there was some trouble in securing a satisfactory one. The first bell sent had to be returned; a new one arrived on July 23d, and was put into commission. Bryant Howard gave the sum required for its purchase, $500, and the bell was inscribed: "Presented to San Diego Engine Company No. 1, by Bryant Howard, Cashier Consolidated National Bank, San Diego."

Coronado Engine Company No. 1 was organized on April 22, 1886, and the following February it was announced that bids for the erection of an engine house for its use would be advertised for.

The fire department having sent for a belt, hat, and trumpet, they were offered to Chief Engineer S. M. McDowell, who used them from December, 1886. In the following March, McDowell made a number of recommendations in his annual report. He wished a tower erected at the foot of Fifth Street and the old bell placed in it; a steam fire engine was needed, also two new hose carts and more horses. He also suggested the consideration of a paid fire department and an electric alarm system.

The new hose carts were promptly furnished, and, in April, Coronado Fire Engine Company No. 2 was formed and negotiations were opened for the purchase of a steam fire engine. The engine purchased was made by La France Engine Company, of Syracuse, New York. It cost about $4,000 delivered, arrived early in November, 1887, and was San Diego's first steam fire engine. It is now kept as a relic in Engine House No. 1.

In the fall of 1886, the city trustees created the Board of Fire Delegates of the City of San Diego, to consist of the trustees of the different fire companies. These trustees met on January 6, 1887, for organization and election of officers. Those present were James Rooney, Theodore Fintzelberg, and Albert Hertz, trustees of San Diego Engine Company No. 1; and Frank J. Higgins, Henry L. Ryan, and A. F. Dill, trustees of Coronado Engine Company No. 2. They chose for their president, James Rooney; secretary, Frank J. Higgins; treasurer, Bryant Howard; chief engineer, S. M. McDowell; assistant engineers, John Moffitt and C. F. Murphy.

A. B. CAIRNES

Who served for years as Chief of the Fire Department and developed the organization from the level of a country town to a metropolitan standard

The equipment of the fire department at the close of the year 1887 consisted of the following: 2 steam fire engines, 2 hook and ladder trucks, 1 hose cart, 3,500 feet of hose, 11 horses, and 6 chemical fire extinguishers. The expenses of the department for the year were between $12,000 and $13,000, although there were only 2 salaried officers.

In the year 1888, the department not having kept pace with the growth of the city and the bursting of the boom making it impossible for the trustees to provide sufficient equipment, the department had a hard struggle and was unable to perform its work properly. The hook and ladder trucks had to be pulled by hand, on account of the shortage of horses. There were other causes of complaint, and the dissatisfaction and disorganization were so great that insurance men became alarmed. Engineer McDowell resigned in March and was succeeded by Albert Hertz. The fire companies then in existence were:

San Diego Engine Company No. 1, consisting of 32 men, 12 of whom were active; Howard Hook and Ladder Company No. 1, 48 men, 25 active; and Coronado Engine Company No. 2, 65 men, which had disbanded, but was reorganized in April. On June 4th a new volunteer company was organized and called the M. D. Hamilton Brigade. In July, the department was reorganized, new officers elected, and a set of by-laws adopted.

During the spring, summer, and fall of 1888, a series of disastrous fires occurred, which many believed were of incendiary origin. A list of the principal conflagrations at that time is given herewith:

On May 3d, a fire burned over half the block bounded by Fifth, Sixth, F and G Streets. The heaviest losers were Hamilton & Co., Fred N. Hamilton, and Williams & Ingle. The total loss was about $150,000. The building consumed was known as the Central Market, and was built in 1873.

Sixth Street, between F and G, was the scene of a destructive fire on May 26th. The San Diego Printing Company was burned out and the postoffice had a narrow escape. The loss was about $40,000.

On June 1st, the buildings of Foreman & Stone, on Seventh Street, with their contents, were burned. The loss was about $40,000.

A frame building on H Street, between State and Union, was consumed by fire on August 29th; loss, $6,000.

On September 5th, the new Backesto Block, on the corner of Fifth and H Streets, was totally destroyed by fire. It was owned by Dr. J. P. Backesto, of San José, and was built in 1887 at a cost of $45,000. The heaviest losers were Klauber & Levi, whose loss was about $250,000, with $150,000 insurance.

Hunsaker, Britt & Lamme, attorneys, lost their law library (the best in the city), valued at $15,000. The total loss was over $300,000.

On January 23, 1889, the Board of Fire Delegates ordered certificates of membership to be issued to the following fire companies, which shows the organizations that were in existence at that time, as re-numbered:

San Diego	Engine	Company	No.	1.
Horton	"	"	"	2.
Hamilton	"	"	"	3.
Howard	Hook & Ladder	"	"	2.
Hart	" " "	"	"	2.

RICHARD A. SHUTE
Who succeeded Chief Cairnes as head of the Fire Department, retiring from the position in 1907 with a good record to his credit

When the new city charter was adopted, in the spring of 1889, provision was made, for the first time, for the organization of a paid fire department. The control of this department was vested in a board of fire commissioners, appointed by the mayor. In pursuance of this power, Mayor Douglas Gunn sent to the council, early in May, 1889, the following names for members of the first board: John P. Burt, J. K. Hamilton, and E. F. Rockfellow. This board was approved by the council, and organized by electing Burt president, and Henry Bradt secretary. On June 5th the board selected A. B. Cairnes as the first chief engineer of the new department.

Mr. Cairnes was an old fireman. He was a member of the New York fire department several years, and foreman of Washington Engine Company No. 20, in that city, from May, 1862, until the volunteer service was terminated by the organization of the present Metropolitan Fire Department, in 1866. He remained at the head of the San Diego fire department until November 29, 1905, when he resigned on account of age and ill health.

At the time of this reorganization, the force and equipment of the fire department were as follows: 1 chief, 2 engineers, 5 foremen, 6 drivers, and 28 firemen; there were 2 steam fire engines, 2 hose carriages, 1 hose wagon, 2 hook and ladder wagons, and 11 horses.

The Gamewell system of electric fire alarms was installed in 1892. In this year also a number of new engine houses were fitted up and occupied.

The successor of Chief Cairnes is Richard A. Shute. Mr. Shute has been identified with the department since 1888, when he became driver of Horton Hose Company No. 1. Before coming to San Diego, he was member of the San Francisco fire department and saw considerable service.

At the present time, there are 30 fire alarm stations. The location of the different engine houses is as follows:

Engine and Hose Company No. 1; southeast corner of Second and E Streets:
Hook and Ladder Company No. 1; southeast corner of Tenth and B Streets;
Engine and Hose Company No. 2; southeast corner of Tenth and B Streets;
Hose Company No. 3; southeast corner of Eighth and J Streets;
Chemical Engine; Fourth and Laurel Streets;
Combination Chemical; Kearny Avenue between Twenty-sixth and Twenty-seventh Streets;
Combination Chemical; Twenty-third and F Streets;
Combination Chemical; Ninth and University Streets.

The following table shows the officers of the fire department, from its organization:

NEW FIRE DEPARTMENT.

I.

BOARD OF FIRE COMMISSIONERS.

	1889	1891	1893
Pres.	J. P. Burt	G. B. Grow	G. B. Grow

	J. K. Hamilton	J. P. Burt	J. P. Burt
	E. F. Rockfellow	E. F. Rockfellow	Geo. W. Marston
Chief Eng'r	A. B. Cairnes	A. B. Cairnes	A. B. Cairnes
	1895	1897	1899
Pres.	G. B. Grow	Geo. R. Harrison	J. E. Wadham
	Geo. R. Harrison	G. B. Grow	G. B. Grow
	Geo. W. Marston	C. A. Dievendorff	J. P. Burt
Chief Eng'r	A. B. Cairnes	A. B. Cairnes	A. B. Cairnes
	1900	1901	1903
Pres.	B. F. Mertzmann	A. G. Edwards	A. G. Edwards
	E. J. Carter	B. F. Mertzmann	B. F. Mertzmann
	Jno. P. Burt	Jno. P. Burt	Jno. P. Burt
Chief Eng'r	A. B. Cairnes	A. B. Cairnes	A. B. Cairnes
	1904	1905	1905-6
Pres.	Jno. P. Burt	Geo. R. Harrison	Geo. R. Harrison
	A. G. Edwards	Jno. P. Burt	Vernon D. Rood
	Geo. R. Harrison	A. G. Edwards	A. G. Edwards
		A. B. Cairnes	
Chief Eng'r	A. B. Cairnes	R. A. Shute	R. A. Shute

II.

STATISTICS OF FIRES AND FIRE LOSSES.

	Department called out:				
	Still Alarms	Box Alarms	Total Alarms	Losses	REMARKS.
1889				$33,145	$29,245 before department.
1890	19	10	29	17,650	
1891			28	8,035	
1892	25	10	35	11,175	
1893	15	13	28	9,145	
1894	25	12	37	9,700	Average per fire $388, lowest on record.
1895			54	29,900	
1896	28	11	39	10,980	
1897	31	11	42	37,700	City $14,000. Outside $16,700.
1898	27	13	40	12,640	
1899	38	16	54	13,485	City $8,485. Schooner Sequoia $5,000.
1900	21	17	38	37,560	
1901	29	6	35	5,575	Smallest in dept. history.
1902			50	17,420	
1903			38	23,966	Prop'ty involved $388,850
1904	17	30	47	14,840	" " $170,950
1905			53	13,693	

PART SEVENTH

Miscellaneous Topics

CHAPTER I

HISTORY OF THE SAN DIEGO CLIMATE

NO FEATURE of San Diego is better worthy of a place in these historical records than the famous climate which, of all local resources, is the one which has done most to create the city and give it wide reputation. It is a pity that exact information does not go back to the time of the earliest settlement. Of the Mission period we have only such meager records as this kept by the Fathers at San Luis Rey:

1776, Copius rainfall.
1787, Rain insufficient, crops short.
1791, Extremely dry. No rain the whole year.
1794, Rainfall insufficient, crops short.
1795, Very dry.
1819, Short in rain and crops.
1827, Short in rain and crops.
1832, Short in rain and crops.

This would seem to be an effectual answer to the saying of the Spaniards that drouth was unknown until the Americans came. Fortunately, we do not depend upon such fragmentary records for the history of the climate in later times. The facts in this chapter are supplied by the U. S. Weather Bureau forecaster, Ford A. Carpenter, and are given in his own words:

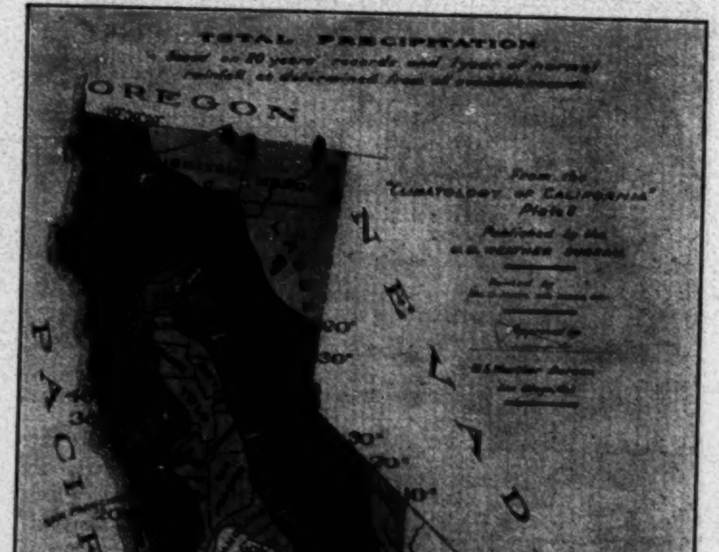
> Four elements enter into a consideration of the climate of San Diego. Named according to their importance, they are as follows: (1) Distance from the northern storm tracks, and the southern storms of the Lower California coast; (2) proximity to the ocean on the west; (3) mountains in the east, (4) and the great Colorado desert still further east. The number of the northern areas of low pressure sufficiently great, and moving far enough south to exert an influence at the latitude of San Diego, are comparatively few; not one-tenth of these lows have an appreciable effect on the climate. The storms from the south ("Sonoras," as they are locally known), have but little energy, and probably average two a year. As is the case in all marine climates the ocean exerts by far the most powerful effect. This is noticed in the slight daily variation in temperature, and the absence of either cold or hot weather. The average daily change in temperature from day to day is 2 degrees, and the extremes in temperature, from a record of

thirty-four years, are 101 degrees and 32 degrees. The temperature has exceeded 90 degrees twenty-two times in thirty-four years, or on an average of about twice every three years. Five times in the history of the station has the temperature touched 32 degrees, but has never fallen lower. Five killing frosts have occurred in San Diego since the establishment of the station, but aside from blackening tender shoots, and killing delicate flowers, no damage was done.

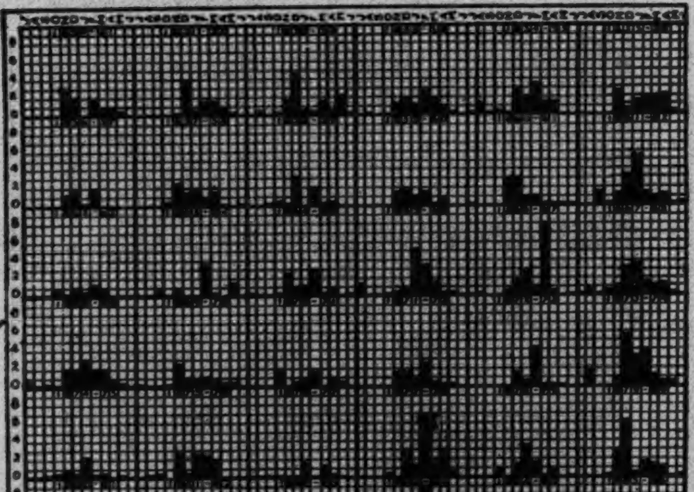
FORD A. CARPENTER

Local Forecaster U. S. Weather Bureau. Located, 1898; having been transferred from Carson, Nevada. Promoted in 1906 to Local Forecaster; since 1898, Director of San Diego Natural History Society; since 1905, Director of Chamber of Commerce, and now Treasurer of same. First President of San Diego Camera Club

The "desert" winds are responsible for temperatures above 90 degrees, and they are therefore accompanied by extremely low humidity. Records of humidity below 10 per cent are not uncommon during the two or three hours duration of the desert wind; 3 per cent is the lowest relative humidity ever recorded at this station. As the sea-breeze is stronger than the desert wind, the highest point reached, whenever the temperature is above 90 degrees, usually occurs about eleven a.m. At this time the sea-breeze overcomes the land-breeze, and the temperature drops to the normal.



RAIN MAP OF CALIFORNIA



RAINFALL CHART OF SAN DIEGO COUNTY

Nothing so clearly illustrates the strictly local character of the climate of San Diego as the humidity. While the mean annual relative humidity is 72 per cent at the Weather Bureau station, two miles north and at an increase of two hundred feet in elevation, the humidity decreases 15 per cent. Five miles away, and at an elevation of three hundred feet, there is a further decrease of 5 per cent. The temperature is of course proportionately higher.

The maximum amount of sunshine occurs in November, and the minimum in May and June; the winters being usually bright and warm, and the summers cloudy and cool The photographic sunshine recorder was installed in 1890, and this sixteen years record shows an average of about three days each year without sunshine.

In 1902, there were two days above 80 degrees and three days below 40 degrees, making 9,905 days out of a possible 10,226 days since 1875 (inclusive), when the temperature did not go beyond these extremes.

In 1903, there were seven days above 80 degrees and 7 days below 40 degrees, making 9,919 days out of a possible 10,591 days, since 1875 (inclusive), that the temperature did not go beyond these extremes.

In 1904 there were 21 days above 80 degrees and one day below 40 degrees, making 10,262 days out of a possible 10,956 days since 1875 (inclusive), that the temperature did not go beyond these extremes.

In 1905, there were seven days above 80 degrees and three days below 40 degrees, making 10,608 days out of a possible 11,321 days.

There is a difference of about one mile an hour in the average hourly velocity of the wind between the summer and the winter months; the mean annual hourly velocity is five miles. While the wind blows from every point of the compass during a normal day, the land-breeze is very light, averaging about three miles per hour, reaching its lowest velocity just before the sea-breeze sets in. The records show that there is an average velocity of from six to nine miles from ten a.m. to six p.m. During the summer a velocity of six miles is attained at nine a.m., increasing to ten miles at two p.m., reaching six miles at seven p.m.

The winter months have about five hours of moderate wind beginning shortly after noon. Winds from twenty-five to thirty miles per hour occur infrequently, the average annual number being two. Winds of from thirty-one to forty miles have an average of less than one a year. The highest velocity ever attained was forty miles from the northwest, in February, 1878.

The record of meteorological observations began in July, 1849, and was made entirely by officials of the Government. The Army and Coast Survey kept up the record until the establishment of this station by the Signal Service, Nov. 1, 1871. Since this date, the location of the observing office has been changed a number of times, but the different places have all been within a radius of a few blocks. The office is now in the Keating building, corner Fifth and F streets. The instruments have elevations above ground as follows: thermometer 94 feet; rain-gage, 86 feet; anemometer, 102 feet.

In the table below will be found the following data: "A" —Greatest monthly precipitation and date. "B"—Least monthly precipitation and date.

Table "A"	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Year	1896	1884	1867	1879	1884	1850	1865	1873	1861	1889	1905	1889
Amount	7 33	9 06	7·88	2 91	2 17	0 68	1 29	1 95	1 59	2 12	3 38	7 71
Table "B"												
Year	*1850	*1885	*1857	*1864	*1850	*1852	*1850	*1850	*1850	*1853	*1872	1900
Amount	0	0 02	0	0 01	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

*Also in other years.

Highest Wind Velocity, direction and date for each month, during the past 33 years. Record began January 1, 1873.

Months	Velocity	Direction	Day and Year
January	37	*	* 1873
February	40	se.	13 1878
March	37	*	* 1876
April	39	*	* 1877
May	33	s	* 7 1905
June	24	sw.	11 1896
July	30	nw.	2 1881
August	25	sw.	3 1900
September	28	nw.	7 1881
October	32	nw.	29 1877
November	33	w	27 1905
December	36	nw.	¶ 2 1887

* Direction and date missing. ¶ Also west, on December 23, 1888.

Maximum rate of rainfall from recording rain-gauge: record since 1893; December 28, 1896, in one minute, 0.19; in 5 minutes, 0.32; in 10 minutes, 0.47; in 1 hour, 0.79.

Number of days with one hour or more of fog, and number of thunder-storms in 20 years. Record began January 1, 1886.

	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	Sum
Total number of foggy days	33	30	13	24	4	8	10	8	30	53	33	13	259
Average	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	2	3	2	1	13
Total number of thunderstorms	2	4	10	6	4	2	3	6	2	6	2	3	50
Average	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2

Total number of days on which precipitation has fallen since November 1, 1871.

	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December
Less than 0.01	23	26	49	25	51	20	13	19	19	26	19	26
0.01 to 0.10	83	84	93	70	95	31	6	10	15	46	49	75
0.11 to 0.25	34	40	40	39	12	3	1	1	3	25	24	38
0.26 to 0.50	41	41	51	20	9	0	0	2	2	3	18	31
0.51 to 1.00	22	28	23	11	5	0	1	0	0	4	12	25
Over 1.00 inch	15	13	6	1	2	0	1	0	0	1	3	14

No snow is reported to have fallen at San Diego since the beginning of the record of observations in 1850.

Dates when precipitation equalled or exceeded 2.50 inches in any consecutive 24 hours.—Local time.

December 4th, 1873, 10 p. m. 3d, during night 4th	2.52 inches
November 9th, 1879, during a. m. 9th, to 8:10 p. m. 9th	2.75 inches
December 27th, 1879, 6 a. m. to 6 a. m. December 28th	2.55 inches

CLIMATOLOGY OF SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

By FORD A. CARPENTER, Local Forecaster, Weather Bureau

Monthly mean temperatures for a period of fifty-four years.

YEAR	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Annual
1852........	53.1	55.9	55.0	37.6	61.2	67.1	73.2	72.5	73.6	65.0	57.3	51.9	62.0
1853........	53.8	53.0	57.7	62.6	63.3	68.4	72.8	72.9	70.7	68.8	60.4	56.2	63.4
1854........	54.2	55.0	56.4	63.3	60.7	64.1	73.1	72.1	66.7	64.0	58.7	55.5	62.0
1855........	52.6	56.2	58.4	62.3	64.0	68.8	70.9	72.0	68.3	66.6	56.4	52.4	62.4
1856........	51.0	53.5	56.2	60.0	61.0	68.6	72.3	72.5	68.8	61.6	56.2	50.0	61.0
1857........	52.4	53.6	58.8	62.6	64.4	69.1	67.3	72.8	68.4	63.9	57.2	51.8	61.9
1858........	51.2	56.0	55.1	57.8	62.8	66.5	69.2	69.8	69.6	63.5	58.6	53.1	61.1
1859........	54.5	54.8	55.3	56.2	60.1	67.0	69.7	68.4	66.6	65.1	60.1	55.3	61.1
1860........	51.4	53.9	59.0	60.4	61.9	64.5	68.8	70.8	69.1	63.6	56.9	55.2	61.3
1861........	51.4	56.5	57.7	63.8	65.7	67.6	73.1	72.3	69.3	64.6	59.8	58.1	63.3
1862........	55.6	51.8	56.8	59.4	62.7	68.2	71.2	72.9	69.4	65.8	60.4	55.4	62.5
1863........	52.8	52.8	59.9	61.0	62.6	64.6	68.0	68.1	68.9	65.7	59.0	55.8	61.6
1864........	56.0	56.2	58.5	61.8	65.2	69.0	69.7	75.1	69.2	64.6	59.1	56.5	63.4
1865........	55.6	54.7	57.8	59.8	64.3	65.7	67.7	71.8	68.2	65.2	62.1	52.2	62.1
1866........	54.5	57.0	57.9	62.7	60.5	66.6	69.7	73.1	69.6	65.0	60.4	58.6	63.0
1867........	55.2	53.2	55.4	61.7	63.6	69.1	70.5	74.5	71.7	64.0	63.2	63.3	63.8
1868........	54.5	56.5	57.4	61.3	62.3	65.7	69.4	74.1	72.2	66.1	62.1	55.4	63.1
1869........	56.6	55.6	59.8	62.1	62.2	64.4	68.8	70.3	68.3	66.3	61.1	50.6	62.2
1870........	55.6	57.5	56.3	58.8	61.4	64.6	68.3	70.5	66.9	63.6	59.4	51.4	61.2
1871........	53.5	52.2	56.7	57.7	63.6	65.1	71.4	72.1	68.3	65.6	58.3	56.8	61.8
1872........	52.7	55.2	56.4	56.0	60.4	64.9	66.6	68.9	66.0	62.5	59.4	55.4	60.4
1873........	56.7	53.3	56.7	58.0	60.0	62.7	67.0	69.0	67.7	62.0	60.3	54.3	60.0
1874........	54.7	52.6	52.6	56.2	60.5	63.2	68.3	68.1	65.7	63.2	56.7	53.3	59.6
1875........	53.4	54.6	55.0	57.8	62.6	64.6	68.3	71.2	67.7	67.2	60.3	56.9	61.6
1876........	51.9	55.9	54.9	59.0	60.9	65.2	68.3	68.8	66.3	64.6	59.4	56.8	61.0
1877........	57.4	57.9	58.9	58.3	60.3	66.3	68.4	68.4	68.0	63.9	60.6	56.8	62.1
1878........	55.6	56.0	56.7	58.1	61.5	64.1	66.8	68.3	67.3	62.0	57.5	53.5	60.6
1879........	52.3	54.8	57.9	58.1	60.1	64.1	65.7	68.6	66.6	62.6	56.2	53.9	60.1
1880........	52.5	50.8	52.1	56.3	60.6	63.0	63.4	65.8	63.1	61.2	56.2	56.9	58.5
1881........	52.8	55.7	54.3	60.8	62.3	64.1	67.2	68.2	66.7	61.5	56.8	55.0	60.4
1882........	50.4	51.2	55.1	56.6	61.9	64.3	66.7	70.2	66.8	62.0	57.0	55.7	59.8
1883........	53.4	53.9	57.4	57.4	60.6	66.6	68.7	68.9	69.7	61.7	58.7	57.5	61.2
1884........	55.0	55.9	56.5	57.6	61.4	64.4	68.4	69.5	65.1	61.3	58.6	54.4	60.7
1885........	54.0	55.4	59.6	62.0	63.3	64.3	67.6	71.8	68.0	63.9	59.6	57.1	62.2
1886........	55.9	58.5	55.0	57.2	60.4	63.1	67.1	70.5	66.6	59.7	56.0	56.0	60.5
1887........	54.3	52.9	57.2	59.0	62.1	64.6	66.5	66.2	65.7	64.5	59.2	54.6	60.6
1888........	51.6	54.9	55.8	60.8	61.2	66.0	68.4	69.2	69.7	65.0	59.9	58.2	61.7
1889........	54.8	58.0	59.2	60.4	60.8	64.0	67.6	70.8	70.2	65.4	62.0	57.4	62.6
1890........	51.0	54.3	56.4	58.6	60.4	64.1	68.5	69.8	69.1	64.6	63.8	52.2	61.8
1891........	54.6	53.3	56.9	58.2	60.8	65.6	69.9	72.4	70.2	63.8	59.2	61.5	62.0
1892........	55.1	55.0	56.0	57.8	61.0	62.0	64.9	67.8	65.4	62.7	60.9	54.2	60.2
1893........	57.4	54.4	54.2	57.5	60.1	63.4	67.4	70.0	64.6	62.7	57.6	57.4	60.6
1893........	57.4	54.4	54.2	57.5	60.1	63.4	67.4	70.0	64.6	62.7	57.6	57.4	60.6
1894........	49.5	50.5	52.6	56.4	58.6	61.4	64.8	67.0	65.9	62.8	57.1	54.8	58.4
1895........	53.2	55.8	55.4	57.8	61.9	65.0	65.6	61.7	67.4	64.4	59.4	55.0	60.5
1896........	5.55	57.7	58.2	56.5	62.0	64.8	68.6	69.4	66.7	64.2	59.7	59.0	61.9
1897........	55.8	54.7	54.2	59.8	60.9	63.4	67.0	69.9	68.1	62.4	60.2	55.0	61.0
1898........	50.8	55.2	54.5	59.1	58.8	63.8	66.7	70.6	68.5	62.3	59.4	56.6	60.5
1899........	5.55	53.4	56.4	58.2	57.7	61.4	65.6	65.8	65.5	62.7	60.8	58.7	60.1
1900........	57.8	57.6	59.2	56.8	60.9	64.4	67.6	66.2	65.6	63.1	64.6	60.4	62.0
1901........	56.2	57.5	60.0	57.4	60.0	62.5	65.6	68.2	64.8	62.8	60.8	57.8	61.2
1902........	56.4	54.8	54.8	57.2	60.2	62.2	65.4	66.8	66.2	62.6	58.3	55.8	60.1
1903........	56.8	52.2	57.6	58.4	60.5	63.2	66.2	68.4	67.9	63.5	61.6	57.8	61.2
1904........	55.7	54.6	56.5	58.9	60.5	64.5	66.7	71.0	70.2	66.8	64.2	58.8	63.2
1905........	58.1	59.0	59.6	59.1	59.9	62.7	65.2	67.4	66.4	63.8	59.2	56.0	61.4
1906........	54.6	58.0	57.8	58.2	60.0								

Monthly, seasonal and annual precipitation at San Diego, California.

YEAR	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	Annual	Season of	Seasonal
1850	0.00	1.13	1.00	0.09	0.00	0.68	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.19	2.82	1.93	7.84	1849–50	
1851	0.03	1.51	0.34	0.87	0.71	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.01	0.25	3.74	7.49	1850–51	8.41
1852	0.58	1.84	1.87	0.85	0.32	0.00	0.00	0.40	0.00	0.06	1.45	4.50	11.87	1851–52	9.88
1853	0.50	0.20	1.52	0.25	2.10	0.05	0.00	0.21	0.00	0.00	1.28	1.77	7.88	1852–53	10.84
1854	0.99	2.56	1.88	0.89	0.18	0.01	0.07	1.36	0.09	0.27	0.04	3.29	11.63	1853–54	10.99
1855	1.07	3.59	1.30	1.52	0.06	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.11	2.15	0.41	11.15	1854–55	12.17
1856	1.27	1.86	1.59	2.17	0.29	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.07	0.00	1.22	1.30	9.77	1855–56	9.85
1857	0.26	1.76	0.00	0.04	0.09	0.03	0.00	0.02	0.01	0.49	2.16	1.30	6.15	1856–57	4.78
1858	1.52	0.44	1.24	0.17	0.00	0.19	0.00	00.4	0.10	0.47	0.28	3.10	7.55	1857–58	7.56
1859	0.00	1.89	0.20	0.36	0.17	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.18	1.49	1.79	6.10	1858–59	6.59
1860	0.72	1.49	0.15	0.65	0.04	0.05	0.14	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.88	2.99	9.11	1859–60	6.70
1861	0.82	0.79	0.05	0.04	0.00	0.19	0.00	00.0	1.59	0.05	1.19	3.20	7.92	1860–61	7.76
1862	5.56	1.39	0.97	1.05	0.16	0.48	0.11	0.00	0.00	0.89	0.05	0.93	11.59	1861–62	15.75
1863	0.32	1.09	0.32	0.13	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.36	0.00	0.73	0.04	3.02	1862–63	3.76
1864	0.04	2.50	0.20	0 01	1.25	0.01	0.11	0.00	0.00	0.04	2.41	1.04	7.61	1863–64	5.25
1865	1.28	3.00	0.00	0.56	0.00	0.07	1.29	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.52	0.84	7.52	1864–65	9.63
1866	5.05	3.43	1.47	0.11	0.09	0.00	0.00	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.24	1.82	12.31	1865–66	11.63
1867	2.32	0.85	7.88	0.48	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.30	0.00	0.34	0.45	3.06	15.72	1866–67	13.93
1868	3.37	1.63	0.73	1.20	0.15	0.00	0.51	0.00	0.05	0.00	2.00	1.52	11.16	1867–68	11.44
1869	2.88	1.88	1.98	0.53	0.33	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.05	2.32	09.4	10.96	1868–69	11.22
1870	0.54	0.77	0.33	0.20	0.28	0.00	0.04	0.07	0.00	1.54	0.18	0.42	4.37	1869–70	5.54
1871	0.52	1.35	0.01	0.70	0.34	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.33	1.39	5.64	1870–71	5.06
1872	0.99	2.63	0.46	0.26	0.12	0.00	0.00	0.18	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.40	6.04	1871–72	7.36
1873	0.44	4.15	0.11	0.10	0.03	0.00	0.00	1.95	0.00	0.00	0.77	5.46	13.01	1872–73	8.18
1874	3.11	3.73	1.20	0.34	0.34	0.00	0.12	0.00	0.11	0.53	0.88	0.55	10.91	1873–74	15.07
1875	2.38	0.37	0.45	0.12	0.20	0.02	0.00	0.21	0.39	0.00	2.25	0.41	6.80	1874–75	5.82
1876	2.47	2.44	1.78	0.06	0.05	0.05	0.03	0.06	0.03	0.08	0.04	0.15	7.24	1875–76	9.90
1777	1.05	0.18	1.44	0.26	0.43	0.00	0.00	0.00	0 00	0.81	0.06	3.89	8.12	1876–77	3.66
1878	1.45	4.83	1.41	2.91	0.58	0.16	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.96	T	1.57	13.87	1877–78	16.10
1879	3.54	1.04	0.10	0.60	T	0.07	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.29	2.77	6.30	14.71	1878–79	7.88
1880	0.61	1.50	1.43	1.34	0.06	0.06	0.09	0.32	0.00	0.53	0.28	4.15	103.7	1879–80	14.77
1881	0.52	0.45	1.88	1.35	0.04	0.05	0.00	0.01	0.04	0.24	0.12	0.30	5.00	1880–81	9.26
1882	4.53	2.55	1.02	0.45	0.18	0.07	0.00	T	0.01	0.41	0.39	0.13	9.74	1881–82	9.50
1883	1.09	0.95	0.41	0.31	1.14	0.08	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.01	0.20	1.82	8.01	1882–83	4.92
1884	1.34	9.05	6.23	2.84	2.17	0.31	0.00	T	0.07	0.35	0.11	5.12	27.59	1883–84	25.97
1885	0.35	0.02	0.78	1.20	0.61	0.06	T	0.13	T	0.31	1.56	0.71	5.73	1884–85	8.80
1886	6.95	1.51	3.73	1.95	0.04	0.07	T	T	0.00	0.05	0.95	0.10	15.35	1885–86	16.83
1887	0.04	4.51	00.2	2.14	0.47	0.04	0.01	T	T	T	2.08	1.14	10.45	1886–87	8.33
1888	1.96	1.48	2.79	0.10	0.22	0.04	0.01	T	0.04	0.26	1.83	2.84	11.57	1887–88	9.82
1889	1.72	1.90	2.20	0.19	0.03	0.10	T	0.04	T	2.12	0.12	7.71	16.03	1888–89	11.05
1890	2.79	1.70	0.41	0.05	0.08	0.00	0.00	T	0.65	0.01	0.72	0.61	8.02	1889–90	14.98
1891	1.21	4.84	0.27	0.76	0.35	0.05	T	0.00	0.08	0.04	0.10	1.29	8.99	1890–91	10.47
1892	1.58	2.96	0.96	0.41	1.15	0.13	0.00	0.05	T	0.22	0.94	0.69	9.09	1891–92	8.25
1893	0.78	0.47	5.50	0.22	0.39	T	T	0.00	0.00	0.11	0.91	1.91	10.29	1892–93	9.21
1894	0.29	0.49	1.05	0.11	0.09	0.01	0.00	0.04	0.01	T	0.00	2.26	4.35	1893–94	5.01
1895	7.33	0.53	1.43	0.11	0.19	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.27	1.19	0.27	11.33	1894–95	11.86
1896	1.27	0.02	2.89	0.25	0.03	0.01	T	0.13	T	0.97	0.98	2.18	8.73	1895–96	6.34
1897	3.13	2.72	1.53	0.02	0.12	T	0.01	T	T	1.06	0.02	0.32	8.93	1896–97	11.66
1898	1.71	0.06	0.91	0.22	0.66	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.07	0.00	0.15	0.87	4.67	1897–98	4.98
1899	2.34	0.30	0.85	0.29	0.10	0.27	0.00	0.07	0.00	0.35	0.86	0.65	6.08	1898–99	5.31
1900	0.69	0.03	0.53	1.26	1.45	0.08	0.00	T	T	0.30	1.43	0.00	5.77	1899–00	5.90
1901	2.08	4.77	1.07	0.01	0.77	0.02	T	T	0.06	0.28	0.41	0.02	9.49	1900–01	10.45
1902	1.70	1.57	1.86	0.21	0.06	T	0.92	T	T	0.06	1.53	3.58	11.49	1901–02	7.09
1903	0.69	2.27	1.17	1.40	0.14	T	0.00	T	T	0.07	T	0.35	6.09	1902–03	10.84
1904	0.04	1.50	2.17	0.15	0.12	0.00	0.00	T	T	0.17	0.00	2.46	6.61	1903–04	4.40
1905	2.16	5.90	2.98	0.30	0.35	T	0.16	0.00	0.50	0.25	3.38	0.38	16.36	1904–05	14.48
1906	0.96	2.62	4.68	0.96	0.72									1905–06	

Maximum and minimum temperatures for a period of 33 years.

YEAR	January		February		March		April		May		June		July		August		Sept.		October		Nov.		Dec.	
	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.
1872	73	37	68	44	71	44	74	43	83	52	80	55	75	58	86	60	80	54	87	45	81	42	72	40
1873	75	44	77	37	72	40	82	42	78	52	75	58	77	60	78	63	82	55	76	49	85	49	68	44
1874	71	42	64	41	63	41	71	43	74	50	76	52	79	59	83	56	78	54	90	46	75	45	82	39
1875	68	42	70	44	71	39	77	39	82	50	77	53	79	61	83	63	88	57	88	53	78	50	75	38
1876	65	39	77	39	75	43	87	43	76	50	88	51	78	60	81	60	82	54	80	48	79	43	77	43
1877	78	42	75	45	70	48	67	44	68	51	94	55	86	59	82	58	91	58	73	47	78	46	78	40
1878	68	38	69	44	68	42	77	44	73	48	76	51	77	56	80	55	100	53	87	44	77	40	79	35
1879	76	35	74	38	99	44	82	45	94	47	93	52	75	58	81	54	92	54	92	46	79	43	71	32
1880	73	32	63	35	69	38	80	42	84	46	73	52	73	54	84	56	82	50	81	48	78	40	77	40
1881	70	36	82	39	72	40	82	51	72	51	76	53	80	57	82	56	86	52	72	46	76	38	77	39
1882	64	34	70	37	79	39	70	43	73	48	75	55	78	57	83	62	80	50	81	49	80	42	78	41
1883	76	32	83	36	71	48	85	42	89	45	84	56	80	59	84	60	101	59	80	48	82	43	78	42
1884	78	39	79	38	68	43	69	45	72	47	81	50	84	54	92	54	78	51	87	47	74	42	68	36
1885	68	38	76	40	81	42	83	47	73	52	74	52	82	58	89	62	90	56	88	47	76	42	79	40
1886	74	35	80	44	68	41	71	45	72	50	75	54	81	57	82	61	78	60	75	47	77	40	76	40
1887	74	38	76	38	82	44	80	44	79	48	78	54	79	60	77	54	79	58	85	50	82	44	74	36
1888	64	33	67	42	72	41	93	47	70	52	76	54	77	55	82	57	82	58	80	53	75	46	73	44
1889	78	36	85	37	80	45	83	47	80	50	72	56	84	59	89	62	91	54	80	52	83	46	69	40
1890	66	35	77	38	74	41	85	45	75	46	93	51	80	56	89	58	83	60	90	49	91	46	79	47
1891	76	35	70	34	76	41	77	44	67	53	78	53	88	58	85	60	89	55	84	50	82	44	72	32
1892	75	38	68	42	73	44	80	41	87	47	75	51	75	57	80	57	80	54	83	46	84	40	71	36
1893	80	38	75	40	75	40	78	43	88	49	75	53	79	57	81	59	77	53	88	50	83	40	82	38
1894	69	32	69	34	72	36	83	43	72	45	73	50	77	57	90	55	90	52	87	45	78	45	70	41
1895	77	36	82	39	74	38	81	44	80	51	77	51	74	57	78	54	90	54	84	54	85	38	79	34
1896	77	39	83	39	85	41	74	42	96	48	89	54	80	56	88	59	80	54	79	52	76	43	76	46
1897	73	40	76	38	70	40	88	46	67	50	70	54	79	59	89	60	83	58	76	51	83	45	80	36
1898	78	36	75	42	77	38	86	45	[illegible]	51	88	54	77	60	83	63	91	56	81	51	76	43	79	43
1899	74	43	76	34	86	44	93	46	66	48	70	55	78	57	76	58	92	55	93	48	81	50	80	40
1900	79	46	76	45	80	46	67	45	75	49	87	56	84	60	80	59	87	53	72	50	89	51	79	44
1901	75	40	83	44	82	47	66	46	67	51	86	53	74	57	79	58	72	56	96	51	80	49	76	35
1902	81	36	71	39	76	43	69	47	78	50	76	52	76	55	79	60	73	56	71	52	74	42	74	40
1903	78	43	75	35	72	42	73	47	68	50	74	54	78	59	85	60	83	56	84	51	84	45	75	44
1904	83	36	68	41	74	44	78	44	69	48	74	56	76	59	82	63	86	56	94	53	93	48	78	44
1905	73	46	97	40	76	38	68	44	77	48	70	54	74	59	88	58	81	55	85	50	80	44	74	38
1906	72	35	76	47	80	41	88	42	70	50														

Monthly relative humidity (per cent.) for a period of 35 years. Record began January 1, 1871.

	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December
A. M.	72.9	77.6	81.2	82.2	82.5	84.3	87.1	85.4	84.7	81.3	72.4	73.0
P. M.	73.3	73.5	73.9	73.4	74.8	75.7	76.4	76.4	78.0	76 2	72.8	72.9
Average	73.4	75.6	77.6	77.8	78.6	80.5	81.6	80.9	81.4	78.8	72.6	72.9

Total number of high winds in 33 years. Record began January 1, 1873.

	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	Annual Average
Velocity 25 to 30 miles	12	14	18	11	5	0	3	1	1	4	8	13	2
Velocity 31 to 40 miles	11	12	10	3	1	0	0	0	0	1	3	4	1

Temperature and weather summaries for a period of fifty-four years.

Temperature	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	August	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Annual
Highest monthly mean and year...	58.1 1905	59.0 1905	60.0 1901	63.8 1861	65.7 1861.	69.1 1857-67	73.2 1852	75.1 1864	73.6 1852	68.8 1853	64.6 1900	63.3 1867	63.8 1867
Lowest monthly mean and year....	49.5 1894	50.5 1894	52.1 1880	56.0 1872	57.7 1899	61.4 1894-99	63.4 1880	65.8 1880-99	63.1 1880	59.7 1886	56.0 1886	50.0 1856	58.4 1894
Absolute maximum and date......	83 13, 1904	85 12, 1889	99 29, 1879	93 12, 1888	98 25, 1896	94 10, 1877	88 25, 1891	92 15, 1884	101 22, 1883	96 21, 1901	93 8, 1904	82 6, 1874	101 Sept.22, 1883
Absolute minimum and date.......	32 *31, 1880	34 10-11'94	36 5, 1894	39 7, 1875	45 2, 1883 16, 1894	50 14, 1884 13, 1894	54 16, 1884	54 29, 1879	50 18, 1882	44 30, 1878	38 6, 1881 24, 1895	32 25, 1879	32 Jan. 31, 1880 Dec. 25, 1879
Greatest daily range...............	35	37	43	40	36	35	22	28	35	37	34	40	43
Mean daily range...................	16.9	13.7	14.2	14.2	12.2	12.1	11.6	11.4	13.0	14.1	17.7	16.2	13.9
Mean variability....................	2.4	2.1	2.3	2.3	1.6	1.9	1.7	1.7	2.0	1.8	2.3	1.9	2.0
Mean of three consecutive warmest days........................	65.7	69.2	71.3	74.3	72.1	75.8	78.0	81.1	82.9	79.0	75.6	75.6	82.9
Mean of three consecutive coldest days........................	40.2	41.9	44.3	50.5	52.6	55.4	59.5	60.8	57.0	49.8	44.9	42.8	40.2
Weather													
Average number of clear days......	17	14	14	16	10	11	15	12	16	18	19	17	178
Average number of partly cloudy days..........................	7	9	9	8	11	15	10	15	11	10	9	10	116
Average number of cloudy days....	7	5	8	6	10	4	6	4	3	3	2	4	71
Average number of rainy days.....	6	8	7	4	3	1	0	0	0	2	3	5	39

*Also 21st, 1883; 7th, 1894.

Greatest precipitation in 24 hours for each month.

Year	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	Greatest Annual
1872	0.53	1.12	0.29	0.15	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.53	1.12
1873	0.20	1.25	0.05	0.10	0.02	0.00	0.00	1.80	0.00	0.00	0.54	2.52	2.52
1874	1.35	1.24	0.28	0.33	0.21	0.00	0.09	0.00	0.10	0.18	0.31	0.55	1.35
1875	0.95	0.35	0.30	0.11	0.08	0.02	0.00	0.21	0.29	0.00	0.52	0.32	0.95
1876	0.35	1.53	0.80	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.03	0.06	0.03	0.06	0.03	0.10	1.53
1877	0.41	0.18	0.52	0.16	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.78	0.06	1.09	1.00
1878	0.55	1.11	0.36	0.82	0.28	0.07	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.96	0.00	0.58	1.11
1879	1.53	0.80	0.05	0.17	0.00	0.07	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.16	2.75	2.15	2.75
1880	0.31	0.82	0.44	0.38	0.06	0.06	0.07	0.28	0.00	0.48	0.17	1.29	1.20
1881	0.29	0.18	0.83	0.70	0.02	0.05	0.00	0.01	0.04	0.21	0.07	0.19	0.83
1882	2.49	0.99	0.55	0.13	0.17	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.21	0.31	0.11	2.49
1883	0.98	0.43	0.19	0.18	0.69	0.08	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.82	0.20	0.63	1.82
1884	0.92	1.89	1.71	1.01	1.45	0.24	0.00	T	0.07	0.23	0.10	1.06	1.89
1885	0.20	0.01	0.56	0.80	0.54	0.04	T	0.13	0.00	0.21	0.59	0.48	0.80
1886	1.76	0.69	1.38	1.20	0.02	0.04	T	T	0.00	0.05	0.74	0.06	1.76
1887	0.04	1.96	0.02	0.94	0.44	0.04	0.01	T	T	T	1.80	0.74	1.96
1888	0.75	0.66	1.25	0.08	0.15	0.04	0.01	T	0.04	0.20	0.60	1.04	1.25
1889	0.67	0.95	1.16	0.14	0.02	0.10	T	0.04	T	1.54	0.08	2.31	2.31
1890	1.32	1.04	0.35	0.03	0.04	0.00	0.00	T	0.37	0.01	0.72	1.23	1.32
1891	1.08	1.35	0.17	0.55	0.34	0.05	T	0.00	0.08	0.02	0.09	0.69	1.35
1892	1.25	1.25	0.34	0.41	0.95	.013	0.00	0.04	T	0.10	0.82	0.43	1.25
1893	0.45	0.43	2.00	0.22	0.22	T	T	0.00	0.00	0.11	0.81	0.74	2.00
1894	0.20	0.15	0.65	0.06	0.08	0.01	0.00	0.04	0.01	T	0.00	0.59	0.65
1895	2.15	0.29	0.70	0.08	0.15	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.22	0.46	0.15	2.15
1896	0.57	0.02	1.32	0.12	0.03	0.01	T	0.09	T	0.64	0.88	1.10	1.32
1897	1.62	1.04	0.55	0.02	0.04	T	0.01	T	T	0.67	0.02	0.17	1.62
1898	0.55	0.06	0.47	0.09	0.26	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.06	0.00	0.11	0.71	0.71
1899	1.33	0.24	0.52	0.28	0.07	0.25	0.00	0.07	0.00	0.20	0.42	0.54	1.33
1900	0.66	0.03	0.48	0.79	1.35	0.05	0.00	T	T	0.20	0.52	0.00	1.35
1901	0.74	2.39	0.53	0.01	0.52	0.02	T	T	0.06	0.18	0.37	0.01	2.39
1902	0.54	1.16	0.40	0.20	0.05	T	0.83	T	T	0.06	0.98	1.76	1.76
1903	0.30	1.05	0.58	1.00	0.11	T	0.00	T	T	0.04	T	0.33	1.05
1904	0.03	0.86	0.81	0.07	0.08	0.00	0.00	T	T	0.10	0.00	1.43	1.43
1905	1.01	1.74	1.19	0.13	0.23	T	0.16	0.00	0.34	0.87	.169	0.20	1.74
1906	0.74	1.29	2.40	0.49	0.28								

CHAPTER II

SAN DIEGO BAY, HARBOR AND RIVER

THE advantages of San Diego's remarkable harbor have been appreciated by a few wise spirits from the days of its earliest discovery. Father Serra writes of it as "truly a fine one, and with reason famous." The wise Goethe understood the strategic situation of the port with reference to the Panama Canal and the inevitable expansion of the United States. In 1827, he said in conversation:

> But I should wonder if the United States were to let an opportunity escape of getting such work [the construction of a canal] into their own hands. It may be foreseen that this young state, with its decided predilection for the West, will within thirty or forty years, have occupied and peopled the large tract of land beyond the Rocky Mountains. It may, furthermore, be foreseen that along the whole coast of the Pacific Ocean, where nature has already formed the most capacious and secure harbors, important commercial towns will gradually arise, for the furtherance of a great intercourse between China and the East Indies and the United States.

Professor George Davidson, of the United States Coast Survey, wrote of San Diego Bay as follows, and has since repeated and emphasized his opinion: "Next to that of San Francisco, no harbor on the Pacific Coast of the United States approximates in excellence the Bay of San Diego. The bottom is uniformly good; no rocks have been discovered in the bay or approaches; the position of the bay with relation to the coast, and of the bar with relation to Point Loma, is such that there is rarely much swell on the bar; as a rule, there is much less swell on this bar than on any other bar on the Pacific Coast. There is less rain, fog, and thick haze, and more clear weather in this vicinity than at all points to the northward, and the entrance is less difficult to make and enter on that account. Large vessels can go about seven miles (geographical) up the bay, with an average width of channel of 800 yards between the four fathom lines at low water. This indicates sufficient capacity to accommodate a large commerce."

Commodore C. P. Patterson, superintendent of the United States Coast Survey, says: "The depth over the bar (at low water) is 22 feet. The bar remains in a remarkably permanent state. The distance across the bar, from an outside depth of 27 feet to the same depth inside, is 285 yards, so that the removal of about 60,000 yards of material would give a channel of 300 feet wide and 28½ feet deep over the bar at mean low water. I have crossed this bar at all hours, both day and night, with steamers of from 1,000 to 3,000 tons burden, during all seasons, for several years, without any detention whatever. Ample accommodations can be had in this harbor for a very large commerce. There is no safer harbor on the Pacific Coast for entering or leaving, or for vessels lying off wharves. It is the only land-locked harbor south of San Francisco and north of San Quentin, Lower California, a stretch of 600 miles of coast, and, from a national point of view, its importance is so great that its preservation demands national protection and justifies national expenditure. Fortunately, these expenditures need not be great, if the stable regimen of the harbor be preserved,"

During a storm in February, 1878, when the wind reached the highest point ever registered at San Diego, the United States Coast Survey steamer *Hassler* lay directly upon the bar taking soundings and surveying the harbor. During that same storm the *Orizaba* was obliged to pass by every stopping place between San Diego and San Francisco, and to lie off the latter port three days before attempting to cross the bar. It is not uncommon to see large full-rigged ships sailing into San Diego harbor and tying up to the wharf without a pilot.

Admiral Ossipee, who was here in 1870, was of the opinion that San Diego harbor is "amply capacious to accommodate twice the present commerce of the Pacific Coast."

Lieutenant A. B. Gray, one of the first to appreciate its capacity and advantages, said of it:

> In 1782 it was surveyed by Don Juan Pantoja, second pilot or navigator of the Spanish fleet. In the summer of 1849 the shore line was accurately measured and triangulated under the direction of Hon. John B. Weller, United States Commissioner, in connection with the initial point of the Mexican boundary; and in the spring of 1850, while encamped there awaiting instructions from Washington, I sounded the harbor thoroughly; and in conjunction with the officers of the U. S. Steamer *Massachusetts*, extended the soundings into deep water. . . . In 1851-2 it was again surveyed and sounded by the United States Coast Survey. From the results of the three examinations, it appears that the conformation of the shore line was very little if any changed; and the *soundings* are identically the same. The average rise and fall of tide is 6¼ feet, and six fathoms at low water is carried in over the bar, for a distance of eight miles up the bay; when five, four and three fathoms are extended for seven miles further. The channel of

deep water is half a mile wide for over eight miles; at one place a little less (near the entrance). On either side of the four fathom curve, which is distinctly marked, the bank being very precipitous, are flats having from one to three fathoms, generally averaging two fathoms, and at one bend of the bay nearly two miles broad. No difficulty is experienced in getting into the harbor day or night, with a chart or pilot; the wind from any quarter. For nine months of the year the prevailing winds are from the northwest, and during the months of November, December and January the south-easters make their appearance on the coast; occasionally very heavy storms lasting several days at a time; but when fairly in the harbor it is as smooth as a mill-pond, and a vessel will ride more securely at anchor than in the harbor of New York, so completely land-locked and protected from all gales as it is. There are no heavy swells upon the bar and the channel is very regular. A strong current sets in and out of the harbor, and so long as the tides continue to ebb and flow, that long will the deep channel remain the same, unless by some sudden disturbance in nature a change takes place in the form of the bay.

It is simply necessary to examine a correct chart of the port of San Diego to observe at once its capacity. From a residence of several years there, and close observation, I feel satisfied that for all the ocean traffic of the Pacific, from the islands and the Indies, it is amply capacious, being large enough to hold comfortably more than a thousand vessels at a time.

It is not because personally interested, as a resident of San Diego, that I am thus particular in describing the harbor, for its geographical position with the great facilities which the parallel of 32 offers for the construction of the Pacific railway, must in the event of such being accomplished, insure for it prominency in a commercial view. But, it is because misapprehension has been felt by many that the harbor is not sufficiently capacious. This surmise has been based upon statements of persons who have not spoken understandingly, or at least have not had correct information. One in particular, to which I refer, is calculated to mislead, because of the high rank and position which the officer has held. He of course had no intention of misinforming, but must have formed his opinion upon the common impression existing previous to the accession of California and without examination. This idea, of its being a small harbor, arose from the fact of the very little or no traffic at San Diego except for one or two ships a year putting in for hides and tallow, and occasionally for water. Inside the natural pier, so perfectly formed that it seems almost artificial, and immediately at the *entrance* of the port, was the common anchorage, because it afforded safety, and a fine beach for drying and curing hides. There was no necessity for vessels going further, and so long had it been since the old Spanish fleets visited it, that no one thought of the deep channel existing to such an extent up the bay. I am satisfied that the author of the statement referred to, if at San Diego at all, was never fairly in the harbor, but at its entrance opposite La Playa, the narrowest part in eight miles of five and six fathoms of water. Though this lower part of the bay is perfectly safe and land-locked, it is nevertheless but a small portion of the

> harbor, which may be said to have a shore line on each side of four leagues at least. The Spanish fleet anchored seven miles above the entrance, and at a point where the channel lies close to the shore, which they named Punta de los Muertos (Point of the Dead), from burying a number of the crew there, who had died from scurvy, contracted on the voyage. * *
>
> I do not hesitate to say that in climate it cannot be surpassed by any in the world, and for capacity and safety there are few harbors on either coast of North America superior to San Diego, admitting the largest class ships of water, and at all times.

POINT LOMA AND THE SILVER GATE, SAN DIEGO

Showing the Lighthouse on Ballast Point, the Government Quarantine Station and Marine Hospital on the site of the Hide Houses, La Playa and the road to Old San Diego

The Bay of San Diego is 12 miles long and from 1 to 2 miles broad. The total area is 22 square miles, and the available anchorage 6 square miles. On San Francisco bar there is a depth of 5¼ fathoms; on Humboldt bar sometimes 3 fathoms, but at other times not exceeding 15 feet; on the Umpqua bar, 12 to 13 feet; on the Columbia River bar, 4½ fathoms; on Shoalwater Bay bar, 4½ fathoms. All of these bars change much, except that of San Francisco. The depth of water on the bar also compares favorably with harbors on the eastern coast of the United States. Boston has about 18 feet; New York, 23½;

Philadelphia, 18; Charleston, Mobile, and New Orleans, 18 feet. The water frontage available is almost as great as that of New York City, and far greater than that of any other harbor on the Pacific Coast.

On the west, the bay is protected by a long, narrow strip known as the Coronado Peninsula, which terminates on the north in the townsite of Coronado and beyond that, next to the channel, in North Island. The entrance to the harbor is further protected by the peculiar formation known as Point Loma, which is a high, rocky promontory stretching out into the ocean from a point opposite Old Town southwesterly and southerly, a distance of about five and one-half miles, with a width of from two and one-half miles to half a mile. The formation is a crumbling sandstone, but it is covered with soil for the most part, and with an adequate supply of water the Point will one day be made a place of beauty.

The first board of harbor commissioners of San Diego consisted of Clark Alberti, W. W. Stewart, and J. H. Barbour. Their appointment dates from March 18, 1889, and they met and organized on May 15th. Alberti was made president; his term was for four years. Stewart's term was three years. Barbour acted as secretary; his term was two years. Harry L. Titus was appointed attorney to the board; M. G. Wheeler, chief engineer; and Nestor A. Young, chief wharfinger.

April 14, 1893, D. C. Reed and C. W. Pauly were appointed, *vice* Alberti and Stewart. Pauly resigned on September 14th following, and was succeeded by W. W. Stewart. The board then consisted of Reed, president; Barbour, secretary; and Stewart.

On March 31, 1896, F. H. Dixon and N. H. Conklin became members, succeeding Barbour and Stewart, whose terms had expired. The board then consisted of D. C. Reed, president, term expiring December 31, 1897; N. H. Conklin, term expiring June 6, 1900; and F. H. Dixon, secretary, term expiring June 6, 1900. The attorney of the board was D. L. Withington.

During 1895 and 1896, little was done, partly on account of the tide land troubles. The board say in their biennial report:

> Nearly all the tide lands adjacent to the Bay of San Diego over which the Board is supposed to exercise control, are claimed by private parties. This property is rapidly increasing in value. Every year new complications are arising from this disputed ownership. Therefore, the Board anxiously await the decision of the Supreme Court, which we trust will be rendered before the convening of the next coming session of the State Legislature.

W. J. Prout succeeded D. C. Reed in December, 1897, and served to June 6, 1900. The tide land troubles continued, and

BATTLESHIPS IN THE HARBOR

in the biennial report of the commissioners (Conklin, Dixon, and Prout), dated October 29, 1898, they say: "Since the present board has come into office they have been diligently striving to secure possession of the tide lands adjacent to the Bay of San Diego. . . . A large portion of these tide lands have been brought under our control, and we are confident that in the near future the decisions of the courts will give us possession of the remainder." Conklin was president and Dixon secretary.

June 20, 1900, G. B. Grow, George M. Hawley and J. E. O'Brien became commissioners. Grow was president. He died in office February 7, 1903; O'Brien and Hawley served to November 20, 1901. Robert B. Benton was appointed to succeed O'Brien and served from November 20, 1901, to March 13, 1903. Charles P. Douglass succeeded Hawley, serving as secretary from November 20, 1901, to March 13, 1903. Hawley and O'Brien resigned and Benton and Douglass were appointed to succeed them. The biennial report of Commissioners Grow, Benton, and Douglass for the years 1900-1902 shows no receipts and no disbursements.

The present board consists of Charles W. Oesting, president; Capt. W. H. Pringle; and Eugene DeBurn, secretary. They were appointed March 13, 1903. Capt. Pringle is harbor-master; Eugene Daney, attorney; and G. A. d'Hemecourt, engineer.

Within the administration of the present board, their work has entered upon a new phase. The tide lands question was settled some years ago and the jurisdiction of the board established. A number of franchises have been granted, and the importance of the board's work has steadily grown.

The San Diego River rises in the Volcan Mountains, about sixty miles from the city, and flows in a general southwesterly course through the El Cajon and ex-Mission ranchos, and the pueblo lands of San Diego, into False Bay. At Capitan Grande, thirty-five miles from its mouth, it is joined by a branch rising to the southeast in the Cuyamaca Mountains. It is also fed by numerous springs along its course. From its sources to Capitan Grande or a little farther, the river flows all the year round; but thence onward, it sinks into the sand in the dry summers, after the curious fashion of California rivers, and disappears from sight. For this peculiarity it has been much lampooned, from the days of John Phoenix downward; but the explanation is very simple. Above the point named, the bed-rock formation is near the surface and keeps the water in its visible channel; while below, the rock lies deeper and the channel is filled with light sand into which the water sinks and continues to flow underground to the sea. Water can be had in large quantities by digging in its bed. For many years the city of San Diego depended entirely upon water pumped from wells in the river bed, near Old Town. This peculiar construction forms a natural filter, and has many other points to recommend it and to compensate for the disadvantage of non-navigability.

It is probable that, at one time, San Diego and False bays were one body of water, and Point Loma an island. The low land between Old San Diego and Point Loma bears every appearance of having been carried in by the river. At the time the Spanish settlement at Presidio Hill was made, the river was emptying into False Bay, and it continued to do so until the second decade of the nineteenth century. Exactly when it broke into San Diego Bay is a matter of dispute. It has been stated in this History, on the authority of Blas Aguilar, that it was in the autumn of 1821, but Juan Bandini said it was in 1825 and it is frequently so stated. Pio Pico thought it occurred in 1828, and this is supported by the statement of Duhaut-Cilly that the river was flowing into False Bay in 1827. However, it is possible that both are correct, since Aguilar stated that the flow was not all diverted into San Diego Bay, but was divided; and we may therefore suppose that the flood in the fall of 1821 marks the time when any part of the water first began to flow into San Diego Bay, and that within a few years after it was totally diverted into the new channel, either by another flood or by slow accretions of sand.

From this time on, the river continued to flow into San Diego Bay for nearly fifty years, with only one slight interruption, and steadily filled up the shallow waters lying on the side toward Old Town. The danger to the harbor was early recognized. In 1846 Emory wrote: "Well grounded fears are entertained that the immense quantity of sand discharged by this river will materially endanger, if it does not destroy, the harbor of San Diego; but this evil could be arrested at a slight cost, compared with the objects to be attained." In September, 1851, A. D. Bache, superintendent of the Coast Survey, wrote to the Secretary of the Treasury: "It is believed . . . that unless the course of the river be changed, the channel will be ultimately filled, which will have the effect, I think, of destroying the bay entirely as a harbor. . . . The only remedy for the evil is to turn the river into False Bay again. This is an excellent harbor and its loss would be severely felt." Several attempts were made by the people of San Diego to turn the stream by erecting barriers of sand and brush, but they all proved ineffectual.

September 30, 1850, an ordinance was passed by the city trustees for the turning of the San Diego River by the construction of a pile dam at a cost of $1,000. A committee of the council reported October 10th that nothing could be effected toward turning the river by the means proposed, and the project was dropped. The matter continued to be strongly urged, by petitions, newspapers, and congressmen, and finally in 1853 an appropriation was secured and Lieutenant George H. Derby sent on to construct a dam.

Derby seems to have had correct ideas about the way in which the work should be done. He proposed to straighten the channel and build a substantial dam, but the appropriation was too small and he was instructed to follow the old winding channel, merely throwing the sand out upon the south bank, and constructing a bulkhead of timber at the old river crossing. The work was commenced in September and completed in November, 1853. It was done by Indian laborers, and the irrepressible Derby had a good deal of fun while it was in progress. It proved a good dry weather dam, but was worthless to resist a flood. It stood for two years, but gave way in 1855, and the river again flowed unchecked into the great harbor.

Beginning in 1869, several reconnaissances were made with a view to ascertaining the extent of the trouble and the best means of remedying it. One engineer distinguished himself by reporting that no damage was being done, and that the diversion of the river into False Bay was not urgently demanded. But better counsel prevailed. In 1875 an appropriation of $80,000 was obtained for carrying out the work, and in 1877 it was done in a thorough-going manner. The channel was straightened, an adequate earthen embankment constructed, and a substantial bulkhead built. These works have stood every test, including the unusual flood of the winter of 1905-06, and are undoubtedly permanent. The failure to construct them in a proper manner was a waste of money and a serious menace to San Diego's prosperity.

False Bay has never been navigable within the memory of living men, although there are traditions that one or two Spanish vessels found their way into it at flood tide. It is used to a certain extent for navigation by small boats, and is a favorite resort of duck-hunters, but has no commercial value.

The extent of the damage done to San Diego Bay by the river is not as great as might have been anticipated. From Roseville easterly, there is a stretch of waters which were always rather shallow and are now largely bare at low tide. Old residents can remember sailing boats over this ground, and it has been related how the Spanish soldiers navigated a boat across it, between Presidio Hill and Fort Guijarros. But it is now substantially what it has always been—marsh land.

The valley through which the river flows after leaving El Cajon is a remarkable one. It has a length of about six miles, extending in almost a straight course from the mission to Old Town, with an average width of more than half a mile, and is flanked on north and south by steep and rugged hills rising to a height of 300 feet or more. Through this valley the river sprawls and winds its sluggish way, except at times of flood, when it sometimes fills a large part of the floor of the valley with a turbid stream. The soil along the channel of the river is sandy, but is cultivated to some extent; a little higher, on the mesa lands at the foot of the hills, is fertile soil on which lie some of the most comfortable and productive homesteads in the county. It was in this valley that a large part of the agriculture of the Mission Fathers was carried on.

The floods in the river have been many, and at times considerable damage was wrought. The first great flood of which there is any record occurred in 1811; the second was in 1821 according to Aguilar, or 1825 by other accounts; the third took place in the winter of 1839-40; the fourth in 1855; the fifth in 1857; the sixth in 1862; and the seventh in the past winter of 1905-06. Some particulars of these earlier floods have been given. The most recent overflow is fresh in the public mind, when farms were flooded in Mission Valley which had not been overflowed for many years. The embankment at the north end of the Old Town bridge was washed away and the river changed its channel at that point and began flowing several yards farther north. It was only by the most energetic work that the bridge was saved and the river restored to its old channel. In many other places, the channel was completely changed. The water continued to flow visibly, in a considerable stream, to the ocean until late in the summer of 1906—a most unusual phenomenon.

HENRY DAGGETT
of Daggett's Drug Store.

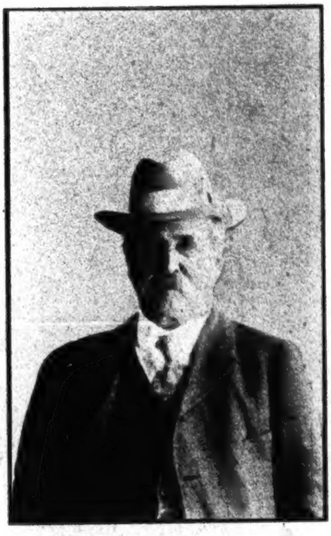
E. WINEBURGH
Manager of the Hub Clothing Company.

LAURENCE P. SWAYNE
Member Park Commission.

GEORGE BURNHAM
Of Scott-Burnham Investment Company

FRED A. HEILBRON

One of the leading young business men of the city.



A. C. RIORDON

President Imperial Realty Company.

GEORGE F. OTTO

A leading florist.

CHAPTER III

GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITIES

WITH the Mexican War San Diego became an important military station and considerable improvement has been made, from time to time, of its natural advantages as a harbor of refuge and defense. Troops were quartered in the Old Mission for about ten years after the Mexican War. The quartermaster's department was established at New San Diego in 1850-1. Among well known army officers stationed here in early days were the following:

Colonel John Bankhead Magruder, about whom many stories are told. He was a strict disciplinarian when acting officially and was sometimes called "Bully" Magruder; but he was also convivial and drank deep with Lieutenant Derby and other congenial comrades. When the Civil War broke out, he became a somewhat noted cavalry commander on the Confederate side.

Captain Nathaniel Lyon, who was much beloved in San Diego. He gave the first ball ever held in the old barracks, and owned one of the first houses in New San Diego. He was killed at the battle of Wilson's Creek, in Missouri, early in the Civil War.

Lieutenant George Stoneman, later a general in the Union army and governor of California; Captain Edward O. C. Ord, later a Union general; Major William H. Emory, who came with Kearny's expedition in December, 1846, and was later a Union general; Captain John F. Reynolds, who became a Union general and was killed at Gettysburg; Lieutenant George L. Andrews, whom Derby called "that mad wag," and who was on the staff of General Canby at Mobile; Lieutenant Adam J. Slemmer, the hero of Fort Pickens at the beginning of the Civil War, who became a Union general, and lost a leg at the battle of Stone River (married a daughter of the Rev. John Reynolds); Lieutenant (afterward General) John S. Mason; Lieutenant Francis E. Patterson, who died a general in Virginia; Major Lewis A. Armistead, later a general in the Confederate army, who was killed at Gettysburg; Colonel Frederick Steele, later a general; Lieutenant George B. Dandy, afterward a general and stationed at different points on the Pacific Coast as quartermaster; Colonel (then Lieutenant) Hamilton; Lieutenant Murray, who became a Confederate colonel and was severely wounded at the first battle of Bull Run; Major George H. Ringgold; Major Edward H. Fitzgerald, who led "the Fitzgerald Volunteers" in the Garra Insurrection of 1851; Major Justus McKinstry; Captain Foster; Captain Kellogg; Captain Winder; Captain Edward B. Williston; Doctor John S. Griffin, of San Pasqual fame, who later lived at Los Angeles; Surgeons Hammond, Keeney, Edgar; and many more.

The details of military life and activities in and around San Diego are somewhat beside the scope of this book. In a general way, a military post and quartermaster's depot were maintained from the dates named. It was also for a time made a depot of military supplies for a large number of frontier army posts. The post at Fort Yuma was for a time supplied from San Francisco by small steamers which ran up the Gulf of California, but in 1851 a line of pack trains across the desert was successfully established by William H. Hilton, who carried the supplies from San Diego to Yuma for some time, under contract. Mr. Hilton is still living, in Berkeley. Later, a military road and telegraph

QUARANTINE STATION AND MARINE HOSPITAL AT LA PLAYA, SITE OF HIDE HOUSES across the desert were constructed and played an important part in the life of the Southwest. In later years, the military activities in and around San Diego have had reference chiefly to the construction of the harbor fortifications, improvement of the reservation, etc.

The necessity for a military reservation on Point Loma was recognized by the officers of the United States Army immediately upon taking possession of the country. In a report to the Secretary of War dated at Monterey, March 1, 1849, General Henry W. Halleck wrote, referring to a military reconnaissance ordered by General Kearny in 1847:

LIGHTHOUSE ON BALLAST POINT, SAN DIEGO

Site of the old Spanish fort; Point Loma in the background

"The most southern point in Upper California here recommended for occupation by permanent works of defense, is the entrance to the Bay of San Diego. On the north side of this entrance, which is probably the most favorable position for works of military defense, are the remains of old Fort Guijarros, built by the Spaniards some seventy years ago. This fort, though never of much value in itself, was occupied nearly up to the time the United States took possession of the country, and all the ground in the vicinity is still regarded as public property."

The military reservation was made by executive order dated February 26, 1852. The land included was practically all ungranted by the San Diego city trustees. In the patent which was issued to the city for its pueblo lands, this reservation was excluded, which left the title vested in the United States under the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. This fact was not clearly understood in early days, even by some government officials. As late as 1867, the chief of the government board of engineers for the Pacific Coast applied to the trustees of the city of San Diego for a grant of land as a military reservation on Point Loma. Nothing came of this, but it shows the lack of information regarding the source of the government's title to its military reservation on Point Loma.

OLD GOVERNMENT BARRACKS

The reservation includes all the outer end of the Point Loma peninsula, to a line running east and west through the center of La Playa. It forms a strip of land about two miles wide at the widest and about three miles long. Possession was taken February 28, 1870. The works were begun on Ballast Point in

May, 1873, and have been carried on since. Work on the present fortifications began June 21, 1897. The barracks, officers' quarters, depots, etc., are built along the military roadway leading southerly on the eastern side of the peninsula. The situation is a healthful and romantic one, and the fortifications are capable of being made very strong. The defensive works are known as Fort Rosecrans. They were first garrisoned by 20 men of Battery D, 3rd U. S. Artillery, under Lieutenant G. T. Patterson, February 20, 1898. The present garrison consists of 8 officers and 194 men, Major Charles G. Woodward, U. S. A., commanding. It is a two company post. It is thought worthy of record that the first child born at Fort Rosecrans was the daughter of Lieutenant and Mrs. Deangly, of the 28th Company, Coast Artillery, born February 11, 1906. The army officers and their families have, from the days of the military occupation, formed an important part of the social life of San Diego. There are also a number of retired army officers who make it their home.

In order to guard the harbor against the action of certain conflicting currents caused by the Zuñinga Shoal, the government in 1894 commenced the construction of a jetty extending from a point on North Island, opposite Ballast Point, straight south into the ocean a distance of 7,500 feet. This jetty was several years under construction, and is a notable piece of engineering. It is constructed of willow mattresses, sunk between piles and weighted down with rock. Before commencing the work, 18.05 acres of land on the island were acquired by condemnation, and later 38.56 acres more were purchased. The cost of the jetty was about $500,000. The fort at this place is called Fort Pio Pico.

An automatic tide gauge was set up at La Playa by Lieutenant W. P. Trowbridge, assistant in the Coast Survey, in September, 1853. There had been one tidal observer before him. Lieutenant Derby writes of "an odd-looking little building on stilts out in the water, where a savant named Sabot, in the employ of the U. S. Engineers, makes mysterious observations on the tide." It was continued until September 1, 1872, under the care of Andrew Cassidy, W. Knapp and H. E. Urlandt in succession. Cassidy served seventeen years. A new gauge was established at the Quarantine Station in January, 1906, by Assistant B. A. Baird. The present observer is John A. Watkins.

The old lighthouse on Point Loma is a somewhat noted landmark. There was long a tradition that it was the highest lighthouse in the world, but this is an error. Its elevation is 492 feet, and there are others much higher, some having more than twice its elevation. Work upon it was begun in 1851, when the members of the Coast Survey selected the site. The lantern was first lighted on November 15, 1855. Experience showed that occasional fogs obscured the light, and in the 70's a new lighthouse was constructed at the southerly extremity of Point Loma, and early in the 80's another one on the extremity of Ballast Point at the entrance to the harbor. Both these lights are at the water's edge and free from the objections to the old situation. There is also a fog bell on Ballast Point, which it is necessary to use but little. The channel was not buoyed until October, 1875, when piles were driven and beacons placed upon them.

The first lighthouse keeper was named Keating. Joseph Reiner served for a time in the 50's. From 1865 to 1868 the keeper was Wm. C. Price. John D. Jenkins served in 1869, and after him Enos A. Wall was in charge for a short time. Robert D. Israel became keeper June 14, 1871, and served until January 6, 1892 —almost twenty-one years. He was succeeded by George P. Brennan. The present keeper of the Point Loma lighthouse is Richard Weis; of the lighthouse on Ballast Point, David Splaine.

The Quarantine Station at La Playa was established in 1888, and work upon the buildings was begun in 1891. The Marine Hospital in connection with it occupies nearly the site of the old hide houses. These buildings are to be turned over to the navy department and the site used as a coaling station, the quarantine station and hospital being removed elsewhere.

The United States Weather Bureau, at first called the "Storm Signal Office," was established at San Diego late in October, 1871, by Sergeant J. B. Wells, and the reports began a few days later. The station has recently been raised to the rank of a forecast station.

OFFICIALS OF THE WEATHER BUREAU.

Oct. 27, 1871	to	Aug. 17, 1876,	J. B. Wells.	
Aug. 17, 1876	to	June 29, 1877,	C. E. Howgate.	
July 9, 1877	to	April 4, 1879,	M. M. Sickler.	Resigned.
April 4, 1879	to	June 26, 1879,	W. U. Simons.	
June 26, 1879	to	Nov. 8, 1879,	M. L. Hearne.	
Nov. 8, 1879	to	Dec. 5, 1880,	W. H. Clenderson.	
Dec. 5, 1880	to	Nov. 17, 1881,	William Story.	
Nov. 17, 1881	to	Aug. 19, 1883,	Asa C. Dobbins.	Died in office.
Aug. 29, 1883	to	July 28, 1884,	F. R. Day.	
July 28, 1884	to	Aug. 29, 1886,	J. C. Sprigg, jr.	
Aug. 29, 1886	to	March 9, 1896,	M. L. Hearne.	Died in office.
March 30, 1896	to	present,	Ford A. Carpenter.	

Present Assistants: Clark Simpson and Dean Blake.

Under the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, February 2, 1848, San Diego became a customs port of the United States. The port of entry was abolished by the Act of June 2, 1862, and reestablished by Act of March 3, 1873. The first collector under the American military administration was Miguel de Pedrorena, appointed in July, 1847. The first collector under the civil administration was Wm. C. Ferrell, who served from April 3, 1849, to 1853. From 1853 to 1857 the collector was O. S. Witherby. March 23, 1857, General José M. Covarrubias, of Santa Barbara, was appointed, and served two years, when he was removed. Covarrubias' successor was Henry Hancock, who served till January 10, 1860. Joshua Sloane followed with a term extending from April 8 to July 27, 1861. Some of the stories told about his administration have been related. Captain Mathew Sherman served from December, 1868, to the following May, when David B. Hoffman was appointed. He was succeeded by G. W. B. McDonald in July, 1872, and McDonald by W. J. McCormick on March 26, 1873.

In the following fall, the collector's office was robbed and McCormick was found bound and gagged and claimed it was the work of the robbers. He was accused of having taken the funds himself and of trying to conceal his guilt by a pretended robbery. The trial excited great interest and some bitterness; McCormick was acquitted, but removed from office.

Wm. W. Bowers was appointed on September 25, 1874, and served until July 29, 1882. George A. Johnson was then appointed, and served to August 7, 1886, when Thomas J. Arnold became collector. His successor was John R. Berry, appointed February 6, 1890, during whose administration the *Itata* case occurred. He was followed by John C. Fisher, on February 16, 1894, and Wm. W. Bowers was again made collector on March 15, 1898. He served until February 6, 1906, when Frank W. Barnes was appointed, and the latter is the present incumbent.

There is no official record of clearances of vessels and custom house receipts at the port of San Diego, prior to the year 1875. In the following table the figures prior to that year have been gathered from newspapers, and those later are furnished by the Treasury Department:

Statement showing entrances and clearances of vessels and aggregate receipts from customs at the Port of San Diego.

Year	Vessels Entered			Vessels Cleared			Receipts
	Foreign	Coastwise	Total	Foreign	Coastwise	Total	
1878	13	72	85	13	63	76	12,660.97
1879	13	148	161	20	32	52	18,038.26
1880	16	104	120	13	39	52	26,819.33
1881	54	103	157	52	24	76	35,963.56
1882	89	110	199	65	45	110	357,413.50
1883	59	81	140	38	37	75	91,142.69
1884	30	75	105	33	4	37	12,664.28
1885	31	74	105	25	2	27	2,809.99
1886	28	83	111	21	8	29	10,719.00
1887	115	138	253	109	22	131	29,847.19
1888	284	159	443	233	92	325	311,937.59
1889	225	90	315	181	58	239	122,127.64
1890	190	94	284	151	40	191	74,460.35
1891	214	104	318	182	34	216	83,964.50
1892	200	101	301	152	60	212	82,817.16
1893	183	111	294	141	49	190	93,394.26
1894	151	94	245	132	25	157	95,027.24
1895	169	90	259	144	29	173	57,507.26
1896	188	94	282	172	20	192	59,360.31
1897	169	90	259	154	9	163	38.508.26
1898	172	96	268	146	5	151	46,410.99
1899	156	92	248	146	26	178	71,522.35
1900	168	102	270	137	31	168	131,901.27
1901	136	111	247	115	33	148	140,710.84
1902	131	96	227	105	17	122	128,183.03
1903	132	107	239	113	12	125	73,967.89
1904	108	107	215	105	7	122	75,114.41
1905	100	114	214	99	13	112	53,463.39
1906	100	112	212	88	25	113	104,380.69

The first postmaster at Old San Diego was Richard Rust, in 1850. The following year Henry J. Couts served. In 1853 George Lyons was postmaster; in 1856, Richard Rust; and the next year Lyons again. In 1858 W. B. Couts was appointed and the next year Joshua Sloane. D. A. Hollister served in 1865-6-7; then Thomas H. Bush was appointed. After Bush, Louis Rose served about ten years, resigning in June, 1883. The present postmaster at "North San Diego" is Paul Connors.

The postoffice at South San Diego was established April 8, 1869. The first postmaster was Dr. Jacob Allen. He kept a drug store and the postoffice was kept in this store. A few years later he removed to Riverside and spent his last days in that city.

On December 23, 1869, Freeman Gates was appointed to succeed Dr. Allen. He made Columbus Dunham deputy postmaster, and Dunham did all the work of the office. At this time, the postoffice was removed to Dunham's building, on Fifth Street between F and G. In the following May South San Diego was made a money order office. Mr. Dunham succeeded Gates as postmaster on April 28, 1870, and served until his death, March 18, 1876. His salary as postmaster was $150 per annum. The name of the office was changed to San Diego, April 14, 1871. The subsequent incumbents have been: Daniel Choate, from March 27, 1876; Henry H. Burton, appointed February 25, 1881; George D. Copeland, from May 23, 1881; Gustav W. Jorres, October 12, 1885; Allen D. Norman, November 10, 1887; Howard M. Kutchin, January 27, 1890; Richard V. Dodge, February 16, 1894; Moses A. Luce, February 11, 1898; and John N. Newkirk, appointed February 28, 1902, and recently reappointed.

One of the most interesting relics of governmental activities now at San Diego is the old boat *Pinta*. She was built at Chester, Pennsylvania, in 1864, and when new was the fastest boat in the navy. Later, she served as a fourth-class gunboat. Her last regular service was at the Alaska station. She was condemned at San Francisco about the year 1896 and sent to San Diego, where she barely arrived under her own steam. At the time of the *Virginius* affair, in the fall of 1873, she was off the Cuban coast and played an important part in conveying the news to the United States. At present her only usefulness is as headquarters for the naval battalion.

CHAPTER IV

THE SUBURBS OF SAN DIEGO

See how the villa lifts its face of light
Against the pallid olives. Look down this vista's shade
Of dark square shaven slopes, where spurts
The fountain's thin white thread and blows away!
Here will we sit and let the sleeping noon
Doze on and dream into the afternoon,
While all the mountains shake in opal light,
Forever shifting, till the sun's last glance
Transfigures with its splendor all our world.
There, Table Mountain on the horizon piles
Its lofty crown, and gazes on the sea;
There swarthy Loma crouches in repose,
And Sierra Madre rears its purple ridge
And wears its ermine late into the spring,
When all beneath is one vast bush of flowers.

Dear Coronado! Nothing is like her;
Others may please me—her alone I love.
She is no place as other places are,
But like a mother and a mistress too—
The soul of places, unto whom I give
How gladly all my heart, and with it more,
That I might give more.

—*W. W. Story.*

Much of the prosperity of San Diego, during the great boom and after, was due to the developments on the Coronado Peninsula. The original name for the strip of land lying between San Diego Bay and the ocean was the Island or Peninsula of San Diego. This was changed, early in 1886, by the Coronado Beach Company, to the euphonious and now famous one of Coronado, meaning crown. There were different claimants for this tract in early days, but it was granted to Archibald C. Peachy and William H. Aspinwall, who derived title from Pedro C. Carrillo, on June 11, 1869, and then described as containing 4,185.46 acres.

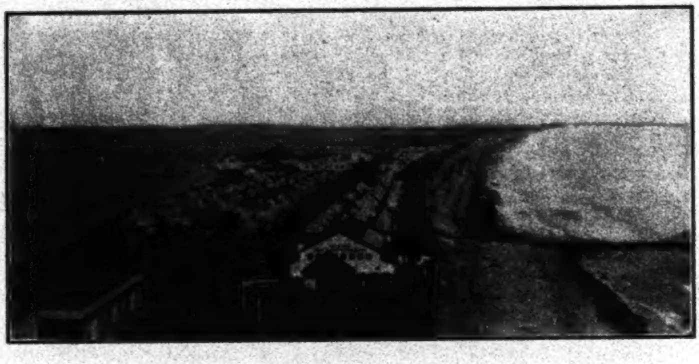
A syndicate, consisting of Elisha S. Babcock and Jacob Gruendike of San Diego, Joseph Collett of Terre Haute, Indiana, and Hampton L. Story of Chicago, bought the peninsula in December, 1885, obtaining the entire property from the head of the bay to the mouth of the harbor, and including North Island. Later, General H. W. Halleck and Frederick Billings became interested. The moving spirit in the undertaking was E. S. Babcock, Junior. He was from Evansville, Indiana, and came to San Diego in 1884 in search of health. The price paid for the property was $110,000. Articles of incorporation of the Coronado Beach Company were filed in April, 1886, the capitalization of $1,000,000 being divided into 10,000 shares of $100 each. This was the parent company, which controlled at the beginning, as it does today, various subsidiary corporations, such as railroad and ferry companies.

Writing in May, 1886, to the *Los Angeles Times*, H. G. Otis says:

> The entire peninsula has been surveyed, and the central and larger portion, situated directly opposite the town of San Diego, and elevated some forty feet above the sea level, has been beautifully platted and largely planted to choice trees, shrubbery, etc. The soil I found exceptionally good—a light, sandy loam, warm and easily worked. A nursery of a hundred thousand plants has been established, and many of the embryo streets and avenues bear arboreal names, such as Palm, Date, etc. A street railroad, to run across the peninsula from shore to shore, is under way and will be completed shortly. One of the cars is already on the ground. A telephone line, twenty-five miles long, running almost the entire length of the peninsula connecting with the mainland on the east, and passing through National City, affords speaking communication with the city. Several subordinate companies, acting under the main company, have been organized to push the enterprise along. There are two ferry companies, a street railroad company, a hotel company, a bathhouse company, etc. A large steam ferryboat is building at San Francisco for use between the mainland and the peninsula. The hotel, it is promised, will be a grand structure, ahead of anything on the coast, and costing as much as $300,000. (!) The projectors say that they will put a million dollars, all told, into the main enterprise, if so much be necessary to its perfect development; and I am assured by confident San Diegans that they have "the stuff" to make the promise good.
>
> I should say, looking at the spot—uninviting as it is in a state of nature—that it would require even that large sum to make the peninsula blossom as the rose and bloom with the presence of a large seaside populace. But money, work, skill, and taste will do wonders; and these, coupled with the energy and persistence of the intrepid projectors, will yet make a notable place here. The plan is to sell residence lots in the tract, and so gather about the hotel and on the beaches a considerable permanent population. A few buildings have already been erected. In every deed a stipulation is inserted that no spirituous liquors shall ever be sold or drunk on the premises. People who want to get drunk must do so at the hotel, which reserves a monopoly of the beer business. The prohibition is, I learn, causing a good many "kicks," but the owners stand firm, maintaining that it would be the ruin of the spot to allow it to be covered with saloons. They say that they have refused numerous urgent applications for the purchase of lots for saloon purposes. They have planted themselves solid on

> the rock of Prohibition—with a loophole in the hotel to get into. They believe in temperance, but are not bigoted about it.

While waiting for the new ferry boat to come, the *Benicia* was leased and put on. The new ferry boat, the *Coronado*, arrived in August and made her first trip on the 19th of that month. There are now two boats in this service, the *Ramona* and the *Coronado*, and a regular service is maintained. Ferry slips were constructed at the foot of Atlantic Street in San Diego, and to connect with the street car terminus on the Coronado side. The water is carried beneath the waters of the bay in submerged pipes; this system was completed and the water turned on October 22, 1886. The total length of the submerged pipe is 3,300 feet.



CORONADO TENT CITY

In July, 1886, W. H. Holabird arrived and took charge of the company's land sales department, giving his attention to advertising and preparing for an auction sale of lots at the new townsite. The first auction sale was held on November 13th, and proved a great success. Three hundred lots were sold at an aggregate price of over $110,000, and the private sales continued briskly for some time thereafter, often amounting to $25,000 a day, and on one day to $150,000. The grand total of these sales amounted to between $2,200,000 and $2,300,000. In January, 1887, there were thirty dwellings completed and in course of construction in Coronado, and the sales of lots averaged $10,000 per day. One excursion brought ten carloads of visitors from Los Angeles and the East.

In March, the foundations of the great hotel were laid. On December 7, 1887, a special train brought the first installment of hotel help. It consisted of two baggage cars, six sleepers, and a Pullman, and there were 324 people in the party. The hotel was formally opened on February 14, 1888, and has ever since been maintained as a winter resort.

In July, 1887, John D. Spreckels acquired the interest of W. W. Story in the Coronado Beach Company, and later he acquired Mr. Babcock's interest also, and became the sole owner.

The town of Coronado is a pleasant across-the-bay residence district. It suffered somewhat longer than San Diego from the depression following the collapse of the boom, but is enjoying a healthful growth. "Tent City" is one of its most attractive features. On the narrow peninsula east of the hotel, several hundred tents and palmleaf-covered cottages are erected early each summer, where a large number of people go to spend a few weeks beside the ocean. Here there is boating, bathing, fishing, and all the pleasures of camp life, combined with most of the conveniences of life in the city. It is one of the coast's most popular resorts, especially with those who seek to escape the summer heat of the warm interiors.

Included within the limits of the city's great tract of pueblo lands are a few thriving and ambitious little towns. La Playa has been frequently mentioned in the earlier pages of this work. It is well situated on the northern shore of the bay and on the easterly slope of Point Loma. Deep water comes close to the shore and there is a secure and convenient anchorage. At the present time, the inhabitants of La Playa are chiefly fishermen, of various nationalities.

Roseville lies a short distance north of La Playa and in a similar situation. But the back-lying hills are not so steep or so near as farther south; and there is quite a little fertile land, making attractive sites for homes. Louis Rose, the founder of this town, made a considerable investment in lands bought partly from the city of San Diego and partly from private individuals, at an early day. In 1870 he built a wharf, which did good service, but the attractions were not sufficient to overcome those of Horton's new town and draw the population away. At present the population is small, but the place is attracting attention because of its many advantages of soil, view, cheap land, and proximity to the bay and ocean. An electric street car line is promised for an early day and a small ferry boat now plies between San Diego and Roseville.

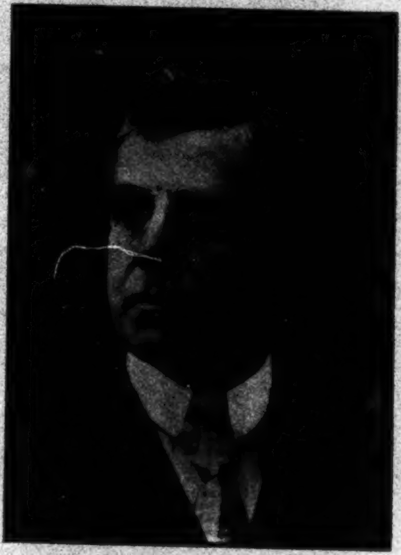
The incorporated town of Morena lies north of Old Town, on the eastern shore of False Bay. It was laid out in 1887 by James McCoy, A. H. McHatton, D. Cave, O. S. Hubbell, Charles D. Blaney, and O. J. Stough. Mr. Stough is now the owner of the tract. It includes about 1,000 acres of land of different character, the greater portion of which slopes gently toward False Bay and affords attractive sites for suburban homes.

Pacific Beach is situated eight miles north of San Diego, on the northern shore of False Bay, near the ocean. The settlement was founded in the summer of 1887, and was intended to be an educational center. At an auction sale of lots in December of that year, over $200,000 worth of property was sold. A number of substantial buildings were erected and opened as the San Diego College of Letters. The educational work was inaugurated in September, 1888, with Dr. Samuel Sprecher as president, and a full corps of instructors. Harr Wagner was vice-president and manager in 1888, 1889, and 1890. O. J. Stough was one of the most active supporters of the enterprise and provided a large share of the means for establishing and carrying it on. The hard times following the boom bore heavily upon the young college and the work finally had to be abandoned. The principal building has been converted into a hotel, called the Hotel Balboa. The settlement is reached by steam motor cars and will

AUTOMOBILE TRACK AT LAKESIDE

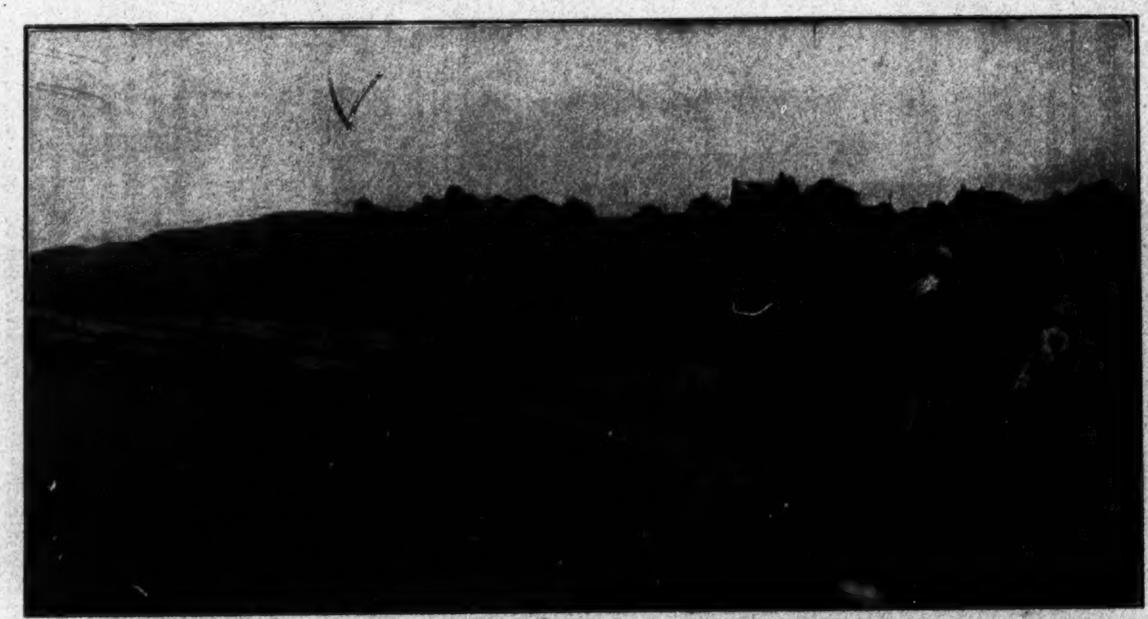
soon have two electric lines. Some of the most attractive homes near San Diego are at this place. The town itself is growing steadily and its advantages as a place of suburban residence are certain to be more and more appreciated.

La Jolla is a unique settlement and one almost as well known to the travelling public as Coronado or San Diego itself. It lies on the ocean, fourteen miles north of San Diego. The shore line of the ocean curves sharply inward at this spot, so that the town faces the north. It is flanked on the west by the Pacific, and overlooked on the east and south by high hills. The town lies chiefly on a plateau at a considerable elevation above the beach, but campers and summer residents live in tents and cottages on the lower slopes and on the beach. One of the chief attractions is the very remarkable cliff formations of the shore. These cliffs rise in jagged masses to a height of a hundred feet or more. At the base, they are hollowed into caves and recesses by the action of the waves. To see the breakers sweeping in and dashing upon



C. D. ROLFE

One of the builders of La Jolla whose faith in the future of the seaside community is expressed in large ownership of property



A VIEW OF LA JOLLA

these stone bastions is a sight never to be forgotten. The most noted cavern is "the White Lady," which furnishes the setting for Mrs. Thorpe's sketch, *The White Lady of La Jolla.* In places at the foot of these cliffs there are strips of sand accessible by zigzag paths from above, and there are safe bathing places adjacent to these.

It is claimed by the residents that the climate of La Jolla is warmer in winter and cooler in summer than at Coronado even. The land was purchased from the city many years ago and the title finally came down to F. T. Botsford, who laid it out as a townsite in 1887. He was soon afterward joined by G. W. Heald, and then by Charles Dearborn, each purchasing a one-fourth interest. At an auction sale held early in May, 1887, they disposed of lots to the total amount of $56,000, and within a year thereafter sold $96,000 worth more. Mr. Dearborn still lives in La Jolla; he says he went there to stay three months, and ended by staying nineteen years.

Until about two years ago, the resident population of La Jolla was small, but the houses were always occupied during the season. Of late, permanent residents have been building the place up rapidly, until now it has a permanent population of about 500. There are three churches, one of which has its own building and the others soon will have; a good school, several stores, a library, restaurants, bath houses, and many other improvements.

The atmosphere of La Jolla is distinctly artistic and literary. Here live Rose Hartwick Thorpe, author of *Curfew Must Not Ring Tonight,* and other well known works; Anna Held, now wife of Max Heinrich, owner of the *Green Dragon;* and other celebrities. The place is beloved by artists, who draw and paint the many-colored cliffs with the ocean and brown hills keeping sleepless guard; by invalids, who find the sea breezes, equable temperatures, and safe sea-bathing invigorating; and by lovers of quiet, who find its peace satisfying. It has attractions for the naturalist, also, in the rare and beautiful algea and other marine growths found in the waters at the foot of the cliffs.

The biological station recently established by the University of California at La Jolla is already doing good work, and its first year (1905) was productive of important results. A new building was erected, with funds given by the citizens of La Jolla and San Diego. There are research rooms, a museum, library, etc. The boat *Loma* was donated by E. W. Scripps, with funds for her refitting, and the beginnings of a technical library secured. Considerable dredging was done, special studies carried on by the staff and by visitors, and a series of lectures by specialists given.

Although outside the city limits of San Diego, National City has peculiar claims upon the interest and affections of its people. In early Spanish days the National Rancho was considered part of the pueblo lands and was used in common by the inhabitants. The Kimball brothers purchased it in 1868 and soon made some of the most important early developments. They laid out the town of National City, built a wharf, and soon had a considerable population. The site of the town is a beautiful one. It lies on smooth but elevated land, on the bay shore south of San Diego, extending from the city limits south to the Sweetwater River. Its avenues are lined with trees, and these, with the numerous groves and orchards, make the place shady and attractive. In size the town is the second in the county.

The Land and Town Company have their offices here, also their packing houses from which citrus and other fruits are shipped in large quantities. The California Citrus Products Company began the manufacture of citric acid, oil of lemon, and a drink called "Melade" in 1898. This industry has grown until it now consumes ten tons of lemons daily. There is also an olive oil factory which turns out a superior brand of oil. The town has good schools, a public library, a bank, and five churches. Some of the surrounding country is highly developed and contains orchards and country homes which cannot be surpassed on the Pacific Coast. The people of National City are in a happy frame of mind at present. Real estate values are rising, and with their many advantages of situation, rich back country and deep water frontage, their confidence seems to be abundantly justified.

Besides giving the harbor of San Diego its peculiarly sheltered and land-locked situation, Point Loma is a spot of great interest, in itself. The old "official description" of the Point runs as follows:

> This is the southern part of the western boundary of San Diego Bay and the termination of a remarkable spur of coarse, crumbling sandstone, which rises south of Puerto Falso, or False Bay, and west of the [old] town of San Diego, to the height of three hundred feet, and after stretching south for about five and one-half miles, gradually increasing in height to four hundred and fifty-seven feet, terminates very abruptly. It is covered with coarse grass, cacti, wild sage, and low bushes.

On its historical side, the Point is the site of the old town of La Playa, the outport of Old San Diego, with its traditions of Dana and the hide houses; of the government military reservation and Fort Rosecrans; of the quarantine station, marine hospital, lighthouses old and new, and the projected coaling station; and of the Mormon search for coal in the 50's. It also contains the town of Ocean Beach, where many years ago the

Indians foregathered to dry fish and clams and where in later years was a favorite picnic ground for the inhabitants of Horton's Addition; and of Roseville, now looking forward hopefully to becoming a prosperous and populous suburb of the city of San Diego. A number of farmers, dairymen, and horticulturalists till its soil, which is fertile and only requires irrigation and cultivation to produce abundantly.

But the chief interest now attaching to Point Loma, for the inhabitants of San Diego no less than for visitors, is the location there of "The Universal Brotherhood and Theosophical Society," whose buildings form a very striking feature of the landscape. Sailing down the coast, the traveler discerns first the bold promontory of Point Loma, reaching like a long finger into the sea. Something upon the heights, which at first resembles a white mist, slowly takes on form and color, and, at last, stands forth in tangible shape as a group of buildings, unique and picturesque, flashing the sunshine from glass-covered domes and minarets. There is a harmonious blending of architectural lines, partly Moorish, partly Egyptian, with something belonging to neither. Looking upon the heights from the other side —from the hills of San Diego or the peninsula of Coronado— this quaint landmark looms quite as conspicuously upon the horizon, as from the sea; and, throughout the night, the lamps hung in the highest turrets gleam out over land and sea, making a luminous spot in the darkness, which is visible for miles.

The cornerstone for the first of these buildings, the "School for the Revival of the Lost Mysteries of Antiquity," was laid by Katherine Tingley on February 23, 1897. The stone itself was brought from Killarney, in Ireland. The site of the Homestead, consisting of several hundred acres, had been selected and purchased by Mrs. Tingley in the preceding year. It was not until February 13, 1898, however, that Mrs. Tingley took up her permanent residence at the Homestead and began to concentrate the activities of the World's Center of Theosophy. The Universal Brotherhood and Theosophical Society's offices, the Theosophical Publishing Company, the International Brotherhood League, the Aryan Theosophical Society of New York, and the Woman's Exchange and Mart, were soon installed in their new home. The grounds were rapidly improved and buildings erected, the largest two being the Loma Homestead and the Aryan Memorial Temple. At a division of the Homestead called "Estero" are the buildings of the School for the Revival of the Lost Mysteries of Antiquity. The cornerstone of the Isis Temple of Art, Music and Drama was laid on April 29, 1900, and the dedication of the International Lotus Home and establishment of the Raja Yoga School occurred on the following first of May. In February, 1901, public presentations of classical

KATHERINE TINGLEY

Official head of the Theosophical Society and Universal Brotherhood, under whose guidance the institutions of Point Loma have been developed with remarkable success. Mrs. Tingley vindicated the character of her work by defeating the Los Angeles *Times* in a notable libel suit, and by overcoming powerful opposition in securing the admission of Cuban children to the Raja Yoga schools. Her work is of world-wide scope, with Point Loma as its official center

plays in the city of San Diego was begun and the daily lectures in the Aryan Memorial Temple at the Homestead were opened to the public. The building of the amphitheater for the performance of classical plays and also for athletic contests along the lines of the original Olympian games, was completed in November of that year. In March, 1902, Mrs. Tingley became the owner of Fisher's Opera House, the principal theater in San Diego, the name of which was changed to the Isis. This theater is used for public meetings and dramatic performance and the building is utilized for the San Diego branches of the Homestead work, particularly for the *Aryan Press,* the Raja Yoga School and the Isis Conservatory of Music.

The official name of the Homestead is "Adyar." It is an educational center. The methods are unique, being based upon the development from within of the pupil's own powers, rather than upon cramming from books. A large number of Cuban children and other waifs have found a home here; but, on the other hand, many people of wealth and refinement make it their home because of the superior educational advantages offered. The children of the rich and poor mingle in perfect equality and learn no class distinctions. The community's housekeeping is carried on co-operatively and the principles of brotherhood are exemplified in every department of the life and work.

Katherine Tingley, the "Leader and Official Head," is the sincere and able woman who has created and is developing this institution. In San Diego there are many Theosophists, and the activities of the Homestead are regarded with kindly and sympathetic interest by the mass of the population.

Political Roster, City of San Diego

MAYOR

1850	Joshua H. Bean
1851	David B. Kurtz
1852	G. P. Tebbetts
1852-89	Board of Trustees
1889-91	Douglas Gunn
1891-6	W. H. Carlson
1897-8	D. C. Reed
1899-00	Edwin M. Capps
1901-4	Frank P. Frary
1905	John L. Sehon
1907-	John F. Forward

COUNCIL

1850 Atkins S. Wright
Chas. Haraszthy
Wm. Leamy
Chas. P. Noell res.
Philip Crosthwaite
Chas. R. Johnson res.
Geo. F. Hooper
1851 David B. Kurtz
John Brown
Geo. P. Tebbetts
A. Blackburn
Enos A. Wall res.
J. J. Ames
J. Jordan, election contested
Thos. Wrightington res.
John Dillon
1852 Geo. P. Tebbetts
R. E. Raimond
Wm. Leamy
Chas. C. Johnson
Chas. Fletcher
W. P. Toler
1852 Board of Trustees, 1887
1888 W. J. Hunsaker, pres.
C. C. Valle
A. M. Thornburg
G. W. Waters
Frank Clark
W. H. Pringle
Geo. W. Marston
Simon Levi
J. A. McRae
H. P. Whitney
G. C. Arnold
F. H. Burkhardt
N. D. Hamilton
1889-90 Aldermen—
C. F. Francisco
Simon Levi
T. C. Fisher
H. A. Perry
W. A. Begole
H. F. Norcross
D. Cave
A. G. Gassen
Delegates—
W. T. Lyons
Melvin Stone
C. W. Pauly
J. H. Marshall
A. H. Julian
G. G. Bradt
J. P. Davis
W. R. Day
G. M. Wetherbee
Paul H. Ridiger
D. H. Hewett
C. E. Heath
A. B. Seybolt
J. W. Thompson
Geo. P. Low
R. G. Hulbert
G. F. Carman
William Carper
1891-2 Aldermen—
H. T. Christian
Simon Levi
C. C. Brandt
H. A. Perry
W. A. Begole
H. P. Whitney
A. G. Gassen
A. E. Nutt
S. J. Sill
Delegates—
E. C. Thorpe
Geo. H. Crippen
Chas. W. Pauly
T. W. Burns
A. N. Miller
Fred Baker
W. J. Prout
Paul A. Rediger
M. M. Conn
B. F. Wertzman
J. F. Escher
Jacob Price
Stephen Doud
H. H. Williams
W. W. Wetzell
1893-4 Aldermen—
Joseph S. Bachman
A. Blochman
Simon Levi

COUNCIL—*Cont.*

W. J. Prout
Geo. H. Spears
Delegates—
S. F. Barker
Geo. M. Havice
Chas. W. Pauly
H. Tweeney
H. E. Doolittle
C. C. Hakes
Fred Baker
S. H. Olmstead
Wm. H. Kroah
Fred H. Robinson
C. H. Brown
Danville F. Jones
H. L. Barrows
Thos. H. Dunkin
Geo. H. Rotner
W. T. Davis
1895-6 Aldermen—
Amos Beard
A. E. Dodson
Henry Sweeney
Geo. B. Watson
Delegates—
J. A. Altamarino, Jr.
S. F. Barker
N. V. Paddock
Chas. W. Pauly
C. C. Hakes
John F. Warner
Fred Baker
S. H. Olmstead
John Campbell
T. L. Paulsen
D. F. Jones
M. J. Perrin
Thos. H. Dunkin
H. Welisch
E. S. Burgert
F. A. James
1897-8 Aldermen—
L. A. Blochman
S. G. Ingle
Simon Levi
A. E. Nutt
C. W. Pauly
Delegates—
F. W. Barnes
E. H. Wright
Walter H. Morgan
Geo. F. Ruble
Hi W. Alden
A. A. Thorp
A. Morgan
S. H. Olmstead
W. H. Doddridge
John W. Lambert
H. M. Landis
M. J. Perrin
A. P. Johnson, Jr.
T. M. Williamson
J. H. Cassidy
F. A. James
1899-90 Aldermen—
S. W. Hackett
C. C. Hakes
D. F. Jones
Geo. B. Watson
J. P. M. Rainbow
Homer C. Taber
Delegates—
F. W. Barnes
W. L. Trevert
F. P. Frary
W. W. Whitson
H. C. Gordon
A. A. Thorp
E. G. Bradbury
E. H. Wright
J. W. Lambert
Geo. McNeil
Ed Gutwillig
C. C. Craig
E. E. Denton
G. A. J. Urban
M. Williamson
Henry Woolman
Otto Sippell
1901-2 Aldermen—
J. P. M. Rainbow
S. G. Ingle
H. M. Landis
F. C. Hyers
Geo. M. Hawley
M. J. Perrin
Delegates—
Geo. Butler
E. C. Thorp
M. W. Jenks
Geo. B. Chapman
Jas. S. Clark
R. P. Guinan
R. J. Blair
E. C. Bradbury
Geo. McNeil
John W. Lambert
W. H. C. Ecker
Ed Gutwillig
Barker Burnell
A. H. Kayser
Frank H. Briggs
Henry Busch
Henry Woolman
W. W. Lewis

COUNCIL—*Cont.*

1903-4	Aldermen—
	S. T. Johnson
	M. J. Perrin
	D. F. Jones
	J. M. Steade
	Geo. H. Crippen
	Chas. Kelly
	Delegates—
	John L. Sehon
	Jos. F. Richert
	Geo. B. Chapman
	Jas. S. Clark
	R. P. Guinan
	E. H. Wright
	Jas. Simpson
	Geo. McNeil
	John W. Lambert
	W. H. C. Ecker
	L. A. Creelman
	E. W. Peterson
	J. T. Butler
	F. H. Briggs
	J. M. Williamson
	Frank C. Butler
	W. W. Lewis
1905	Common Council—
	E. C. Thorpe
	J. B. Osborn
	L. A. Blochman
	Chas. Kelly
	Geo. McNeil
	L. A. Creelman
	Jay N. Reynolds
	A. P. Johnson, Jr.
	F. J. Goldkamp
1907-	Charles Kelly
	Geo. F. Mahler
	Percy E. Woods
	A. E. Dodson
	Geo. McNeil
	L. A. Creelman
	F. J. Goldkamp
	J. E. Connell
	W. H. Palmer

CLERK OF COUNCIL

1850	Dr. John Conger
1851	A. J. Matsell, res.
	Dr. J. F. Painter
1852	Dr. J. F. Painter

CITY ATTORNEY

1850-1	Thos. W. Sutherland
1852	James W. Robinson
1888	H. L. Titus
1889-90	James P. Goodwin
1891-4	Wm. H. Fuller
1895-04	H. E. Doolittle
1905-6	W. R. Andrews
1907-	George Puterbaugh

CITY ASSESSOR

1850	J. A. Estudillo, refused office
	Richard Rust
1851	D. L. Gardiner res.
	John Soloman
1852	A. J. Marks
1872-5	Mark P. Shaffer
1876-7	D. Burroughs
1878	Henry M. Bentzel
1879	Henry M. Bentzel died
	H. T. Christian
1880-5	M. D. Hamilton
1886	H. T. Christian
1887	J. M. Asher
1888	L. D. Burbeck
1889	G. W. Jorres res.
1890-2	Gilbert Rennie
1893-04	Nat R. Titus
1905-6	B. J. Edmonds
1907-	Daniel Potter

TREASURER

1850	J. A. Estudillo
1851	J. W. Robinson
1852	J. A. Estudillo
1872-4	Charles Hubbell
1875-6	Philip Morse
1877-88	S. Statler
1889-91	R. V. Dodge
1892-8	T. J. Dowell
1899-04	R. V. Dodge
1905	C. L. Williams res.
1906-7	Claude Williams

Political Roster, San Diego County

STATE SENATORS.

1849-50	E. Kirby Chamberlain
1851-2	Jonathan J. Warner
1853	D. B. Kurtz
1854-5	J. P. McFarland
1856-7	B. D. Wilson
1858-9	Cameron E. Thom
1860-1	Andres Pico
1862-3	J. C. Bogart
1863-6	M. C. Tuttle
1867-70	W. A. Conn
1871-4	James McCoy
1875-81	John W. Satterwhite
1883-4	John Wolfskill
1885-6	A. P. Johnson
1887-9	W. W. Bowers
1891-3	H. M. Streeter
1895-7	D. L. Withington
1899-01	A. E. Nutt
1903-5	Martin L. Ward
1907-	L. A. Wright

ASSEMBLYMEN.

1849-50	Oliver S. Witherby
1851	John Cook
1852	Agostin Haraszthy
1853	Frizby W. Tilghman
1854	Charles P. Noell
1855	Wm. C. Ferrell
1856-7	J. J. Kendrick
1858	Robert W. Groom
1859	A. S. Ensworth
1860	Robert W. Groom
1861	D. B. Kurtz
1862	D. B. Hoffman
1863-4	J. J. Kendrick
1865-6	George A. Johnson
1867-8	Benjamin Hayes
1869-70	Wm. N. Robinson
1871-2	George M. Dannals
1873-4	W. W. Bowers
1875-6	James M. Pierce
1877-8	F. N. Pauly
1880	C. C. Watson
1881	E. W. Hendrick
1883-4	Edwin Parker
1885-6	T. J. Swayne
1887-92	Nestor A. Young
1893-4	W. H. Carlson, 79th
	Wm. M. Casterline, 80th
1895-8	W. R. Guy, 79th
1895-6	Alfred Kean, 80th
1897-8	James L. Dryden, 80th
1899-00	Lewis R. Works, 79th
	A. S. Crowder, 80th
1901-6	Frank W. Barnes, 79th
1901-2	Chas. R. Stewart, 80th
1903-4	John G. Burgess, 80th
1905-6	Percy A. Johnson, 80th
1907-	W. F. Ludington, 79th
	Percy Johnson, 80th

DISTRICT JUDGE.

1851	Oliver S. Witherby
1859-63	Benjamin Hayes
1864-7	Pablo de la Guerra
1868-70	Murray Morrison
1871	Murray Morrison died
	H. C. Rolfe
1872	H. C. Rolfe
1873-9	W. T. McNealy

SUPERIOR JUDGE.

1880-5	W. T. McNealy
1886	W. T. McNealy res.
	John D. Works
1887	John D. Works res.
	Edwin Parker
1888	Edwin Parker
1889-90	John R. Aitken
1889-96	Geo. Puterbaugh
	W. L. Pierce
1891	E. S. Torrance
1897	John Wilmer Hughes, died
	Geo. Fuller
1898-00	Geo. Fuller
1901-	Norman H. Conklin

DISTRICT ATTORNEY.

1850	Wm. C. Ferrell
1851	Thor. W. Sutherland
1852-6	Jas. W. Robinson
1857-8	J. R. Gitchell
1859	Wm. C. Ferrell res.
	D. B. Hoffman
1860-1	D. B. Hoffman
1862-3	James Nichols

DISTRICT ATTORNEY—*Cont.*

1864-5	D. A. Hollister	1887-90	James S. Copeland
1866-7	G. A. Benzen	1891-2	Johnstone Johns
1868-9	Cullen A. Johnson	1893-4	M. L. Ward
1870-2	W. T. McNealy	1895	W. M. Darby died before inauguration.
1873-5	A. B. Hotchkiss		
1876-7	H. H. Wildy	1896	M. L. Ward
1878-9	N. H. Conklin	1897-8	Adelbert H. Sweet
1880-2	Will M. Smith	1899-02	T. L. Lewis
1883-4	W. J. Hunsaker	1903-6	Cassius Carter
1885-6	E. W. Hendrick	1907-	Lewis R. Kirby

COUNTY JUDGE.

1850-3	John Hays	1861-2	D. A. Hollister
1854	Cave J. Couts	1863-7	Julio Osuna
1855-9	David B. Kurtz	1868-75	Thos. H. Bush
1860	Wm. H. Noyes	1876-9	M. A. Luce

ASSOCIATE JUDGES, COURT OF SESSIONS.

1850-1	Charles Haraszthy		Philip Crosthwaite (acting)
	Wm. H. Moon	1856	D. B. Kurtz
1852	J. Judson Ames		C. C. Samuel
	W. P. Toler to August 4		A. E. Ensworth
	Wm. T. Conlon, suc.	1857	D. B. Kurtz
	E. W. Morse		A. E. Maxey
	John Hayes		Jose J. Ortega
1853	Lewis A. Franklin	1858-9	D. B. Kurtz
	E. W. Morse		D. A. Hollister
1854	D. B. Kurtz		Wm. H. Noyes
	H. C. Ladd	1860	D. B. Kurtz
	J. F. Damon		Wm. H. Noyes
1855	D. B. Kurtz		A. B. Smith
	H. C. Ladd		

BOARD OF SUPERVISORS.

1853	Wm. C. Ferrell, C.		Geo. Lyons
	E. B. Pendleton, V.-C.		Julian Ames
	Louis Rose		C. G. Saunders
	Jas. W. Robinson, suc. by		Cave J. Couts
	E. W. Morse	1856	Thos. R. Darnall, C.
	J. J. Warner, suc. by		O. S. Witherby
	George Lyons		Joseph Smith
1854	J. L. Bleeker, C.		C. S. Saunders
	Geo. P. Tebbetts		Cave J. Couts
	Geo. Lyons		Thos. Collins
	Geo. McKinstry	1857	James Nichols, C.
	Geo. F. Hooper		Thos. R. Darnall, suc. by
	E. W. Morse		D. B. Hoffman
	Louis Rose		Joseph Smith, suc. by
1855	J. J. Warner, C.		H. H. Whaley
	E. W. Morse		Cave J. Couts, suc. by
	Julian Ames		H. C. Ladd
	Geo. Lyons		M. Schiller, suc. by
	Geo. McKinstry		J. L. McIntire
	Suc. by	1858	O. S. Witherby, C.
	E. W. Morse, C.		H. C. Ladd
	O. S. Witherby		H. H. Whaley

BOARD OF SUPERVISORS.—*Cont.*

	J. L. McIntire
	Cave J. Couts
	D. B. Hoffman
	G. A. Johnson
1859	Frank Ames, C.
	R. E. Doyle
	J. R. Gitchell
	J. J. Kendrick
	Geo. A. Johnson
1860	R. E. Doyle, C.
	James Donahoe
	W. W. Ware
	John S. Minter
	Jose J. Ortega
	Cave J. Couts
	J. R. Lassitor
1861	G. P. Tebbetts, C.
	G. A. Johnson
	F. Stone
	Juan Machado
	J. C. Bogart
1862	Geo. A. Johnson, C.
	R. G. de la Riva
	Francisco O. Campo
	Geo. P. Tebbetts
	James Donahoe
1863	Geo. P. Tebbetts, C.
	Frank Stone
	Marcus Schiller
	Heyman Mannasse
	C. F. Jaeger
1864	James Donahoe, C.
	Geo. P. Tebbetts
	Daniel Cline
	Geo. Williams
	C. J. F. Jaeger
1865	Louis Rose
	Cave J. Couts
	Joseph Smith
1866	Louis Rose
	Joseph Smith
1867	Joseph S. Mannasse
	Charles Thomas
1868	Joseph S. Mannasse
	Joseph Divelbliss
1869	Joseph S. Mannasse
	Joseph Divelbliss
	Charles Thomas
1870	E. D. French
	G. W. B. McDonald
	Joseph C. Riley
	John Forster
	Thos. P. Slade
1871	Thos. P. Slade
	J. S. Mannasse
	Charles Thomas
	Wm. Flinn
	John Forster
1872	Joseph Divelbliss
	John Forster
	L. L. Howland
	Andrew Cassidy
	Joseph Tasker
1873	Joseph Divelbliss
	Joseph Tasker
	Andrew Cassidy
	L. L. Howland
	John Forster
1874-5	W. G. Hill
	Jacob Bergman
	J. Duffy
	Andrew Cassidy
	F. N. Pauly
1876	David W. Briant
	Francisco Estudillo
	David Kenniston
	F. Copeland
	J. M. Randolph, suc. by
	F. E. Farley
1877	D. W. Briant
	F. E. Farley
	Daniel Kenniston
	F. Copeland
	Francisco Estudillo
1878	A. Klauber
	D. R. Foss
	E. O. Ormsby
1879	A. Klauber
	D. R. Foss
	E. O. Ormsby
1880-2	O. H. Borden
	S. A. McDowell
	James M. Pierce
1883-4	D. W. Briant
	S. G. Blaisdell
	J. P. M. Rainbow
1885	D. W. Briant
	M. Sherman
	Henry Emery
	J. M. Woods
	Samuel Hunting
1886	D. W. Briant
	M. Sherman
	Henry Emery
	J. M. Woods
	Samuel Hunting
1887	J. M. Woods
	A. J. Stice
	Henry Emery
1888	Thos. P. Slade
	J. M. Woods
	A. J. Stice
	Henry Emery
1889	J. M. Woods

BOARD OF SUPERVISORS.—*Cont.*

	J. S. Buck
	J. H. Woolman
	Chester Gunn
	A. J. Stice
1890	J. S. Buck
	J. S. Woolman
	Chester Gunn
1891	J. S. Buck
	Chester Gunn
	John Judson
	J. P. M. Rainbow
	J. H. Woolman
1892	J. S. Buck
	J. H. Woolman
	Chester Gunn
	John Judson
	J. P. M. Rainbow
1893	A. G. Nason
	W. W. Wetzell
	Jas. A. Jasper
	John Judson
	J. P. M. Rainbow
1894	James A. Jasper
	J. P. M. Rainbow
	A. G. Nason
	W. W. Wetzell
	John Judson
1895	William Justice
	John Griffin
1896	A. G. Nason
	W. W. Wetzell
	W. Justice
	John Griffin
1897	H. M. Cherry
	C. H. Swallow
	Wm. Justice
	John Griffin
	Jas. A. Jasper
1898	H. M. Cherry
	C. H. Swallow
	Wm. Justice
	John Griffin
	Jas. A. Jasper
1899	Wm. Justice
	John Griffin
	C. H. Swallow
1900	Wm. Justice
	John Griffin
	C. H. Swallow
1901	H. M. Cherry
	C. H. Swallow
	Jas. A. Jasper
1902	H. M. Cherry
	C. H. Swallow
	Jas. A. Jasper
1903	H. M. Cherry
	J. M. Cassidy
	Wm. Justice
	John Griffin
1904	H. M. Cherry
	J. M. Cassidy
	Wm. Justice
	John Griffin
1905	H. M. Cherry
	J. M. Cassidy
	Wm. Justice
	John Griffin
1906	H. M. Cherry
	J. M. Cassidy
	Wm. Justice
	John Griffin
	H. M. Cherry
1907	Jos. Foster
	J. B. Hoffman
	John Griffin
	H. M. Cherry

COUNTY CLERK.

1850-1	Richard Rust
1852-3	Philip Crosthwaite*
1854-7	Wm. B. Couts*
1858-71	G. A. Pendleton*
1871	G. A. Pendleton died
	Chalmers Scott
1872-7	A. S. Grant**
1878-82	S. Statler
1883-8	J. M. Dodge
1889-90	M. D. Hamilton
1891-2	Wm. M. Gassaway
1893-4	S. M. Puyear
1895-04	Will H. Holcomb
1905-6	Frank A. Salmons
1907-	Wm. H. Francis

*And Recorder

**And Auditor

COUNTY RECORDER.

1850-1	Henry C. Matsell*
1852-3	Philip Crosthwaite**
1854-7	Wm. B. Couts**
1858-70	G. A. Pendleton**
1871	G. A. Pendleton died**
	Chalmers Scott**
1872-7	A. S. Grant**
1878-9	D. A. Johnson**
1880-2	Gilbert Rennie**
1883-4	E. G. Haight**

COUNTY RECORDER—*Cont.*

1885-6	S. A. McDowell**
1887-90	E. G. Haight**
1891	C. R. Dauer**
1892	E. H. Miller*
1893-6	John F. Forward
1907-	John H. Ferry

*And Auditor
**And Clerk

COUNTY TREASURER.

1850	Juan Bandini refused office
	Philip Crosthwaite appointed
1851	Philip Crosthwaite
1852	Jose A. Estudillo
1853	John Hays
1854-5	Jos. Reiner
1856-7	E. B. Pendleton
1858-9	E. W. Morse
1860	Frank Ames
1861-3	E. W. Morse
1864-75	Jose G. Estudillo
1876-7	Chauncey B. Culver
1878-84	William Jorres
1885-90	S. Statler
1891-2	C. H. Sheppard
1893-4	C. D. Long
1895-8	John W. Thompson
1899-	John F. Schwartz

COUNTY AUDITOR.

1891-2	E. H. Miller
1893-	E. E. Shaffer

COUNTY ASSESSOR.

1850	Jose A. Estudillo
1851	Dr. F. J. Painter
1852	S. E. Arguello
	A. T. Crowell
1853	A. T. Crowell
1854	Wm. C. Ferrell
1855	Wm. C. Ferrell res.
	E. B. Pendleton
1856	Albert Smith
1857	Wm. C. Ferrell
1858-9	Albert Smith
1860-1	James McCoy
1862	Henry Clayton
1863-4	A. E. Maxcy
1865-9	John M. McIntier
1870-1	Wm. Smith
1872-3	M. S. Julian
1874-5	M. P. Schaffer
1876-9	David Burroughs
1880-6	M. D. Hamilton
1887-90	J. M. Asher
1891-4	C. H. Sheppard
1895-8	John P. Burt
1899-04	Jacob D. Rush
1905-6	G. W. Jorres
1907-	M. M. Moulton

COUNTY COLLECTOR.

1875-84	Aaron Pauly
1887	W. W. Burgess
1888-9	W. S. Varnum
1890-4	H. W. Weineke
1895-	A. F. Cornell

SHERIFF.

1850-1	Agostin Haraszthy
1852	Geo. F. Hooper
1853	Wm. Conroy
1854-5	M. M. Sexton
1856	Jos. Reiner
1857	Jos. Reiner suc. by
	D. A. Hollister
1858-60	George Lyons
1861	George Lyons suc. by
	James McCoy
1862-70	James McCoy
1871	James McCoy suc. by
	S. W. Craigue
1872-4	S. W. Craigue
1875	N. Hunsaker
1876-82	Jos. A. Coyne
1883-6	E. W. Bushyhead
1887-90	S. A. McDowell
1891-2	John H. Folks
1893-4	Ben P. Hill
1895-02	Frank S. Jennings
1903-6	Thos. W. Brodnax
1907-	Fred M. Jennings

CORONER.

1850-1	John Brown
1852	F. M. Alvarado
	John Brown
1853-4	Lewis A. Franklin
1855-6	Dr. D. B. Hoffman
1857	Dr. D. B. Hoffman
1858	James Nichols
1859	Lewis Strauss
1860	Jos. Reiner
1861-3	A. R. Kelley
1864-5	Charles Gerson
1866-7	Thos. Lush
1868-71	Dr. Edward Burr
1872-3	John N. Young
1874-6	C. M. Fenn
1877	Dr. T. C. Stockton
1878-9	Dr. C. M. Fenn
1880-3	Dr. T. C. Stockton
1885-8	Dr. H. T. Risdon
1889-90	Wm. H. Eadon
1891-2	M. B. Keller
1893-4	Horace P. Woodward
1895-8	Theo. F. Johnson
1899-02	Horace P. Woodward
1903-	Dr. A. Morgan

PHYSICIAN.

1856-68	Dr. D. B. Hoffman
1869-71	Dr. Edward Burr
1872-3	Dr. T. C. Stockton
1874-6	Dr. C. M. Fenn
1877-84	Dr. P. C. Remondino
1885-7	Dr. C. M. Fenn
1888	Dr. Thos. Keefe
1889-91	Dr. J. P. Le Feure
1892	Dr. H. E. Crepin
1893-	Dr. D. Gochenauer

SURVEYOR.

1850-2	Henry Clayton
1855	Chas. H. Poole
1856-9	Robert W. Groom
1860	Henry Clayton
	E. W. Morse
1861-3	Robert W. Groom
1864-7	Henry Clayton
1868-71	James Pascoe
1872-5	M. G. Wheeler
1876-7	Chas. J. Fox
1878-9	M. G. Wheeler
1880	L. L. Lockling
1881	H. J. Willey
1882	Chas. J. Fox
1883-6	O. N. Sanford
1887-8	Henry L. Ryan
1889-90	Henry Langrehr
1891-2	W. W. Allen
1893-8	R. M. Vail
1899-02	S. L. Ward
1903-	A. F. Crowell

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATOR.

1852	Chas. P. Noell
1856	J. R. Bleeker
1859	Frank Ames
1860-7	O. S. Witherby
1868-9	Jos. Swycaffer
1870-1	Thos. Sherman
1872-3	A. O. Wallace
1874-5	P. P. Martin
1876-7	E. W. Morse
1878-9	Dr. C. M. Fenn
1880-3	Dr. T. C. Stockton
1884-5	J. M. Asher
1886-8	H. C. Morgan
1889-90	John L. Dryden
1891	John Falkenstein
1893-6	C. F. Kamman
1899-02	J. M. Asher
1903-	P. J. Layne

COUNTY SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS.

1856	Frank Ames
1858	J. Judson Ames
1860-1	Jose M. Estudillo
1862-3	A. B. Smith
1864-7	Jose M. Estudillo
1868-9	Marcus Schiller
1870-1	H. H. Dougherty
1872-3	B. S. Lafferty
1874-5	J. H. S. Jamison
1876-7	F. N. Pauly
1878-9	E. T. Blackmer
1880-2	G. N. Hitchcock
1883-7	R. D. Butler
1888	G. N. Hitchcock
1889-94	Harr Wagner
1895-8	W. J. Bailey
1899-	Hugh J. Baldwin

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